Alexander Dixon.

1915

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CALVINISM AND ARMINIANISM

COMPARED IN

THEIR PRINCIPLES AND TENDENCY:

OR

THE DOCTRINES

OF GENERAL REDEMPTION,

AS HELD BY THE MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,
AND BY THE EARLY DUTCH ARMINIANS,
EXHIBITED IN THEIR SCRIPTURAL EVIDENCE,
AND IN THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS
LIBERTIES OF MANKIND.

BY JAMES NICHOLS.

[Vol. 1, pt. 2]

Melanchthonis ac Johannis *Arndi* discipulos ferme videas bonos ac lenes: Contra, *Calvini* asperos, et tales qualem in maximam partem humani generis Deum esse sibi imaginantur. Tantum refert quo utaris Doctore! GROTIUS.

If it must be *Arminianism* to teach, that "the Ecclesiastical Power is subjected to the Civil Magistrate, who, in all causes over all persons, is acknowledged by us supreme under Christ," we must be content to lie down under that envy, and not excuse or renounce that piece of *loyal Arminianism*. HENRY HAMMOND, D. D.

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In the *Life of the Rev.* PHILIP HENRY, written by his son Matthew, the following anecdote is related concerning this tragical occurrence: "At the latter end of the year 1648, he had leave given him to make a visit to his father at Whitehall, with whom he stayed some time. There he was Jan. 30, when the King was beheaded, and with a very sad heart saw that tragical blow given. Two things he used to speak of, that he took notice of himself that day; which I know not whether any of the historians mention. One was, that at the instant when the blow was given, there was such a dismal universal groan among the thousands of people that were within sight of it, (as it were with one consent,) as he never heard before;* and desired he might never hear the like again, nor see such a cause for it. The other was, that immediately after the stroke was struck, there was, according to order, one troop marching from Charing-cross towards King Street, and another from King Street towards Charing-cross, purposely to disperse and scatter the people, and to divert the dismal thoughts which they could not but be filled with, by driving them to shift every one for his own safety. He did upon all occasions testify his abhorrence of this unparalleled action,† which he always said was a thing that could not be justi-

portentous aspect, through the negligent supineness or the foreign trifling of those who had been entrusted with the supreme management of affairs civil and ecclesiastical. It was then too late for Charles to indulge in hopes of success, from the unrighteous experiment of applying arbitrary power as the sole remedy for existing abuses in the body politic; and for Archbishop Laud to expect any salutary results from the severe and objectionable manner in which he seconded his royal master's views with regard to ecclesiastical maladies, and suppressed the *unfruitful* peculiarities of Calvinism, the latter of which had under various devices been too much encouraged in the reign of his father."

* It is related concerning Francis NEWMAN, Fellow of *All Souls*, "a person of great parts and a good carriage," that on passing by Whitehall when the King was decapitated, the horrid act had such an effect upon his spirits, as produced speedy dissolution. For, when he had returned to Mr. Heywood's house at Westminster, who was allied to him by marriage, he fell into a violent agony; and, retiring immediately into his chamber, he told those friends who surrounded him, (though he was then, to all appearance, as well as he had ever been,) 'that he should never stir out of that room 'alive, as he felt his heart breaking under the weight of grief which he had 'conceived at the sight of that murderous deed; and was oppressed by the 'foreboding thoughts of the disastrous consequences which would ensue.'—His prognostications were soon verified; and, within a few hours, in that chamber he became a martyr at once to sorrow and to affection for his beloved monarch.—See the next note.

† Mr. Henry, it is seen, testified his abhorrence, by keeping the anniversary of that black day as a fast. Dr. Parr gives the following account of Archbishop Usher's observance of the same day: "He kept the 30th of January as a private fast as long as he lived, and would always bewail the scandal which the King's death cast, not only on our nation, but on religion itself, saying, that thereby an advantage was given to Popery, and that from thenceforward the priests would with greater success advance their designs against the Church of England and the Protestant Religion in general.

"Nor will it be improper here to relate a passage which happened to the Lord Primate at the time of his Majesty's execution: The Lady Peter-

fied: And yet he said he saw not how it could be called a national sin; for, as the king urged upon his trial, it was certain that not one man of ten in the kingdom did consent to it; nor could it be called the sin of the long parliament, for far the greatest part of them were all that time, while the thing was in agitation, imprisoned, and kept under a force, and scarce twenty-seven of the forty that were left to carry the name of a parliament, did give their vote for it;* which the commissioners for the trying of the King's judges, in the year 1660, (some of whom had been themselves members of the long parliament,) urged again and again in answer to that plea which the prisoners stood so much upon, that *what they did was by authority of the parliament.* But

borough's house, where my Lord then lived, being just over against Charing Cross, divers of the Countess's gentlemen and servants got upon the leads of the house, from whence they could see plainly what was acting before Whitehall. As soon as his Majesty came upon the scaffold, some of the household came and told my Lord Primate of it, and asked him if he would see the King once more before he was put to death. My Lord was at first unwilling; but was at last persuaded to go up; as well out of his desire to see his Majesty once again, as also curiosity, since he could scarce believe what they told him unless he saw it. When he came upon the leads, the King was in his speech. The Lord Primate stood still and said nothing, but sighed; and lifting up his hands and eyes full of tears towards heaven, seemed to pray earnestly. But when his Majesty had done speaking, and had pulled off his cloak and doublet, and stood stripped in his waistcoat, and that the villains in vizards began to put up his hair, the good Bishop, no longer able to endure so dismal a sight, and being full of grief and horror for that most wicked fact now ready to be executed, grew pale and began to faint: so that, if he had not been observed by his own servant and some others that stood near him, who therefore supported him, he had swooned away. So they presently carried him down and laid him on his bed, where he used those powerful weapons which God has left his people in such afflictions, namely, prayers and tears; tears, that so horrid a sin should be committed; and prayers, that God would give his prince patience and constancy to undergo these cruel sufferings: and that he likewise would not, for the vindication of his own honour and providence, permit so great a wickedness to pass unpunished."

* In the whole of this palliation of the Long Parliament, may be traced much of the old Presbyterian leaven, which continued to work in the minds even of good men, long after the Restoration, and to support the uncontrollable power of Parliaments. But Judge Jenkins has shewn, page 352, that the *two Houses*, without a king, "were no more a PARLIAMENT, than a body without a head is a man."

In his LEX TERRÆ the loyal old Judge gave his deluded countrymen the following correct information: "We of the king's party did and do detest monopolies, and ship-money, and all the grievances of the people as much as any men living. We do well know, that our estates, lives, and fortunes are preserved by the laws, and that the King is bound by his laws. We love Parliaments: if the King's judges, council, or ministers have done amiss, they had, from the third of November 1640 to the tenth of January 1641, time to punish them, being all left to justice: where is the King's fault? The law saith, 'the King can do no wrong, that he is *Medicus Regni*, *Pater 'Patriæ*, *Sponsus Regni*, *qui per annulum* is espoused to his realm at his 'coronation'; the King is God's lieutenant, and is not able to do an unjust 'thing:' these are the words of the law.

"One great matter is pretended, *that the people are not sure to enjoy the acts passed this Parliament, a succeeding Parliament may repeal them:* The objection is very weak; a Parliament succeeding to that may repeal *that*

it is manifest it was done by a prevailing party in the army, who (as he used to express it) having beaten their ploughshares into swords, could not so easily beat their swords into ploughshares again, as having fought more for victory and dominion than for peace and truth: But how far these men were acted and influenced by another sort of people behind the curtain,* the world is not altogether ignorant. For some years after King Charles the Second came in, he observed the yearly day of humiliation for this sin, desiring that God would not lay the guilt of blood to the charge of the nation."†

Immediately after the murder of his Majesty, a warm dispute arose among the Calvinists, respecting the degree of blood-guiltiness which attached to each of the prevailing parties, the

repealing Parliament: That fear is endless and remediless. Parliaments are as the times are. If a turbulent faction prevails, the Parliaments are wicked, as appears by the examples recited before of extreme wicked Parliaments: If the times be sober and modest, prudent and not biassed, the Parliaments are right, good, and honourable, and they are good medicines and salves; but in this [the long] Parliament *excessit medicina modum.*

"In this cause and war between the King's Majesty and the two Houses at Westminster, what guide had the subjects of the land to direct them but the laws? what means could they use to discern what to follow, what to avoid, but the laws? The King declares it treason to adhere to the Houses in this war: The Houses declare it treason to adhere to the King in this war: Treason being such a crime as forfeits life and estate, also renders a man's posterity base, beggarly, and infamous, the subjects for a great and considerable part of them look upon the laws, and find *the letter of the law requires them to assist the King*, as before is manifested. Was ever subject criminally punished in any age or nation for his pursuit of what the letter of the law commands?

"The subjects of the kingdom find the distinction and interpretation now put upon the laws—of *abstractum* and *concretum*, POWER and PERSON, body POLITIC and NATURAL, PERSONAL presence and VIRTUAL,—to have been condemned by the law; and so the King's party had both *the letter of the law, and the interpretation of the letter* cleared to their judgments, whereby they might evidently perceive what side to adhere to: what satisfaction could modest, peaceable, and loyal men more desire?"

I prefer to quote from Jenkins's pamphlets, rather than from larger treatises, because they serve to shew that no grounds whatever existed for Baxter's republican excuse in a preceeding page, (323) that "the people were *many of them* uncertain which party was the higher and of greatest authority: Some thought THE KING, and others thought the PARLIAMENT," &c. Many of them undoubtedly chose *for their own interest* to remain uncertain which of these two powers was the greatest; though they could scarcely be ignorant of the *Law of the Land* on that point, many thousands of Jenkins's pamphlets having being published in a cheap form and gratuitously distributed among the people.

* This, the reader will perceive, relates to the Papists, who, according to the prediction of Archbishop Laud, page 337, had introduced themselves among "the several sects and divisions, and brought the Pope a far greater harvest than he could ever have expected without them." See also the extract from Baxter, page 295.

† "The villainy of the Rebels proceeding now so far as to try, condemn and murder our excellent king on the 30th of this month, (Jan. 1649,) struck me with such horror, that I kept the day of his martyrdom a fast, and would not be present at that execrable wickedness, receiving the sad account of it from my brother George and Mr. Owen, who came to visit me this afternoon, and recounted all the circumstances." EVELYN's *Diary.*

Presbyterians and Independents.* The author of *the Sample of True Blue Presbyterian Loyalty,* has very equitably awarded the proportion of guilt due to each of them in the subjoined

* From that confused medley of monstrous excuses for rebellion and fanaticism entitled ORME's *Memoirs of Dr. John Owen,* we are, in the subjoined extract, presented with a striking contrast to the fastings and humiliating services of Mr. Henry, Mr. Evelyn, Archbishop Usher, and other conscientious men, on that mournful occasion and its annual return:

" With some it may be enough to involve Owen in the guilt of the Regicides, that he was employed by them to preach on such an occasion, as the day after the king's death. The apology made by him in regard to another affair is here, perhaps, quite as applicable: His superiors were persons ' whose commands were not to be gainsayed.' They were aware of the importance of having their conduct sanctioned, even in appearance, by a preacher of Owen's respectability; and on this account, it is probable, he was chosen to discharge a function, which it is impossible to suppose he would have coveted. Perhaps, they expected he would defend or apologize for their measures. If they did, they must have been grievously disappointed, as the discourse maintains a profound and studied silence on the awful transaction of the preceding day. It is founded on Jeremiah xv, 19, 20.; and was published with the title of ' Righteous zeal encouraged by Divine protection;' from which a direct application to the recent events might be expected. Extremely little of this, however, occurs. The text and context were both very suitable to the circumstances of the country, and, in a general way, he uses them for this purpose. But he is exceedingly cautious of committing himself by expressing an opinion, either of the court, or the country party; which plainly implies, that while he was not at liberty to condemn, he was unwilling to justify. He tells the parliament very faithfully ' that much of the evil which had come upon the country, had originated within their own walls,' and warns them against ' oppression, self-seeking, and contrivances for persecution.'"

In this flaming Independent's ever-varying defence of Owen's republican and seditious sentiments, he shews himself in no wise scrupulous concerning the mode adopted by him for the exculpation of his hero. Thus, in the present instance, while endeavouring to prove Owen's *cunning* and *strength of nerve* in the moderation of the eulogy which he pronounced on the murderers of his lawful sovereign, he has recourse to the preposterous trick of representing him as a complete time-server: For he makes this open avowal, " The apology made by Owen in regard to another affair, is here perhaps quite as applicable. *His superiors were persons whose commands were not to be gainsayed!*" Such an injudicious eulogist and defender, as Mr. Orme, can see no impropriety in complying with " the commands of superiors," when they are issued for palliating murder and rebellion. Even by his own showing, what a stain is this upon the character of the supple preacher! A vast difference may here be perceived between the conduct of Owen and that of a naturalized foreigner, Meric CASAUBON, the worthy and loyal son of the famous Isaac Casaubon, concerning whom it is said: " In 1649 [the very year in which Owen's sermon was preached,] Mr. Greaves of Grays Inn, an intimate friend of our author, brought him a message from Oliver Cromwell, then Lieutenant General of the Parliament Forces, *to bring him to Whitehall to confer with him about matters of moment,* but his wife being then lately dead, and not, as he said, buried, he desired to be excused. Mr. G. afterwards came again; and our author fearing some bad consequence of the affair, desired to know the meaning of it, with which Mr. G. refused to acquaint him. But at last, returning, he told him, ' that the ' Lieutenant General intended to promote him, and to employ his pen in ' writing the history of the late war, desiring at the same time that *the mat-* ' *ters of fact might be* IMPARTIALLY *represented.*' Dr. Casaubon returned his hearty thanks for the honour intended him, but declared, ' that he was in- ' capable in several respects for such an employment, and could not so im- ' partially engage in it but that *his subject would oblige him to make such* ' *reflections as would be ungrateful, if not injurious, to his lordship.*' Not-

quotation: "I think it needless for me to mention any of the words of King Charles the First: His injuries and blood cry louder than the voice of thunder. 'If a robber,' says Salma-

withstanding this answer, Cromwell seemed so sensible of his worth that he ordered, that, upon the first demand, there should be delivered to him three or four hundred pounds by a bookseller in London, whose name was Cromwell, whenever his occasions should require, without acknowledging any benefactor at the receipt of it. But this offer he rejected, though his circumstances were then mean. At the same time it was proposed by Mr. G. who belonged to the library at St. James's, 'that if our author would 'gratify Cromwell in the request above-mentioned, he would restore to him 'all his father's books, which were then in the royal library there, being 'given by King James, and would give him a patent for three hundred 'pounds *per annum*, to be paid to the family as long as the youngest son of 'Dr. Casaubon should live:' But this was likewise refused."—Yet that was not a solitary instance, among the suffering Episcopal Clergy, of integrity and incorrupt fidelity. I produce it in this place, because the subject of it was afterwards called to endure some of Owen's coarse invectives, for having exposed his conduct when Vice-chancellor of Oxford, in putting his hat upon his head when the Lord's Prayer was repeated in Christ Church at the conclusion of Divine Service. In reference to the doctor's publishing "a solemn denial of the truth" of this report, Mr. Orme causes it to appear *almost as plausible* as his own ingenious figments about Baxter's "positive charges preferred against Owen, as the grand instrument in pulling down Richard" Cromwell: On which, in his usual style he magisterially asserts, "The internal evidence is by no means in favour of the correctness of these statements!" The memory both of Owen and Baxter was unaccountably treacherous and shy, when called upon to deliver their records of past misdeeds; too frequently, on such occasions, they took advantage of *lapsus annorum*, and could on no account be induced to recollect. It is on record, however, in one of Owen's publications, that he had a great antipathy to the use of the Lord's Prayer after "the good, long, solemn prayers" of himself and other gifted individuals. His own expressions on this subject are here subjoined: "I ask, whether the repetition of these words [*Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.*] after men have been long praying for the things contained in them, *as the manner of some is*, be not so remote from any pretence or colour of warrant in the scripture, as that it is, in plain terms, RIDICULOUS!" In those days of lax scholastic discipline, the man who could call the appendage of the Lord's Prayer to a mere *human* performance "RIDICULOUS," would feel no hesitation at expressing his dislike of that Divine "Form of sound words," with consummate effrontery, by placing his hat on his pate, or by marching out of the Church.

But Mr. Orme is not content to rest his defence of Owen at that "critical juncture" on "the modesty and inoffensiveness" of his Fast-Day discourse immediately after the murder of his majesty: He tells us, Owen's superiors "were aware of the importance of having their conduct sanctioned, even in appearance, by a preacher of Owen's respectability; and on this account, it is probable, he was chosen to discharge a function which it is impossible to suppose he would have coveted." The reader may form some judgment of Owen's *respectability* as a preacher by comparing it with some of his violent associates in the ministry, whose seditious expressions are quoted in a succeeding note, page 387. His previous respectability is laid, even by Mr. Orme himself, on the very infirm basis of violent Republicanism and Independency. It appears principally to rest on his having deserted the ranks of Presbyterianism, for which act he was rewarded with the living of Coggeshall, after he had been deprived of that of Fordham. Of this latter event Mr. Orme relates some mystifying circumstances: "On a report that the sequestered incumbent of Fordham was dead, the patron presented another to the living, and dispossessed Owen. From this it would appear, that, in such cases, the parliamentary presentations did not permanently interfere with the rights of the patron," &c. In this curious manner is Owen's removal narrated: Some mystery lurks beneath the whole transaction, which requires some further elucidation.

sins, 'surprizing a traveller in a wood, should disarm him, rob 'him, strip him and tie him to a tree, and a wild beast of the 'forest, coming upon him thus bound should fall upon him, tear

As to Mr. Orme's assumed "probability," that Owen "would not have covered the discharge of this function," he is either himself grossly mistaken in the estimate which he has formed of the man's character, or he wishes to misrepresent him to others. For "it is impossible to suppose" any republican enterprise in which that rising and ambitious ecclesiastic would have refused to engage. His Calvinistic obsequiousness had been sufficiently approved. In compliance with "the signs of the times," which, according quotation in a subsequent page, from PHILLIPS's *Chronicles*, then portended good to Independency, Owen soon took his station in the congregational ranks, and obtained a good and competent share of sequestered ecclesiastical booty. His ambition aimed at higher preferment, than either the living of Fordham in Essex or that of Coggeshall afforded. His biographer informs us, "It does not appear that Owen's *silence on the subject of the King's death* lost him the favour of Parliament: for, on the 19th of April following, we find him again preaching before it, and the chief officers of the army, when he delivered his celebrated sermon on *the shaking and translation of the heavens and the earth*; for which he next day received the thanks of the House and an order to print it. It was this sermon, I apprehend, that introduced Owen to the acquaintance of Cromwell, who then heard him for the first time, and was much pleased with the discourse. Cromwell.....laying his hand upon Owen's shoulder, in the familiar manner which he used to his friends, said, 'Sir, you are the person I must be acquainted with.'—Owen modestly replied, 'That will be much more to my advantage than yours.' [A very modest hint indeed!]—'We shall soon see that,' said Cromwell." And they did "soon see it." For, by the usurper's interest, Owen immediately received an order for £400 per annum, as one of the parliamentary chaplains; he was soon afterwards appointed Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, a situation which the excellent Dr. Hammond had long occupied, and from which he had only a short time previously been ejected; he was then appointed Vice-chancellor of the University and created Doctor in Divinity: and he could proceed no further in the career of his ambition, than to his election as a member of Cromwell's servile Parliament, in which he sate as representative for Oxford. His prevarication and Jesuitry in that Parliament, as stated even by his admirers, cannot fail to remind one of the behaviour of a modern ecclesiastic, more learned than Owen, yet his compeer in levelling notions. The reader will here anticipate my mention of the late JOHN HORNE TOOKE, who was, at the period to which I have alluded, a clergyman in orders. Owen was at length outwitted by some of his republican friends, who employed him as their instrument in drawing up a petition to hinder Cromwell's acceptance of the title of KING. Mr. Orme says, "This disappointment [of the usurper's hopes] was not likely to be forgotten by Cromwell. His conduct did not advance his interest at court; for, from this time, he does not appear to have been much about Cromwell. Cromwell's death took place in the same year, and Owen declares, that he had not seen him for a long time before.—All those are evidences of decreasing favour; but the most conclusive proof soon followed. On the third of July, the Protector resigned the Chancellorship of Oxford; his son Richard was chosen successor on the eighteenth; who, in six weeks after, dismissed Owen from the office of Vice-chancellor, and appointed Dr. John Conant, a Presbyterian and Rector of Exeter College, in his room." It was a happy circumstance both for himself and mankind, that he was soon afterwards compelled to retire from public life, and had abundant leisure afforded to him of amending his ways, which had been exceedingly sinuous and cruel, and was left to lay a less exceptionable foundation for fame in the composition of such works of piety as his *Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, *Discourse on the Holy Spirit*, *Meditations on the glory of Christ*, &c.

But Orme proceeds thus in his exculpatory effusions: "Perhaps they expected he would defend or apologize for their measures. If they did, they must have been grievously disappointed, as the discourse maintains a pro-

'him in pieces and devour him, which of these, properly speak-'ing, would be the cause of this man's death?'—It is most certain that the Independents were actually the murderers of King Charles the First, but it is as certain that the Presbyteri-

found and studied silence on the awful transaction of the preceding day."—*A profound and studied silence*, "when a wonderful and horrible thing was committed in the land," is maintained by a man who pretended to be a messenger of the gospel of peace! And this too at a time when another Calvinist minister of far greater piety informs us, *the very stones cried out*: For "at the instant when the blow was given, there was such a dismal universal groan among the thousands of people that were within sight of it, (as it were with one consent,) as he never heard before," &c.—After stating his text and the title of the sermon, the apologist tells us. "From which a direct application to the recent events might be expected. Extremely little of this, however, occurs." But let any man read the text, Jer. xv, 19, 20, in conjunction with *the very significant* title prefixed to the sermon, "RIGHTEOUS ZEAL ENCOURAGED BY DIVINE PROTECTION," and he will instantly declare that these alone would speak volumes of approbation to the listening regicides: Yet good Mr. Orme calls this, and much more, "*extremely little*." What, then, does a modern republican desire? He next gives us an additional proof of the servility and time-serving propensities of his hero. Owen "is exceedingly cautious of committing himself by expressing an opinion either of the Court or the Country party; which plainly implies, that *while he was not at liberty to* CONDEMN, he was unwilling to JUSTIFY." His text, title, and the contents of his sermon, undoubtedly "justified" the King's murderers; nor can any plausible reason be assigned why Owen "was not at liberty to CONDEMN" such a monstrous proceeding. How pusillanimous was this conduct when compared with that of Hammond and Gauden! Both these christian worthies addressed spirited remonstrances to General Fairfax and the army, when the latter were sitting "deep in consultation" on the death of his majesty. With wonderful resolution, and magnanimously braving all danger, which was far greater than any to which Owen subjected himself, these two good and loyal men considered themselves "at liberty to condemn" the bare contemplation of such a murderous deed, and caused several thousands of their unanswerable tracts on that subject to be printed and distributed. See, in the preceding notes, pages 299, 303 and 305, other points, on which, when compared with Dr. Hammond, this obstreperous parliamentary chaplain appears to manifest disadvantage. The "exceeding cautiousness" which his eulogist applies to him on that memorable occasion, is the greatest stain that could possibly attach itself to a Christian minister.

Let us now briefly examine the grounds of this *disinterested* encomium of "exceeding cautiousness." Orme presents us with two extracts from this discourse: As the first of them is a servile copy of a passage which will be quoted from one of Dr. Samuel Annesley's sermons preached before the Commons a few months before the king's death, I forbear to quote it here. The other reads thus: "When Kings turn seducers, they seldom want good store of followers. Now if the blind lead the blind, they shall both fall into a ditch. When Kings command unrighteous things and people suit them with willing compliance; none doubts but THE DESTRUCTION OF THEM BOTH IS JUST AND RIGHTEOUS." The word "people" is evidently applied by Owen to the suffering royalists, who, according to his doctrine, were justly punished for "suiting with willing compliance the king's unrighteous commands."—I now proceed to quote other two passages from the same discourse: "Give me the number of witnesses of Jesus whose souls under the altar cry for REVENGE against their false-worshipping murderers, and the tale of them whose lives have been sacrificed to the insatiable ambition and tyranny of blood thirsty potentates, with the issues of God's just vengeance upon the sons of men for complaining of these two things; and you will have gathered in the whole harvest of blood, leaving but a few straggling gleanings upon other occasions. And *if these things have been found in England*, and the present administration with SINCERE HUMILIATION do run cross to unravel this close-wove web of destruction, all thoughts of recovery will be quickly too late: And thus far sin and providence drive a parallel."—"He that is entrusted with

ans first murdered him in his political capacity, as a prelude to the murder of his person ;* they compelled him to give up all his power to them ; and then did, as Dugdale observes, ' worse ' than murder him in the manner and circumstances of his con- ' finement, before the Independents pulled them out of the sad- ' dle, and forced the King out of their hands ; and were the ' actual executioners of that royal martyr whom the Presbyteri- ' ans had in effect condemned. I cannot deny but as soon as

the sword, and dares not do justice on every one that dares do injustice, is afraid of the creature, but makes very bold with his Creator." I appeal to any reader possessing common sense, if these passages do not contain " *a direct application* to events that were then recent :" But the innocent and unsuspecting biographer says, " Extremely little of *this* occurs." I shall only give another sentence from the wise and redoubtable Mr. Orme, who, after presenting us with his two extracts, tells us with wonderful simplicity, " Had I been disposed to quote passages to shew that Owen disapproved of the death of Charles, I should have selected these as well suited for this purpose."

Suffering all this refined sophistry to pass, no one who reads Mr. Henry's statement in the preceding page will entertain any doubt concerning the need of " exceeding cautiousness" on the part of the court-preacher. A general detestation of the King's murderers had, on the day of execution, been unequivocally expressed. Public affairs at that crisis seemed to be almost *in æquilibrio*, and it could not then be discerned which of the rebellious parties would gain political ascendancy. Under such circumstances the subtle address and consummate hypocrisy of Owen displayed themselves: Not knowing which of the successful regicides to bespatter with his cheap and ready praise, he was " exceedingly cautious" about bestowing fulsome eulogies on any individual. These he reserved for brighter days and clearer times, but did not hesitate to afford his undisguised sanction to the general measures of the whole Calvinistic party, and to that bloody illustration of their principles which had been recently given. Owen's astuteness and hypocrisy are still further manifest, when it is considered, that the sermon, by which an impartial posterity is left to form a judgment on his spirit and conduct, was prepared for the press in the seclusion of his study, some days after the fashionable grimaces and passionate extacies employed in its delivery had subsided. Yet in those moments of coolness when he had an opportunity of softening down all the " rhetorical applications of the words of scripture" which his biographer palliates on another occasion, and of suppressing many objectionable passages which had escaped from his lips in the heat of preaching,—he publishes to the world a discourse, the very *text* and *title* of which will consign his name to deserved execration, and the contents of which are unchristian, disloyal, enthusiastic, and infamous.

* " Did he [King James] not say, ' that Monarchy and Presbytery agreed ' like God and the devil ?' and have not we found it so, if we consider the carriage of our new-fangled Presbyterians in England to Charles the first, his son ? But alas ! I am mistaken, they fasted and prayed, preached and writ against it, praying for a diversion of all such black intentions. And yet the Presbyterian took the sceptre out of his hand, in taking away the militia, of which it was an emblem ; cast down his throne, by depriving him of his negative voice ; took his crown, the fountain of honour, off his head, by denying those honour on whom he had worthily conferred it, without them ; took away his supremacy, signified by the sacred unction wherewith he was anointed, in denying him the liberty of his conscience in the point of Episcopacy and church-government. Nor would they treat a minute with their King, till they had made him acknowledge himself guilty (as they say) of all the blood that had been spilt throughout his dominions : And notwithstanding all the concessions on his part that could possibly be granted, even to the very grating of his princely conscience ; when he bid them ask flesh from his bones, and he would not deny it, if it might in any measure redound to the benefit of his people, praying that he might keep his

'this hellish murther was committed, many of the Presbyterians 'did loudly disclaim against it, seeming as much to wash their 'hands of the guilt, as Pilate did from the death of our Saviour.'" In their answer to this pamphlet, the Presbyterians say: "The sectaries, who all sheltered themselves under the name of *Independents,* (though of quite different principles from the sober party of that denomination,) were the true criminals. He likewise confesseth that *those pulled the Presbyterians out of the saddle and forced the King out of their hands;* which plainly shews, that they could not have compassed the King's ruin and the subversion of monarchy, but upon the ruins of the Presbyterian

conscience whole,—the Queen regent of all good men's actions, and he hoped there were none would force this Queen before him in his house, as Ahasuerus said to Haman,—yet notwithstanding all this, was it voted unsatisfactory so long till the Independent army came from Edenborough, surprised and murthered him. He that said, 'the Presbyterian held him down by the 'hair, *while* the Independents cut off his head,' said true enough: They murthered him as a King, before ever they murthered him as a man: and when time serves, the philosopher's maxim will pass for good and current logic at court: *Qui vult media ad finem, vult etiam et ipsum finem;* He that wills the means conducing to the end, wills also the end it self:—Ergo, (will the royalists say) 'since the Presbyterian put such courses in practice 'as tended to the King's ruin, they certainly intended it, and are as deeply 'guilty as others.' Nay, may not the Independent say, 'You took off his 'authority, and we took off his head; you made him *no King*, and we 'made him *no body;* you made him *a man of blood*, and we treated him *ac-* 'cordingly; therefore at your doors, O ye Presbyterian hypocrites, his 'innocent blood is laid: Nor is it any other than your actions have been 'all along, and those committed by your ancestors to former princes and 'Kings.'

"But sure there is some excuse remaining; *they fought for religion!* I wonder when the church did change her weapons: Must prayers and tears be turned into pike and musquet? Did God refuse to have his temple built by David, a man after his own heart, because only his hands were blood? and will he now condescend to have his church repaired, and her breaches made up with skulls and carcasses? Must blood be tempered with the mortar that must bind the stones of his temple with unity? or are the smitings of brethren, strokes fit to polish her stones withal? Hath God refused *the soft voice* to remain in thunder? or hath his Spirit left *the gentle posture* of descending down upon his apostles, to the approaching of a mighty and rushing wind? To go about the reforming of a church by human strength, is quite as opposite to the nature of reformation, as is the going about the repairing of a castle-wall with a needle and thread. He that looks to find such inestimable goodness within iron sides, [cannon] may as well expect to find a pearl in a lobster. No, no, the church must not be defended with helmets, the resisters of blows; but with mitres, which have received the cleft already; not by broken pates, but by cloven tongues; not by men clad in buff, but by priests clothed with righteousness. Decisions in matters of faith, must not be determined by armour of proof; nor did the sword of the Spirit ever make way to the conscience by cutting through the flesh. He therefore who takes up arms against his sovereign with pretences of defending his religion, doth but take such courses as are condemned by the same religion he would defend: and indeed, he doth but make religion his stalking-horse to blind him, whilst he aims at that which he would have us least suspect him; which when he hath effected, he means to get up upon the horse, and ride him at his pleasure. They pretend the *good* of the church, and intend nothing more but the Goods thereof; and, like dissembling lapwings, make a show of being nearest the nest, when they are farthest off it."—*Sphinx Lugduno-Genevensis.*

interest; and that the Presbyterians did not deliver the King into the hands of the sectaries, but he was forced out of their hands* and themselves pulled out of the saddle to make way for that fatal violence upon his royal person."

This reply is very weak; for whoever has read the note in a preceding page (348,) will perceive that the General Assembly in Scotland had loudly exclaimed against "his Majesty being brought to some of his houses in or near London, with honour,

* "Our sovereign (of blessed memory) brings the contest down, 'to his 'surprisal at Holmby, and the distractions in the two houses, the army, 'and the city, ensuing upon it. These,' says that excellent prince, 'are 'but the strugglings of those twins which lately one womb enclosed, the 'younger striving to prevail against the elder; what the Presbyterians have 'hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.' In fine, one finished what the other began: for the King died at last, but of those wounds which he at first received in his authority. His Majesty, upon his leaving Oxford and going to the Scots, clears this yet further: where he calls it, 'adventuring upon their loyalty, who first began his troubles."

"*The truth of this matter*, says he, [the author of the INTEREST OF ENGLAND,] *is cleared by a passage of our late sovereign, in a letter to his Majesty that now is*: 'All the lesser factions were at first officious servants 'to Presbytery their great master, till time and military success discovering 'to each their particular advantages, invited them to part stakes, and, 'leaving the joint stock of UNIFORM RELIGION, pretended each to drive for 'their party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not only of the church and state, but of Presbytery itself, which 'seemed and hoped at first to have ENGROSSED ALL.'

"OBSERVATION. The last line is as true as any of the rest; but all truths are not to be spoken. Indeed this slip is somewhat with the grossest. Not to trouble myself with their formal fopperies, of Deacons, Elders, and their parish-meetings,—those are but popular amusements;—we will pass to what is more pertinent, and see how he acquits his friends of joining with the Independents. *The truth is*, says the same author, *Sectarianism grew up in a mystery of iniquity and state-policy, and it was not well discerned, till it became almost triumphant by military successes.*'

"It is a strange thing the Presbyterians should not see what they themselves contrived; what all others took notice of; and what the late King offered to prove, in his declaration of August the 12th, 1642. The insolence of sectaries being not only winked at, but publiquely avowed; and the law thwarted, to protect them. See what one says, no stranger to their practices, to prove and evidence the combination. 'The leading-men, or 'grandees, first divided themselves into two factions or juntoes, PRESBYTERIANS, and INDEPENDENTS: seeming to look only at the church, but 'they involved the interests of the common-wealth.—These having *seemingly* divided themselves, and having *really* divided the Houses, and captivated their respective parties' judgement,—teaching them by an implicit 'faith, *Jurare in verba Magistri*, to pin their opinions upon their sleeves,—'they begin to advance their projects of monopolizing the profits, preferments, and power of the kingdom in themselves. To which purpose, 'though the leaders of each party seem to maintain a hot opposition, yet 'when any profit or preferment is to be reached at, it is observed that a 'powerful Independent especially moves for a leading Presbyterian, or a 'leading Presbyterian for an Independent: and seldom doth one oppose or 'speak against another, in such cases, unless somewhat of particular 'spleen or competition come between, which causeth them to break the 'common rule. By this means the grandees of each faction seldom miss 'their mark; since, an Independent moving for a Presbyterian, his reputation carries the business clear with the Independent party: and the Presbyterians will not oppose a leading man of their own side.'" *Interest Mistaken.*

freedom and safety, *before ever there be any security had from him for the good of religion," &c.* In a *Solemn and Seasonable Warning to all Ranks,* Feb. xii, 1645, they say, "Unless men blot out of their hearts the love of religion, and cause of God, and cast off all care of their country, laws and liberties, &c., they must now or never appear active [against the King] each one stretching himself to, yea, and beyond their power; it is not time to dally, or go about the business by halves; not to be almost, but altogether zealous. *Cursed is he that doeth the work of the Lord negligently.*" In another *Seasonable and Necessary Warning,* dated July 27, 1649, they say: "But if his Majesty or any having or pretending power and commission from him, shall invade this kingdom, upon pretext of establishing him in the exercise of his royal power; as it will be a high provocation against God to be accessary or assisting thereto, so it will be a necessary duty to resist and oppose the same." * This was their hypocritical decla-

* The best criterion for forming a judgment about the alleged innocence of the Presbyterians, will be a perusal of the subjoined extracts from the sermons of a few of their preachers, delivered before the House of Commons, a few months prior to the decapitation of King Charles.

"The people are now as then, [viz. under the Jewish Theocracy,] *We will have a King:* He hearkens to the people; sets the King upon his throne: They shout out, *Vivat.* Surely they are now happy. He reigns one year well; two years indifferent. What then? you see the scripture veils; I wave it. What he did in the business of Amalek, Gibeon, David, Abimelech; what wars, famine, cruelty Israel lay under, I would rather you should read, than I speak. God give the King a spirit of grace and government.—*Woe unto thee, O land, when thy King is a child,* is rather meant of a child in manners, than in years."—S. ANNESLEY, 1648.

"In the execution of Justice, fear not the power or greatness of any. The counsel that Jehoshaphat gives to the judges, I shall give to you: 'Take 'heed what you do; for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with 'you in the judgment.' Does innocent blood cry, and will you not hear what it speaks, what it demands, whom it accuseth? Blood cannot be buried in a grave of oblivion: for the earth will disclose its blood, and no longer cover its slain."—M. BARKER, 1648.

"Right Honourable, consider this, those persons who have neglected the execution of justice upon their most implacable enemies when God has given them into their hands, those God has left to perish basely and miserably. See it in Ahab; God gives Benhadad into Ahab's hands: *Because thou hast let a man go that I had appointed unto destruction; therefore thy life shall be for his life.* So concerning Saul's sparing Agag: And he would shift off the command; therefore God shifted him out of his kingdom, when he neglected to do justice to an implacable enemy, when God had given him into his hands.—Set some of those grand malefactors a mourning, that have caused the kingdom to mourn so many years in garments rolled in blood, by the execution of justice."—T. BROOK, 1648.

"Benhadad's life was once in Ahab's hand, and he ventured God's displeasure to let him go: But see how Benhadad rewards him: 'Fight neither 'against great nor small, but against the King of Israel.' Honourable and worthy, if God do not lead you to do justice upon those that have been the great actors in shedding of innocent blood, never think of gaining their love, by sparing them. For they will, when opportunity offers, return again upon you: But then they will not fight against the poor and mean, but against those that have been the fountain of that authority and power, which had been improved against them."—G. COCKAYN, 1648.

"Neither let your eyes spare, though they are great ones that are guilty. Princes have not any license to offend: Queens themselves have no *obstante*

ration after the King had fallen into the hands of General Fairfax; in which event they saw the extinction of their own brief, illegal and much-abused authority. Their brethren of

for sin. It is the misery of greatness, the offence is as great as the offender; the sin as sovereign as the person. Great persons do not so much commit sin as teach it: Their disobedience is ever masculine, and begets followers. The highest court may reach the highest person. Causes and not persons are to be heard in your parliament.

"It was a bloody saying of one once your prisoner, 'that if the King 'commanded him, he would not care to burn all the cities of the kingdom.' O! let not these sons of Zeruiah, that shed the blood of war in peace; let not their hoary head go down to the grave in peace; they have been the troublers of Israel. Enter into your chambers, and shut the doors upon you, and revolve again and again all the sad stories of these men's cruelty; sum up whatever loss and damage the kingdom has suffered by them; yea, exact not only the principal, but the utmost farthing of use and interest."—R. HEYRICK, 1646.

"I beseech you, be impartial in doing justice; and let not the great flies break through the web, whilst the little ones are entangled: To spare the great birds, and destroy the small (not so hurtful) is no good justice. There are many wonder, there are no more delinquents called to the bar. Take heed you spare not brother Benhadad, lest you and the kingdom fare the worse for it."—R. KENTISH, 1647.

"By new oppositions he wastes and destroys the enemies by degrees; every plague devours some: The frogs some, the lice some, the locusts some. So Edgehill some, Newbury some, York some. A man might reckon you a good many SOMES. And so God *somes* them out by degrees, and thereby gratifies his people's prayers, as well as promotes his work. The deliverance out of Egypt shall never be forgotten; no, nor England's out of our Episcopal bondage."—CASE, 1646.

I subjoin an extract from one of Owen's sermons: For, though he had then deserted the Presbyterian ranks and was become an Independent, he resolved not to be outdone in expressions of profaneness and rebellion by any of his *quondam* associates. Mr. Orme, when speaking about this discourse, says: "There are some passages which seem to encourage more of a warlike spirit than I think quite justifiable on christian principles." From the specimen already given of that gentleman's MODERATION on this subject, the reader will be justified in concluding, that Owen's sermon must have been intolerably "warlike" and unchristian if Mr. Orme cannot "think some passages *quite justifiable*." Such a conclusion will be confirmed by a perusal of the following quotation: "Past blessings and deliverances of God's people, are store mercies laid up for believers against a rainy day, and when we want present refreshments, what a comfort is it to chew the cud upon the blessings of former ages? Make use then of your past mercies with promising incomings, carry them about you by faith, use them or they will grow rusty."—In another passage of that sermon, Owen says: "*Where is the God of Marston Moor, and the God of Naseby?*, is an acceptable expostulation in a gloomy day. O what a catalogue of mercies has this nation attained to in a time of trouble! God came from Naseby, and the Holy One from the west. Selah. His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise. He went forth in the North, and in the East did not withhold his hand. The poor town wherein I live, is more enriched with a store of mercies in a few months, than with a full trade of many years," &c.

In allusion to the last paragraph, Mr. Orme says: 'This passage is quoted 'by L' Estrange as a proof that Owen was one of those fanatics who be-'lieved that *success was an evidence of the goodness of a cause*. Dr. Grey also, 'commenting on a passage of Hudibras, affirms, on the same ground, that 'Owen was of this sentiment. But this is a gross perversion of his mean-'ing. It is a mere rhetorical application of the words of scripture, with 'the design of impressing the importance of remembering past mercies and 'deliverances.' Such language we should designate by a stronger term of reprehension than "a mere rhetorical application;" we should call it

the Independent persuasion were divided into many minor denominations, having no common bond of union except that of *lax and variable church-government*, as separate congregations: They were as bigotted and intolerant as the Presbyterians; but they had discovered by experience that there was no better plan for obtaining their purposes, than the establishment of a mutual toleration in religion, which, it is evident from many of their own writings, was intended to operate as a public lure to the unwary, for the benefit of their own party, till they were firmly fixed in the chair of ecclesiastical authority to which they aspired. This latter circumstance was one of those grievances which gave uncommon umbrage to the Presbyterians, who were rigid disciplinarians; and they evinced in every possible way their aversion to the progress of religious liberty.* This

"most profane rhetoric." We assigned Owen his proper station when we placed him (page 268,) by the side of the foreign and native Calvinistic prophets. But, it appears, Mr. Orme is chagrined at the very thoughts of his hero being found in such a disreputable association, and he relates, as an exculpation to the charge, which he must have been conscious might be easily proved against the doctor, that "Owen and Gataker are introduced in a rather singular connection, as the opponents of that knavish impostor, William Lilly the astrologer." The complaisant biographer then sagely observes, "These are only some of the many proofs, that the Puritans and Independents were not the visionary fanatics of the age." In this last clause the word "sole" may have been omitted through the carelessness of the printer: When it is supplied, the sentence will correctly conclude thus, "The Puritans and Independents were not the SOLE visionary fanatics of the age." They undoubtedly had too many associates in their "fanaticism;" and as long as this "MERE RHETORICAL APPLICATION of the words of scripture" stands on record against John Owen, he will always be accounted to to have held a conspicuous rank among "the fanatics."—But one of the most disingenuous of Orme's tricks remains yet to be stated. To shew that "Owen and the party with which he acted" were falsely charged with "the sentiment of *success being an evidence of Divine approbation*," he quotes a passage which Owen wrote a long time afterwards, when the Providence of God had put down the mighty Calvinists from their seat, and had exalted the humble and meek Arminian clergy. No one pretends that Owen retained his former sentiments to the close of life: Adversity is a wonderful teacher of moderation, and some of its good effects may be perceived in the case of Owen. For in the concluding sentence, which Orme adduces in opposition to the imputation on Owen, the doctor himself ingenuously admits his former folly in the following terms: "And if I, or any other, have, at any time, applied this unto any cause not warranted by the only rule of its justification, it no way reflects on the truth of the principle which I assert, nor gives countenance to the false one which he ascribes to me." The doctor had previously laid down a better principle than the old one of mere success which he held in his youthful days, and then tells us, *in as plain words as he usually employed*, that if he, or any other person, had applied the former false sentiment "unto any cause not warranted *by the only rule of its justification*," which he had likewise specified, such misapplication, he says, in "no way reflects on the truth of the [new] principle which he then asserted." But Mr. Orme says, "If this quotation does not satisfy the reader, he must be unreasonably sceptical." To such "unreasonable scepticism," then, we must plead guilty, under a strong conviction that *in this plea* we shall have the company of every Englishman who can appreciate the difference between loose declamation and plain reasoning: For the quotation from the doctor does not contain a single word in denial of his having at one period thought *success an evidence of Divine approbation*.

* Among a hundred other instances of detestable intolerance, may be quoted the following extract from *the Declaration of the Army and the*

schism among the Calvinists induced the disappointed and rebellious Presbyterians at every favourable opportunity to seek a co-alition with the royalists; and they entertained hopes that, on the restoration of their lawful and exiled monarch, they should obtain from him concessions in behalf of Presbytery as important as those which they had forcibly extorted from his murdered father. The young and royal adventurer had, in his bold but unsuccessful expedition to Scotland, given fresh impulse to these hopes; and, when firmly seated on the throne of his ancestors, he was frequently reminded of *the debt of gratitude* which he owed to his Presbyterian subjects. Though it was confessedly for their own convenience they adopted this politic mode of proceeding, which they had formerly blamed in the Independents,* yet the royalists very prudently received their overtures with frankness, and shewed themselves willing to give some credence to their solemn and re-iterated protestations concerning their *innocence from the great transgression.* It is amazing that, after the English nation had most unequivocally manifested its aversion to the entire fabric of Presbytery, these sanguine Calvinists should ever have dreamt of ultimately establishing it on the ruins of Episcopacy.† For the only difference between them

Country, published in 1648 by the Presbytery of Belfast, whose loyalty was undoubtedly of a less questionable character than that of any of their brethren in the three kingdoms: "And whereas the sectarian party in England hath of late usurped an illegal power over both King and Parliament, and are resolving AN UNIVERSAL TOLERATION IN RELIGION, and the subversion of lawful government by King, Lords and Commons; and have taken upon them to proclaim all the adherers to the present government in the person of the present King, to be rebels and traitors: all which their usurping practices they visibly pretend to force upon us in this kingdom, so soon as they can transport hither to be obeyed and received by us contrary to our league and covenant. For this cause we do faithfully oblige ourselves unanimously with our estates and lives to resist and oppose any such irregular commands, which shall proceed from them, and that we shall maintain the just power of King and Parliament against all the opposers thereof."

* Bastwick, the celebrated Presbyterian, uttered this complaint concerning the Independents: "The Presbyterian government not suiting with their humour,—they [the Independents] abhor it, and all such as endeavour to establish it; and wish rather that all the old trumpery were brought in again; and profess, they had rather have the government of the Prelates: Yea, some of them have not been ashamed to protest unto Prelatical Priests, that before the Presbyters shall rule over them, they will cut all their throats, and join with them for the re-establishing of the Hierarchy.

His infamous co-adjutor Prynne repeated the same allegations in other language, some years prior to the death of the king: "Their libels, actions, speeches, proclaim a plotted, avowed confederacy among some furious ring-leaders of these Independent Sectaries, against the Parliament, Assembly, and all their resolves in matters of religion. That which confirms me in this opinion, is, first the new seditious covenants which the members of some Independent congregations enter into, to adhere, defend, maintain, to the uttermost of their power, and contend for even to blood, the establishment of that Independent form of church government which themselves have set up, and to oppose the Presbyterian."

† Lord Clarendon seems to have understood their dissimulation, for he tells us in *the Continuation of his Life*: "The House of Commons seemed equally constituted to what could be wished; for though there were many

and the Independents was, that the one party displayed a little more guile than the other, in giving practical effect to the principles of Calvin, their common master, and of his immediate followers.

Presbyterian members, and some of all other factions in religion, who did all promise themselves some liberty and indulgence for their several parties, yet they all professed great zeal for the establishing of the King in his full power. And the major part of the House was of sober and prudent men, who had been long known to be very weary of all the late governments, and heartily to desire and pray for the King's return. And there were many, who had either themselves been actual and active malignants and delinquents in the late King's time, or the sons of such, who inherited their fathers' virtues; both which classes of men were excluded from being capable of being elected to serve in Parliament, not only by former ordinances, but by express caution in the very writs which were sent out to summon this Parliament, and were notwithstanding made choice of and returned by the country, and received without any hesitation in the House, and treated by all men with the more civility and respect for their known malignity: so that the King, though it was necessary to have patience in the expectations of their resolutions in all important points, which could not suddenly be concluded in such a popular assembly, was very reasonably assured, that he should have nothing pressed upon him that should be ungrateful, with reference to the church or state.

"It is true, the Presbyterians were very numerous in the House, and many of them men of good parts, and had a great party in the army, and a greater in the city, and except with reference to Episcopacy were desirous to make themselves grateful to the King in the settling all his interest, and especially in vindicating themselves from the odious murder of the King by loud and passionate inveighing against that monstrous parricide, and with the highest animosity denouncing the severest judgments not only against those who were immediately guilty of it, but against those principal persons who had most notoriously adhered to Cromwell in the administration of his government, that is, most eminently opposed them and their faction. They took all occasions to declare, 'that the power and interest of the party had 'been the chief means to bring home the King;' and used all possible endeavours that the King might be persuaded to think so too, and that the very Covenant had at last done him good and expedited his return, by the causing it to be hung up in churches, from whence Cromwell had cast it out, and their ministers pressing upon the conscience of all those who had taken it, 'that they were bound by that clause which concerned the defence 'of the King's person, to take up arms, if need were, on his behalf, and 'to restore him to his rightful government;' when the very same ministers had obliged them to take up arms against the King his father by virtue of that Covenant, and to fight against him till they had taken him prisoner, which produced his murder. This party was much displeased, that the King declared himself so positively on behalf of Episcopacy, and would hear no other prayers in his chapel than those contained in the book of Common Prayer, and that all those formalities and solemnities were now again resumed and practised, which they had caused to be abolished for so many years past. Yet the King left all churches to their liberty, to use such forms of devotion which they liked best; and such of their chief preachers who desired it, or were desired by their friends, were admitted to preach before him, even without the surplice, or any other habit than they made choice of. But this connivance would not do their business: Their preaching made no proselytes who were not so before; and the resort of the people to those churches where the Common Prayer was again introduced, was evidence enough of their inclination; and they saw the King's chapel always full of those, who had used to possess the chief benches in their assemblies. So that it was manifest that nothing but the supreme authority wouldbe able to settle their discipline; and therefore with their usual confidence they were very importunate in the House of Commons, 'that the ecclesiastical govern-'ment might be settled and remain according to the covenant, which had

We now return to Dr. Heylin's Historical Account of these affairs, which connects itself with Doctor Twisse in manner following: "But the main business of this year, [1643] and the three next following, was the calling,* sitting, and pro-

'been practised many years, and so the people generally well devoted to it, 'whereas the introducing the Common Prayer (with which very few had 'ever been acquainted or heard it read) would very much offend the people, 'and give great interruption to the composing the peace of the kingdom.' This was urged in the House of Commons by eminent men of the party, who believed they had the major part of their mind. And their preachers were as solicitous and industrious to inculcate the same doctrine to the principal persons who had returned with the King, and every day resorted to the court as if they presided there, and had frequent audiences of the King to persuade him to be of the same opinion; from whom they received no other condescensions than they had formerly had at the Hague, with the same gracious affability and expressions to their persons.

"That party in the House that was in truth devoted to the King, and to the old principles of church and of state, which every day increased, thought not fit so to cross the Presbyterians as to make them desperate in their hopes of satisfaction, but, with the concurrence with those who were of contrary factions, diverted the argument by proposing other subjects of more immediate relation to the public peace."—The disappointment of the hopes which were then entertained, was the origin of many of the grievances which the Nonconformists subsequently endured.

* The first notice which I can find of this famous Assembly, is contained in the English edition of that pamphlet which Grotius has marked (page 283) with such just reprehension. It was published two years before the actual appointment of that reverend convention, and is in every respect worthy of those desperate fire-brands, the two Du Moulins. The subjoined extracts will shew the reader, that Grotius did not speak unadvisedly with his lips when he said, "This publication openly aims at the throat of his Grace the Archbishop:"

"II. That in that great work of reformation which is of moment and consequence, far beyond the settling of civil affairs, there be appointed by both the Houses, a committee, or convocation and meeting of forty or fifty English Divines,—men that were not of, and did no way favour, the late convocation; and such as be unpartial, learned and uncorrupt in their lives and doctrine, such as Dr. Usher Archbishop of Armach, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Twisse, and the like, with ten Scots Divines, to which be called eight Forcign Divines of the most learned and famous; such as Rivetus, Primrose, Diodati, Moulin, and the like, who may treat and agree upon a settled platform of church-government, suitable to the monarchy of Great Britain, which ought to be ratified and enacted by Parliament.

"III. That since our neighbour churches have enjoyed more peace and safety under their discipline, our discipline be framed upon the pattern of theirs, which hitherto hath not been subject to the inconveniences that ours is; such are: To be rent with schisms, and poisoned with heresies: To have the whole people of the land and the greatest part of the ministers liable, without any redress, to the unjust usurpations, vexations, and censure of some few bishops: To have, in great many parochial churches, a want of a profitable minister: To have in some of them either seldom or no preaching at all: in others, little or no maintenance: and in most a disproportionable maintenance: Besides the manifold altercations and quarrels about trifles and toys, that our discipline is attended with: It was never heard that any man living under our neighbour churches' discipline was ever so brain-sick as to move questions, whether of the table, pulpit, and font, deserves more reverence and bowing at; or that their synods or consistories made canons and constitutions about placing and railing the communion table, about hoods and surplices, and such needless orders, which bring rather striving then edifying. Since then our neighbour churches' discipline is obnoxious to less disorders, that a discipline be established in England, that be approaching unto theirs, yet a sensible difference kept between theirs and ours.

ceedings of the new Assembly, called *the Assembly of Divines;* but made up also of so many of the Lords and Commons, as might both serve as well to keep them under, and control their

"IV. That the churches' discipline being established, a national Synod be convocated, that may frame a confession of faith, to which may be called a competent number of Foreign divines. However, since so many have been so earnest of late to be in charity with the Roman church, that they have been uncharitable to the reformed churches; let canons be made in the Synod, and an act of Parliament for union with other Protestant churches in matter of doctrine: and all the fire-brands of these late innovations in the church, that have made us a laughing-stock to the neighbour churches, be sharply censured, if not cut off as banes of the church, especially the first raisers of altars, such as Heylin, Pocklington, and the like.

"V. That in that synod, if the English Liturgy be retained, to the end it be received all over England without exceptions, it be reformed and repurged from many corruptions, and from a great deal of dross among the gold, and the good matters that are therein contained.

"VII. That, above all, the holy doctrine of *Justification by Faith only*, which is the main hinge of salvation, be strongly established by an especial canon according to the tenets of all Protestant churches, which canon be sworn and subscribed unto, by all that have taken, and hereafter shall take orders or Ecclesiastical promotions. This being the greatest plague of the church of England, that many men dignified in the church, and masters of colleges, fellows and scholars in the University, defend openly the *justification by works*, which is flat Popery, and the ready way to bring in indulgences, auricular confession, purgatory, and the tyranny of the clergy over the consciences.

"VIII. That likewise the doctrine of *the necessity and efficacy of the sacraments*, especially of baptism, be mainly and distinctly established and explained according to the tenets of all the other reformed churches; since it hath been of late very usual among our time-servers, and those ministers that are as much taken with conformity as they love non-residency and plurality of livings, to be enamoured with all the Popish and Arminians' opinions, and to hold and teach *baptism of water to be of absolute necessity to be saved;* that it doth blot out sins, and regenerate, *Ex opere operato* and *vi nuda actionis* by the bare strength of washing; and that it works necessarily, in the baptized party, faith and the habit of true sanctification; and have grounded their poisonous tenets upon some passages of the liturgy that were not dashed out, nor explained by the reformers of the Roman breviary in King Edward's days; as be the words in the catechism, *the children baptised have all things necessary to salvation, and are undoubtedly saved.* And in the prayer after baptism, where thanks is given to God *for regenerating the infant with his Holy Spirit.* Since then such places have been a stumbling-block to weak ones, and have given fair opportunity of erring to malicious spirits, that, in the task expected of reforming the English liturgy, they be corrected and amended.

"IX. That bowing before of the communion-table, or toward the east, be forbidden under the punishment of deprivation of beneficed men and expulsion of scholars out of the colleges, and the communion-table be kept in the vestry and removed from the eyes of the people but in the time of the communion, to avoid the creeping idolatry.

"X. That the crucifix in a piece of hanging, and other superstitious figures which sometimes in the year are set over the communion-table of many churches and chapels, be removed and abolished; and that the authors or renewers of that superstition be severely punished.

"XI. That the authors of Popish and Arminian books be called in question, and that the pleasure of our late sovereign King James, of blessed memory, be executed, who sent his divines to the Synod of Dort, that the church of England afterwards should be bound by the decisions made there, and that canons be made conformable to the determination of our divines in that Synod.

"XII. That if bishops are thought fit to be retained, there be no more such distance between a bishop and an ordinary minister; and that bishops

actions, as to add some countenance unto them in the eye of the people. A convocation had been appointed by the King when he called the Parliament, the members whereof being

be no more called lords, and that they be enjoined to preach diligently, as is the duty of their place and office.

"XIII. That if some of them sit in Parliament, it be upon wool-sacks, and have no more privileges by their office and places than the Judges, the lord-keeper and treasurer: and that a certain number of deputies from the national Synod, whether bishops or other, be assisting both in the higher House and lower House, for delivering their advices upon any clauses of acts, that may intrench upon the churches' privileges, or are contrary to doctrine or good manners."

On some of these unprecedented propositions I now proceed to offer a few brief remarks:

II. In the Second of these Motions may be perceived the kind of men whom these violent Calvinists wished to compose the contemplated *Assembly of Divines*. All of those who are named were men conspicuous for their attachment to Calvin's peculiarities, with the exception of Archbishop Usher, who, though at that period an admirer of the French Universalists, was afterwards a convert to the scriptural opinions of Arminius, and thought that "without this *universal free invitation of* ALL *by God* were made good, all preaching to convert sinners *as yet in their sins* from the evil of their ways, would want a firm foundation." He also declared, "that all men can will; and that so many will not, it is because they resist God's grace, alledging Acts vii, 51, *Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in hearts and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: As your fathers did, so do ye.* This and much more he then declared and concluded in these words: 'Bishop Overal was in the right, and I AM OF HIS MIND.'"—See Dr. Pierce's Appendix to the *Self-revenger exemplified in Mr. William Barlee.*

III. The Third Motion relates to the establishment of the Presbytery, and conveys a severe rebuke to Archbishop Laud. The Fourth embraces the advice as the Second and Third. The Fifth Motion is given here in an abbreviated form: but this is quite sufficient to shew the ulterior designs of the party.

VII. The undeserved stigma on the Church of England contained in the Seventh Motion, shews the vile spirit of misrepresentation which actuated these ecclesiastical reformers. What "especial canon" of their formation could more fully and explicitly establish "the holy doctrine of *Justification by Faith only*," than our Eleventh Article does, explained as it is by the three succeeding Articles? But it is this explanation, particularly that part of it expressed in the Twelfth Article, which is the chief stumbling-block to high Calvinists: "*Good* WORKS, which follow after justification, are pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true "and lively faith, insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently "known as a tree discerned by the fruit." This language of the Twelfth Article must have proved very unsavoury to Peter duMoulin; because, instead of making the Calvinistic axiom of "ONCE *in grace* ALWAYS *in grace*" the index of a "lively faith," it assigns that honourable office to "GOOD WORKS which follow after justification," as the only scriptural standard of true and lively faith and of advances in christian holiness. When our Lord said, "By their FRUITS shall ye know them;"—"by this shall all men know, that ye are my disciples;" He established a plain and obvious test by which the soundness of the faith of believers, and the unfruitful profession of deceivers and hypocrites, might be tried. And one of his Apostles informs us: "Even so FAITH, if it hath not WORKS, is dead, being alone." This is a just and significant rule, accommodated to the understandings of men the most ignorant, and easy of application. What did the Du Moulins and their Calvinistic brethren endeavour to substitute in the place of such a just and scriptural test? They were then engaged in an attempt to adjust their doctrine of the individual *Assurance of eternal salvation* to the circumstances of their people, and to make it usurp the peculiar province of "GOOD WORKS which follow after justification." See pages 141, 142. The evils of this baneful substitution were soon but too apparent. Among their most celebrated authors,

lawfully chosen and returned, were so discountenanced and discouraged by the votes of the lower House, the frequent tumults raised in Westminster by the rascal rabble, and the

scarcely two can be found who agree together in the tokens by which a christian believer may judge of his having obtained possession of this assurance: For, while some of them elevate it so high, and make it to consist of such a multitude of particulars as to place the attainment of it beyond the reach of the greatest saint on earth,—others of them state *a mourning over inbred corruption*, or *a sorrow for sin*, to be proof sufficient of the actual possession of this assurance; and thus, in the latter case, the sinner, who is occasionally troubled with remorse of conscience, has no reason to labour under any apprehension concerning the safety of his condition.

VIII. In the Eighth Motion the reader will perceive what opinions were entertained by Du Moulin and the majority of the Presbyterian Calvinists, concerning the recently-agitated topic of BAPTISMAL REGENERATION. Every learned man, who is aware of the laudable jealousy evinced by our Church about every doctrinal proposition or interpretation of scripture that does not bear the unequivocal impress of Christian Antiquity, and every man who has enjoyed the rare felicity of reading the productions of the Ancient Fathers, in their original languages, or even in translations, must have arrived at this conclusion—that the Church of England in her formularies ascribes no greater efficacy to baptism than do the whole of the early Christian Fathers. When the Calvinists say, no grace is communicated by this sacrament, they desert at once the chief foundation for the necessity of infant-baptism, and oppose their modern notions to the full stream of christian antiquity. No orthodox and moderate man, who yields full credence to this tenet of our Church, ever ventures to say, *that the grace communicated in baptism cannot be resisted;* and the patrons of it make it one of those talents entrusted to us by our Divine Master, who says, concerning it and all other Divine gifts,—"Occupy [or trade] till I come: for whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance." (Luke xix, 13, 26.) Bishop Womack has with much ability and moderation stated the doctrine of the Church on this important topic, in the preceding pages 25—28; and a subsequent long note on the authority of the Ancient Fathers will shew the due veneration for their admirable productions, which is manifested by all orthodox men, but especially by the English Arminians. I deliver no peremptory opinion respecting the merits of the baptismal controversy as it has been latterly conducted in England; though it will be apparent, I think, to every well-informed mind, that while the contest between *the moderate men* of both parties has seemed to consist in the use of convertible terms which have been either misunderstood or ill-defined, it has been maintained by *the violent partizans* on both sides, as if it had been constituted the only proper criterion of a man's attachment to the rigours of Semi-Pelagianism or to those of Antinomianism.

From the artful connection, in this Eighth Motion, between alleged "Popish and Arminian opinions," the reader might be induced to suppose that Arminius and his followers taught all that is there attributed to the Church of Rome, on the subject of baptism. But this is a palpable falsehood: And the Calvinists must be told, that the modern ARMINIANS of the Church of England hold no other opinions on this point than those which were openly avowed by the BRITISH CALVINISTS at the Synod of Dort. The ever-memorable John Hales, himself as warm a Calvinist at that time as any of the British Deputies, informs us, in his *Letters* from that Synod, Dec. 2, 1618, "They past to the question which was proposed in the name of the Churches of Amsterdam, concerning *the baptizing of the children of Ethnic Parents*. The English first exhibited their minds in writing to this effect: 'That infants, if they were justly taken,—as if they were given, or bought, 'or the like, (for it might not be lawful fraudulently or violently to take 'them from their parents,)—OUGHT TO BE BAPTIZED. For so it is recorded of 'Abraham, that *he circumcised every one in his house*, even those whom he 'had bought with his money. But if they were *adulti*, they might not be 'baptized till they made profession of the christian faith.' With these

preparatives for a war against the King, that they retired unto their houses, but still continued undissolved, and were in a capacity of acting as a convocation, whensoever they should

agreed the Bremenses and the Professors.—On the contrary, the Helvetians and South-Hollanders concluded, 'that the infants of Ethnic parents OUGHT 'NOT TO BE BAPTISED, till they came to be of years to declare their faith.'—Their chief reason was, 'Because baptism was a sign of the covenant: But 'the infants of Ethnic parents are not born within the covenant, and there-'fore they cannot be partakers of this sign.'" After a further account of the debate, he thus states, on the 6th of Dec., the final determination of that Assembly: "Then followed the decree of the Synod concerning the question moved by those of Amsterdam about *the baptism of children born of Ethnic parents*. The decision consisted of two parts. The first concerned the *adulti*, and it was this: 'That such as were of years and capacity should be dili-'gently taught and catechized, and then, if they did desire it, they should 'be baptized.' The second concerned infants, and it was, '*That till they 'came to years of discretion, they should by no means be baptized.*' A strange decision, and such as, if my memory or reading fail me not, no church either ancient or modern ever gave. When it was objected, *What, if they were in danger of death?* their answer was, 'that THE WANT OF BAPTISM would not 'prejudice them with God, except we would determine, as the Papists do, '*that baptism is necessary to salvation.*' Which is as much to UNDERVALUE the necessity of baptism, as the Church of Rome doth OVERVALUE it." The concluding brief remark, by Hales, is an accurate exposition of the GOLDEN MEAN observed by the Church of England.

Allusion has been made (page ,) to an excellent modern work, on the Lutheran or Melancthonian complexion of our public formularies, a topic which has elicited the energies of other eminent writers: And the COMMON SCRIPTURAL ORIGIN of the creed of the English and Saxon Churches, as well as their agreement with the stream of Christian Antiquity, are on no point more obvious than on that of baptism. The Ninth Article of the Augsburgh Confession says: "Our churches teach concerning baptism, that it is necessary to salvation, as a ceremony instituted by Christ; that the grace of God is offered through baptism; that infants must be baptized; and that, when infants have been commended to God by baptism, they are received into the favour of God, and become his children; as Christ himself testifies when he speaks of the little ones in his Church, (Matt. xviii, 14,) *It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones perish.*" The Saxon Confession is still more express; the following is an extract from the Fourteenth Article: "Let those whose age capacitates them for understanding the doctrine, retain such a sense of this covenant; and, being confirmed by this attestation, let them believe that their sins are remitted to them, and that they really are the members of the Church of God, and let them with true faith call upon the true God," &c.

In further confirmation of these remarks, I translate the following long note from an approved Lutheran author, the judicious MOSHEIM, who, in his comment upon the last quotation from Hales's letter, says: "Though the Calvinists are commonly, and certainly not without good reason, accused of teaching, 'that the sacraments have no efficacy on the minds of men, and 'that they are only invested with the power of serving as signs;' yet it is evident, that various dissensions have arisen among them concerning the effect of the sacraments, and that, while some of them have made a near approximation to our [the Lutheran] opinion, particularly in the doctrine of baptism, others of them have receded from it to a still greater distance. Peruse the learned disputations and collections of Peter Jurieu in his *Justification of the Morality of the Reformed*, (pt. ii, p. 8,) and of J. CLAUDE, in his *Posthumous Works*, (tom. v, p. 79,) both of whom were among the most respectable and renowned men of their body. It is therefore neither matter of surprize that the opinions of the Dort Fathers were not unanimous concerning the baptism of those infants who are descended from parents that are aliens from Christ, nor that they confirmed the opinion of those members who thought that the children of heathens ought not to be baptized in their infan-

be thereunto required, and might do it with safety. *But, being for the most part well affected to the church of England,* they were not to be trusted by the Houses of Parliament, who then de-

cy. The Dutch divines, and those who are attached to the Heidelberg Confession, generally indulge this belief, 'That the virtue of baptism is only 'two-fold, (1.) to adumbrate or betoken the Divine benefits which are pro-'cured for us by Christ, and (2.) to make us assured that those benefits are 'truly conferred upon us,' or, in the phrase of their own choice, '*to seal unto* '*us the Divine covenant.*' The Thirty-Fourth Article of the Belgic Confession, though in some parts it does not express itself with sufficient perspicuity, explains baptism in such a manner as still to appear favourable to our sentiments, and to ascribe to baptism true regeneration and renovation: Which was undoubtedly the cause why the [Dutch] Professors differed from the rest of their countrymen, the latter of whom preferred to follow that doctrine of the Heidelberg Catechism which we have already stated. See *the Catechetical Explanations* of Zach. URSINUS, (p. 357.) and the smaller Dutch Catechism in BENTHEIM'S *Hollandischen Schulund Kirchen-Staat.* (P. 1, c. vii, p. 218.) Wherefore when Herman WITSIUS, who was in other respects endowed with much moderation, had perceived that Peter Jurieu, Louis Le Blanc, and some others were inclined to our opinions on this point, he undertook their refutation, and, in his Dissertation on *the Efficacy of Baptism in Infants,* he openly taught, 'that all the efficacy of baptism consists in the 'confirmation and assurance of the grace that had been promised, such effi-'cacy being only [*moralis*] formal, and entirely distinct from that which is 'real.' (*Miscel. Sacr. com.* ii, p. 618.) See also Elias SAURIN'S *Examination of M. Jurieu's Theology,* in which M. Jurieu is strongly reprehended.

"Since therefore this opinion [of the unreal efficacy of baptism] was espoused by many of the members of the Dutch Synod, they could not do otherwise than decree, *that baptism must not be conferred on infants,* whose case was at that time under discussion. For if the power of baptism was only such as to serve for a seal or ratification of the covenant, what man is there who does not instantly perceive, that this benefit is to be imparted to none except those who have been previously united to God in covenant? But it is a matter placed beyond all controversy, 'that the infants, descended from 'parents who have turned aside from Christ, cannot possibly be considered 'as any part of God's covenant-people.' In compliance with the design of my subject, I refrain at present from displaying the difficulties in which the Calvinists are involved by means of this their sentiment. The immense disadvantage which they must experience in their attempts to defend infant-baptism, so long as they adhere to this opinion,—has already been demonstrated by other writers. This circumstance does not escape the observation of the Mennonites or Anabaptists, [who entirely deny the administration of the rite to infants,] as may be seen by consulting one of the most recent defenders of that sect, Herman SCHYN, in his *Historical Account of the Mennonites.* (C. iv, p. 88, 102.)

"On the contrary, the greatest portion of the British divines confess, 'that the sacraments, in which baptism is included, are the instruments of 'Divine Grace.' This doctrine they are commanded to teach, by the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-seventh Articles of the English Confession. It may be proper here to quote a part of the Twenty-fifth Article: 'Sacraments 'ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profes-'sion, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace 'and of God's good-will towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in 'us, and doth not only QUICKEN but also STRENGTHEN and CONFIRM *our faith* '*in him.*' It would be too great a labour and foreign to my purpose, to collect together all the testimonies of the English divines that have strenuously inculcated this doctrine of their National Confession; it will be sufficient to notice, that Samuel WARD and John DAVENANT, both of whom were present at the Synod of Dort, have contended for this doctrine in their published writings. Concerning Ward, the fact is obvious enough from the copious *Disputation about the Force and Efficacy of Infant-baptism,* which was maintained between him and Thomas Gataker, and which is published in the

signed the hammering of such a reformation both in doctrine and discipline, as might unite them in a perpetual bond and confederation with their Scottish brethren. And that they

Appendix to the SecondVolume of GATAKER'S *Critical Works.* (P.79—160.)—For, in that production, Ward contends for this efficacy, while Gataker in some measure defends the contrary opinion, which I have stated to be the that of the Dutch Divines. From Gataker's Preface to that *Disputation* it is evident that Davenant and Ward agreed in sentiment.

"Such being the conflicting opinions of the two parties, the reason must be apparent to every man, why Hales blames with such severity the decree of the Synod on this subject, and why the British divines thought baptism ought by all means to be conferred on those infants. Because if baptism be an instrument of regeneration and renovation, it ought to be denied to none *except to those whom it is manifest God is unwilling to receive into his covenant.* But this unwillingness cannot be ascertained by us concerning any individual, because God makes an offer of his grace to all men. Neither is it necessary that he who wishes to be made a partaker of baptism should previously be in the covenant, because according to this opinion [of the Church of England] baptism itself concludes for us a covenant with God, and constitutes us partakers of its benefits. It would not be difficult to prove, from the writings of Louis Crocius and of others of the members, that the divines of Bremen, and others who were at that time in the Dutch Synod, propounded the same doctrine as the British: But the proof of this assertion would require too much space.

"I will therefore only add this single consideration—that I do not comprehend how the English,the Bremen, and the rest of the patrons of this opinion, should notwithstanding have declared, that some distinction ought to be observed with regard to infants; and why they denied the administration of the rite of baptism to those infants that had been obtained in an unlawful manner. For God has never said, that he has confined his grace and its salutary effects within any such conditions, laws or restrictions. If my suspicions be correct, beneath this very sentiment lurked some mystery which had its origin in the opinion of those who were desirous of holding baptism *merely as a seal of the covenant.*"—This conjecture on the part of Mosheim is very plausible; for the British deputies at that Synod, being of a mild and conciliating disposition, would seize upon any slight distinction, such as that of *heathen children that had been kidnapped,* in order to bring their decisions as nearly as possible within the doctrinal boundaries of their Calvinistic compeers. Of this their love of concord, many instances will occur to the recollection of those who are acquainted with the anomalous proceedings of the Dutch Synod.

XI. The Eleventh Motion contains the chief grievances in the whole catalogue: Let the modern Calvinists disguise the representation of these matters as they choose, their ancestors employed all means, lawful and unlawful, to have "Arminian books called in question," and to compel the Church of England "to be bound by the decisions made at the Synod of Dort," after a new Calvinistic "Confession of faith had been framed" for her, according to the tenour of the Fourth Motion. The artful and obnoxious mention of Popery, in connection with Arminianism, has been a subject of animadversion in another portion of this volume.

The manner in which the elder Du Moulin procured the adoption of the Dort decrees in the French Churches, is detailed in page 290; no surprize therefore can exist at this attempt, on his part and that of his son, to impose the Canons of Dort on the Church of England. In the *Works of Arminius,* (vol. i, pp. 417, 486,) I have exposed some of the designs of King James in that Quixotic enterprize, and have corrected the mis-representations which have been generally circulated respecting the British divines sitting in that Calvinistic Synod as the accredited representatives of the Church of England. To prove "King James of blessed memory" to have had no intention "that the Church of England afterwards should be bound by the decisions made at the Synod of Dort,"which is Du Moulin's erroneous assertion,it is only necessary to quote the following passage from Balcanqual's Latin Journal of the

might be furnished with such men, the Knights of every Shire must make choice of two to serve as members for that County ;

Acts of the Synod, which he regularly transmitted to the King's Ambassador at the Hague. In the discussions which arose in the 133d Session, on the 22d April, 1619, it is stated : "To save time, therefore, and to preserve peace, the British signified their acquiescence [in the unreasonable prejudices of the Dutch divines, who would not allow to be added to their list of REJECTIONS this heretical dogma,—*a man can do no more good than that which he actually does ;*]—at the same time they reminded the Synod, that this clause,—' *the doctsine contained in these Canons is to be considered as that of the Re-* ' *formed Churches,*'—must be entirely altered : For they declared, that they, being deputed by his Most Serene Majesty, and NOT BY THEIR CHURCHES, *had no authority committed to them by which they were empowered to explain the Confessions of their Churches ;* that they had delivered *only their own private judgments,* which they thought to be true ; and that in the Canons they had concluded many things as true, concerning which not a single expression occurs in the Confessions of their churches, &c. ; but that they know nothing is contained in those Canons which is contrary to their Confessions," &c.— Here then is put in a regular public disclaimer on the part of the British divines themselves, before the whole Synod, that they were not the representatives either of the Church of England or of Scotland ; that they delivered only their own private sentiments ; and that not a single expression occurs, in the Confessions of their churches, concerning several of those matters which are decided in the Canons of the Synod of Dort. What can be more explicit than this disavowal of their implied consent as the deputies of the National Church ? Yet, though published in the year 1659, in HALES's *Golden Remains,* this express description of the unofficial character which they bore has been studiously concealed or suppressed by almost every Calvinistic writer, who, from the days of Du Moulin and Owen down to those of Augustus Toplady and Thomas Scott, have pretended to favour the world with *correct and authentic information* respecting that venerable Synod, and the obligations which it imposed on the Church of England in regard to doctrinal matters. The British Deputies received directions through Sir Dudley Carlton to make this solemn declaration, as soon as the main purposes were fulfilled for which they had been sent to Dort ; and King James afterwards plumed himself on the grand "piece of king-craft" which he had been enabled to exhibit on that extensive theological arena, but which the brief limits of this note will not allow me to particularize.

XII & XIII. The order in which this pamphlet details the work of reformation, is exactly that which was subsequently pursued by the levellers in Church and State, who were thus goaded on to deeds of cruelty and oppression by one of the most violent Calvinists of that age. This very man and his family felt no scruple whatever about receiving liberal support from the Church of England ; though, like other vile ingrates, as soon as he had an opportunity, he raised his envenomed weapon and plunged it into the vitals of his benefactress. (See page 282.) Arminianism was the first object on which his vengeance and that of his Calvinistic associates wished to wreak itself; and they finally sated their fury on Episcopacy and Monarchy. All these things were accomplished, and in the very order which is here prescribed, even down to the expression in the Thirteenth Motion, "that a certain number of deputies from the National Synod [the Westminster Assembly of Divines] be assisting both in the higher and lower House, for delivering their advices upon any clauses of Acts that may intrench upon the Church's privileges, or are contrary to doctrine or good manners."—Those who are acquainted with the private history of Hugh Peters, Stephen Marshall, John Owen, and other republican divines remarkable chiefly for the warmth of their expressions, the violence of their gesticulations, or the strength of their lungs, will recollect how frequently they performed the office suggested in this quotation from the prophecies of Du Moulin, and tendered their sage counsel to the legislature at particular junctures, either from the pulpit or in the solemn acts of social prayer.

I know of no part of the advice of the Du Moulins, which in the subsequent acts of desolation was neglected by the Calvinists,—except it be the part

most of them Presbyterians, some few Royalists,* four of the Independent faction, and two or three to represent the Kirk of Scotland: *Which ploughing with an ox and an ass,* (as it was no other,) was anciently prohibited by the law of Moses.† And yet these men, associated with some members of either House, as

which attempted to elevate the ecclesiastical power exercised by the nevel presbyters, to a higher pitch than that to which it had ever attained under the King, as Head of the Established Church. The civil rulers, vile as they generally were in many respects, prevented this extraordiuary assumption of church-power; and kept the triumphant predestinarian ecclesiastics, as far as practicable, within regular Presbyterian limits.

* "About this time he became a membur of the convocation called with the short parliament in 1640; as after this he was named to be of *the Assembly of divines;* his iuvincible loyalty to his prince and obedience to his mother the church not being so valid arguments against his nomination, as the repute of his learning and virtue were on the other part to have some title to him." FELL's *Life of Dr. Hammond.*

† "What Bear-garden Synods must we expect, if God permits our enemies to triumph in the silence of our Convocation, and in the ruin of our church-discipline?—What a hotch-potch of heresy and ignorance conspired in the composition of an Assembly of Divines, in the late times of usurpation?—Their character take in the words of the noble Lord Clarendon: 'So that 'of about one hundred and twenty of which that Assembly was to consist, 'they were not above twenty who were not declared and avowed enemies to 'the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England; some of them infamous 'in their lives and conversations, and most of them of very mean parts in 'learning; if not of scandalous ignorance, and of no other reputation than 'that of malice to the Church of England.' (Volume First, page 415.) And much the same character is likewise given of them by the incomparable Archbishop Laud, whose first martyrdom was his living to see this Assembly convened. 'A great part,' saith he, 'if not the greater part of them, were 'Brownists or Independents, or New England ministers, if not worse; or at 'best refractory persons to the doctrine, or discipline, or both, of the Church 'of England established by law, and now brought together to reform it: An 'excellent conclave! This, without God's infinite mercy, will bring forth a 'schism, fierce enough to rend and tear religion out of this kingdom.'(*Comp. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 135.)

"Such was the English Assembly of learned and godly divines, the like to which certainly had never met in the christian world before! especially if it be considered, that the Assembly began with a manifest invasion of the rights of the Clergy, as well known as any other laws of the kingdom: was substituted in the room of a regular and legal Synod, at that time in being, to which they were, on all accounts of life and learning, utterly inferior: That they submitted (contrary to their own private opinions of that matter) to be called together in such a manner, and on such ignominious conditions, as destroyed the very essentials of a Synod, and were at last their own destruction, and, in effect, that of Christianity itself, as making religion a pure matter of state, and all this to complete the ruin of that very order of bishops which had always composed the first and greatest councils of the Christian Church, and presided in all the other Synods of it for fifteen centuries of years together; that they were interspersed with Brownists, Independents and others of such strange opinions and principles, as I believe were never before brought into a Synod of the Christian Church. Add to this, that the greater part of them had not only been refractory and disobedient to all the orders of their spiritual governors, but had also their hands stained with the blood of a most wicked and execrable rebellion, and some of them afterwards in that of their prince also; that they were not countenanced with the authority or presence of one single Bishop, (without which the christian world never saw a Synod for fifteen hundred years,) who sat among them in any other capacity than that of a private divine. That they were never permitted to do the very thing for which, it was pretended, they were summoned, but despised,

before is said, no ways empowered or authorised by the rest of the Clergy, must take upon them all the powers and privileges of a convocation; to which they were invited by an ordinance of the Lords and Commons, bearing date June the 12th. His Majesty makes a start at this encroachment on his royal prerogative, and countermands the same by his proclamation of the 22d. In which he takes notice, amongst other things, that the far greatest part of those who had been nominated to the present service, were men of neither learning nor reputation, eminently disaffected to the government of the Church of England,*

controlled, and kept under by their lay-assessors and masters, and made use of as mere tools by the most wicked combination of men that ever met in any nation, to serve the vilest purposes; such as promoting an oath and confederacy of the blackest nature, countenancing the other proceedings of a most horrible rebellion, and working the ruin of that very church to which they were engaged by so many oaths and subscriptions, and which, it was pretended, they were only to reform. In a word, a Synod, (if it be not an abuse of that name,) which never seemed to have any sense of what usually was the business of other christian councils, or to have any regard to the orders and decrees of the councils of the first Christian ages! A Synod of godly men, which was more divided than those scandalous persons whom they supplanted, who, instead of advancing the purity of the gospel, did the greatest disservice to the christian name; having in plain terms promoted atheism in the nation, and who at last sunk away, the contempt and derision of their own makers, the scandal of that and the abhorrence of all future ages!"—*English Presbyterian Eloquence.*

*The character attributed in the text to the majority of that Assembly, is certainly a very just one: For, with the exception of Twisse, Gataker, Selden, and Lightfoot, the rest,—when compared with the immense body of the learned, pious and loyal Bishops and clergy,—appeared as pigmies in learning and reputation. That they were likewise "eminently disaffected to the government of the Church of England," will be very apparent to any one who peruses the productions of four of their most learned members, whom I have now excepted. To every man conversant with the more minute events of that era, the names of several others will be familiar, only as public agitators and "preachers of rebellion."

Baxter tells us: "They were men of eminent learning and godliness, ministerial abilities and fidelity: And the christian world, since the days of the apostles, has never had a synod of more excellent divines, than this synod and that of Dort." This good man, we all know, was not qualified to form a correct estimate concerning "the eminent learning" possessed by those whom he thus highly extols. With regard to their "godliness and ministerial abilities," they were pre-eminent in Baxter's estimation; whose praise and censure, it will be found, were generally regulated by the degree of approximation which the tenets of the individuals made towards Calvinism. But the best criterion by which to form an estimate of the value of Baxter's eulogy, is, to compare the qualities which he ascribes to particular members of the Assembly, with the violent and unchristian courses which they pursued.—It will be afterwards shewn how appropriately this Assembly of Divines and the Synod of Dort have been associated together.

Scarcely on any subject have the Calvinists displayed a greater degree of sensitiveness, than on the exalted character which they have fruitlessly endeavoured to obtain, from an unbiassed posterity, in behalf of those reforming representatives of their august body. *Memoirs of their Lives and Writings* were published a few years ago, in two volumes, octavo: The author was the Rev. James Reid, a Scotch Calvinist, who, in the genuine spirit of his venerable predecessors, utters the following doleful lament at the close of his feeble production: "After the British Revolution in 1688, *the Westminster Confession of Faith* was established as the standard of orthodoxy, and the Presbyterian form of church-government was also established in all its extent in Scotland. But, alas,! the Covenants were overlooked or forgotten.

and such as had openly preached rebellion, by their exciting of the people to take arms against him; and therefore were not like to be proper instruments of peace and happiness, either unto the Church or State: For maintenance whereof, and for the preservation of his own authority, he inhibits them from meeting at the time appointed, declares their acts to be illegal,* and threatens them with the punishments which they had incurred by the laws of the land.

"But they go forwards howsoever, hold their first meeting on the first of July, and elect Dr. Twisse of Newbury, (a rigid Sabbatarian, but *a professed Calvinian in all other points*,) for their prolocutor. Called to this journey-work by the Houses, they were dispensed with for non-residence upon their livings, against the laws, preferred to the best benefices of the sequestered Clergy, (some of them three or four together,) and had withal four shillings a man for their daily wages, besides the

It was one design of this publication, to keep these solemn deeds in remembrance, and excite mankind to turn their attention to the *covenanted* work of reformation. But, alas!, that glorious work seems at this time to occupy very little of our attention. The time, however, of favouring Zion will come; even the time which Jehovah himself has unalterably fixed."—Every one who understands the meaning of this prophecy, as dictated by the enthusiastic Scotchman, will pray, that it may not receive such an accomplishment as that which he thus fervently desires.

Reid's futile attempt to ennoble the Calvinistic champions of the Assembly cannot be compared to any similar enterprize more appropriately, than to that of his countryman Mr. Orme, who, in his Life of Dr. John Owen, to demonstrate the astonishing benefits of his hero's scholastic rule in Oxford, gravely informs his readers, "It may be doubted, whether that university ever enjoyed a greater number of persons eminent in their respective professions, or more distinguished for character, talents and learning. They afford indubitable evidence of the truth of Thurloe's account of Cromwell, 'that he sought 'out men for places, and not places for men;' a remark *by no means generally applicable to the kings of the earth*.—Nor will our opinion of the learning and celebrity of Oxford during this period be lowered, if we run over a few of the persons who then received a part or the whole of their academical education." But, on perusing both his lists, every man of learning will be amazed at the ignorance of the person that could venture to make two such unfounded assertions: For, on separating those who were members of the University and were expelled from their collegiate preferments before Owen was constituted the Republican Vice-Chancellor, and those who had been entered on the books immediately prior to Owen's disgrace, we shall have a very slender muster of "persons distinguished for character, talents and learning." Indeed, a catalogue of Academical Worthies cannot be conceived more meagre, than that furnished by Orme will appear to be when it has thus been pruned and curtailed. Some of the erudite Episcopalians whom he has inserted at the close of his first list, "as the co-adjutors of Walton in his Polyglott," are egregiously misplaced; it being a notorious fact, that they were permitted to reside there, only at the intercession and through the patronage of such men as Selden, who had a larger portion of learning and good sense than their fanatical brethren.

* "In the year 1643, the two houses of parliament took upon them to make an ordinance, and call an Assembly of Divines, to debate and settle church controversies, (of which many that were elected were very unfit to judge:) in which Dr. Sanderson was also named by the parliament, but did not appear; I suppose for the same reason that many other worthy and learned men did forbear, *the summons wanting the King's authority*." WALTON'S *Life of Bishop Sanderson*.

honour of assisting in so great an action, as *the ruin of the Church, and the subversion of the present government of the realm of England.** In reference whereunto, they were to be employed from time to time, as occasion was, to stir up the people of the Counties for which they served, to rise and arm themselves against the King, under colour of their own defence, as appears plainly by the order of the tenth of August. And that they might be looked upon with the greater reverence, they maintain a constant intercourse, by letters, with their brethren of Scotland, the Churches of the Netherlands, the French and Switzers; but chiefly, with Geneva itself. In which they laid such vile reproaches on his Majesty and the Church of England,—the one, for having a design to bring in Popery, the other for a readiness to receive the same,—that his Majesty was necessitated to set out a manifest in the Latin tongue, for laying open the imposture to the Churches of all foreign nations. Amongst the rest of this assembly, Dr. Dan. Featly,† not long before made Chaplain in ordinary to the King, must needs sit for one; whether to shew his parts, or to head a party, or out of his old love to Calvinism, may best be gathered from some

*"The most part of them were such as had preached and cried down, with great show of zeal, the avarice and pluralities of bishops and prelates; that one cure of souls was a full employment for one spiritual pastor how able soever, if not a charge rather above human strength. Yet these *conscientious men* (ere any part of the work done for which they came together, and that on the public salary,) wanted not boldness, to the ignominy and scandal of their pastor-like profession, to seize into their hands, or not unwillingly accept, (besides one, sometimes two or more, of the best livings,) collegiate masterships in the Universities, rich lectures in the City, setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms: by which means these great rebukers of non-residence, among so many distant cures, were not ashamed to be seen so quickly pluralists and non-residents themselves, to a fearful condemnation doubtless by their own mouths.

"The main doctrine, for which they took their pay, and insisted upon with more vehemence than Gospel, was but to tell us in effect, that their doctrine was worth nothing, and the spiritual power of their ministry less available than bodily compulsion; persuading the Magistrate to use it, as a stronger means to bring in conscience, than evangelical persuasion: distrusting the virtue of their own spiritual weapons, which were given them, if they be rightly called, with full warrant of sufficiency to pull down all thoughts and imaginations that exalt themselves against God. They taught compulsion without conviction, which not long before they complained of as executed unchristianly against themselves. They endeavoured to set up a spiritual tyranny by a secular power, for the purpose of advancing their own authority above the Magistrate, whom they would have made their executioner to punish church-delinquencies."—MILTON'S *Prose Works*.

† This Calvinistic divine was one of Archbishop Abbot's chaplains and wrote the Life of that Prelate's brother. In 1626, he wrote PELAGIUS REDIVIVUS, or *Pelagius raked out of the ashes by Arminius and his scholars*, in answer to Dr. Richard Mountagu's APPELLO CÆSAREM. Featly's production was quite a text-book to Prynne in his *Anti-Arminianism*, and to other bitter writers of that party. Like many of the Episcopal Calvinists, he seems to have entertained an idea, that, when he had assisted in the destruction of Arminianism, he would be permitted by his Predestinarian colleagues to retain his affection for Episcopacy without molestation: But in this expectation he and other hot spirits were grievously disappointed; LIBERALITY and TOLERATION, however frequently they might be found in the mouths of

speeches which he made and printed. But he was theirs in heart before, and therefore might afford them his body now, though possibly he may be excused from taking the covenant, as the others did. An exhortation whereunto, was the first great work which was performed by these masters in Israel, after their assembling; the covenant taken by them in most

the sectarian Calvinists, did not enter into their administration of affairs ecclesiastical. I shall embrace another opportunity, to shew the manner in which Bishop Hall and some of his colleagues on the Episcopal Bench avoided this infamy, and refused to lend themselves to the levelling measures of their *quondam* friends. Featly perceived his mistake when it was too late, and began to retrace his steps; but that retrograde course gave deeper umbrage to the party, than if he had never belonged to it: How merciless the dominant Calvinists were towards those of their brethren who retained their long-cherished affection for Episcopacy, may be estimated by the various extracts which I have given from Bishop HALL's *Hard Measure*.

One good office Dr. Featly performed, while he was a member of this Assembly. It is thus related by Dr. Parr, in his Life of Archbishop Usher: "*The Committee for Delinquents' Estates* made an order for seizing a study of books of a considerable value, which the Primate had either brought over with him, or bought here, or left behind in Chelsea College; which were seized accordingly, and had been sold by them had not Dr. Featly, who was then in some favour with them, by reason of his being one that sat in the Assembly of Divines, (though otherwise orthodox and loyal,) made an interest with them by the means of Mr. Selden, (a member of the House as also of the Assembly,) to obtain those books for his own use, either as a gift or by laying down some money for them; and so got them into his hands, and secured them for my Lord Primate's use,—at least, as many of them as were not embezzled or stolen away whilst they were in their custody; as, amongst other things, divers papers and collections of his own writing, with all his letters either to or from his learned friends which he had left behind him there, were then plundered."

The following is part of LLOYD's account of him, in his *Worthies:*

"Dr. Featly's value of good men endeared him to many good people. After a disputation in Southwark, Oct. 17, 1642, wherein he overthrew the Anabaptists:—taking a good method, catechising them first, to discover their ignorance in the grounds of religion, before they disputed to shew their opinions in the controversies of it; and adding to his arguments against them, (what was indeed the shrewdest argument,) *an history of them*;—and after several speeches in the Assembly, in which he was against the covenant and other extravagancies of those times, this good man was sequestered, plundered, and (upon a letter he sent to Bishop Usher in Oxford, subscribed Δ Φ that is, FIDELITY, as they interpreted it, giving an account of his shrewd argument against the covenant,) was imprisoned as a spy; and, upon his declaring before the committee that he could not be of another mind, continued in Peter-house, (notwithstanding his great assistance to the Assembly in the comment on St. Paul's epistle, undertaken by him in bonds, where they were most written, upon an humble letter written to him from the whole Assembly,) till a little before he died he was removed to Chelsea-College, whereof he was the third and last provost.

"He had his barns burned, chancel defaced, and his rails torn at Acton, Nov. 1642; some of his congregation killed, and all frighted out of the church at Lambeth, Feb. 19, 1642; [the mal-contents] threatening to cut the doctor for *keeping to his* PORRIDGE, (for so they called the Common-Prayer,) *as small as herbs to the pot*; who (escaping them then with their seven articles) was committed prisoner with Sir George Sonds, Sir Jo. Butler, and Mr. Nevile, to Peterhouse Sept. 30, 1643, and his house, goods, library, estate, and livings seized on, to the great scandal of all the reformed divines, among whom he was deservedly famous, and died confessing his faith, and asserting the doctrine, discipline, and worship of our church, to Dr. Leo Chaplain to the Dutch Ambassador."

solemn manner at St. Margaret's in Westminster, on the 25th of September, the exhortation* voted to be published on the 9th of February.

* Further to illustrate the spirit of these *covenanting* Calvinists, it may be necessary to give a brief extract from this EXHORTATION, which was delivered before the Members of the House of Commons, and the Divines of the Assembly, by Mr. Philip Nye, before he read the Covenant to them which they were about to take:

"What do we *covenant?* What do we vow? Is it not the preservation of religion where it is reformed, and the reformation of religion where it needs? Is it not the reformation of three kingdoms, and a reformation universal in doctrine, discipline and worship, *in whatsoever the word shall discover to us?* To practise, is a fruit of love; to reform, a fruit of zeal; but so to reform, will be a token of great prudence and circumspection in each of these churches: And all this to be done *according to God's word*, the best rule.—and according to the best reformed churches, the best interpreters of this rule. If England hath obtained to any greater perfection in so handling the word of righteousness, and truths that are according to godliness, as to make men more godly, more righteous: And if, in the churches of Scotland any more light and beauty in matters of order and discipline, by which their Assemblies are more orderly: Or, if to any other church or person it hath been given better to have learned Christ in any of his ways than any of us, we shall humbly bow, and kiss their lips that can speak right words unto us in this matter, and help us into the nearest uniformity with the word and mind of Christ in this great work of reformation. This oath is swearing fealty and allegiance unto Christ, the King of kings; and a giving-up of all these kingdoms which are in his inheritance, to be subdued more to his throne and ruled more by his sceptre, upon whose shoulders the government is said to be, and 'in the 'increase of whose government and peace there shall be no end.' Yea, we find this very thing, in the utmost accomplishment of it, to have been the oath of the greatest angel that ever was, who, setting his foot upon two of God's kingdoms, the one upon the sea, the other upon the earth, lifting up his hand to heaven, as you are to do this day, and so swearing. (Rev. x.) The effect of that oath you shall find to be this, 'that the kingdoms of the world 'become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for 'ever.' (Rev. xi.)

"That which the Apostles and primitive times did so much and so long pray for, though never long with much quietness enjoyed; that which our fathers, in the latter times, have fasted, prayed, and mourned after, yet attained not; even the cause which many dear saints, now with God, have furthered by extremest sufferings, poverty, imprisonment, banishment and death, even ever since the first dawning of reformation: That and the very same is the very cause and work that we are come now, through the mercy of Jesus Christ, not only to pray for, but swear too. And surely it can be no other but the result and answer of such prayers and tears, of such sincerity and sufferings, that three kingdoms should be thus born (or rather *new-born*) in a day; that these kingdoms should be wrought about to so great an engagement, than which nothing is higher. For to this end kings reign, kingdoms stand, and states are upheld.—This covenant is a way in all probability most likely to enable us to preserve and defend our religion against our common enemies: and possibly a more sure foundation this day will be laid for ruining Popery and Prelacy, than as yet we have been led into in any age.—It will not be unworthy your consideration, whether, seeing the preservation of Popery hath been by *leagues and covenants*, God may not make a league or covenant to be the destruction of it. The Lamb can unite kings and kingdoms, and give them one mind also to destroy the whore, and be her utter ruin. And may not this day's work be a happy beginning of such a blessed expedition?—Prelacy is another common enemy, that we covenant and swear against. You remember with what cunning industry they intended lately a more public, solemn and universal engagement than, since Popery, this cause of theirs was ever maintained or supported by. And, questionless, *Ireland* and *Scotland* also must at last have been brought into this holy league with England. But, blessed be the Lord, and blessed be his good hand the Parliament, that, from the indignation of their spirits against so

"Now to begin the blessed reformation which they had in hand, the Houses were resolved upon exterminating all external pomp, and comely order, out of the worship of Almighty God. And to this end, upon the humble motion of these divines of the Assembly, and the solicitation of some zealous lecturers, who were grown very powerful with them; or to ingratiate themselves with the Scottish covenanters, whose help they began to stand in need of; or finally, out of the perverseness of horrid a yoke, have dashed out the very brains of this project, and are now this day present before the Lord to take and give possession of this blessed ordinance, even an oath and covenant as solemn and of as large extent as they intended theirs, uniting these three kingdoms into such a league and happy combination as will doubtless preserve us and our reformation against them, though their iniquity in the mysteries of it should still be working among us.

"That we may all, who take the covenant this day, not start aside, or give back, or go on uncomfortably, there is a two-fold grace or qualification to be laboured after: (1.) We must get *courage*, spirits that are bold and resolute. The work of God's house, reformation-work especially, is a stirring work. Read stories; you find not any where reformation made in any age, either in doctrine or discipline, without great stir and opposition. The like you find in the apostles' times; the truth being preached, some believed, others did not. (Acts xvii.) Here beginneth the stir, 'Those that believed not, took unto 'themselves certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, 'and set all the city in an uproar;' and, when they had done so, complained of the brethren, to the rulers, as men that 'turned the world upside down.' In such a work, therefore, men had need be of stout, resolute and composed spirits, that we may be able to go on in the main, and stir in the midst of such stirs, and not be amazed at any such doings. It may possibly happen, that, even among yourselves, there will be outcries. 'Sir, you will undo all,' saith one. 'You will put all into confusion,' saith another. 'If you take this 'course,' saith a third, 'we can expect nothing but blood.' But a wise statesman, like an experienced seaman, knoweth the compass of his vessel, and, though it heave and toss, and the passengers cry out about him, yet, in the midst of all, he is himself, turneth not aside from his work, but steereth on his course. If you mean to do any such work in the house of God as this is; if you mean to pluck up what many years ago was planted, or to build up what so long ago was pulled down, and to go through with this work and not be discouraged, you must beg of the Lord this excellent spirit, this resolute stirring spirit, otherwise you will be outspirited, and both you and your cause slighted and dishonoured.—(2.) On the other hand, we must labour for *humility, prudence,, gentleness, meekness*. A man may be very zealous and resolute, and yet very meek and merciful: Jesus Christ was a lion and yet a lamb also. In one place he telleth them, *He cometh to send fire on the earth*, and, in another place, rebuketh his disciples for their *fiery spirits*. There was the like composition in Moses and in Paul; and it is of great use, especially in this great work of reformation. Let us be zealous, as Christ was, to cast out all, to extirpate and root out every plant his Heavenly Father hath not planted; and yet let us do it in an orderly way, and with the Spirit of Christ, whose servants we are. We solemnly engage this day our utmost endeavours for reformation: Let us remember this, that too much HEAT, as well as too much COLDNESS, may harden men in their ways and hinder reformation."

The Long Parliament, who were exhorted in this style to "deeds of death," have been called "a body of as pure and excellent legislators as any nation ever saw;" but this character of them has been given by men who had to deduce their own conclusions from such untrue premises. Nye's harangue, of which the preceding extract is only a small part, was delivered in 1643, soon after the commencement of the Civil Wars; and since the members of the Lower House of Parliament could listen with complacency to such exhortations as this, and could pass a vote of thanks to such hypocritical and blood-thirsty declaimers, they certainly cannot be absolved from the

their own cross humours, they published an ordinance on the 28th of August, 'For the utter demolishing, removing, and tak-'ing away all monuments of superstition and idolatry,' &c.

"But yet, to make sure work of it, this ordinance was re-inforced and enlarged by another of the 9th of May, in the year next following; wherein, besides the particulars before recited, they descend to the taking away of all coaps, surplices, and other superstitious vestments, (as they pleased to call them;) as also to the taking away of all organs, and the cases in which they stood, and the defacing of the same; requiring the same course to be also taken in the removing and defacing of roods, rood-lofts, and holy-water-fonts, *(as if any such things had been of late erected or permitted in the Church of England, as indeed there were not:)* whereupon followed the defacing of all glass windows, and the demolishing of all organs within the compass of their power;* the transposing of the holy table from the the place of the altar, into some other parts of the church or chancel; the tearing and defacing of all coaps and surplices, or otherwise employing them to domestic uses; &c.

charge of dreadful criminality in affording public encouragement to these levelling and unscriptural doctrines. Adopting the words of the Republican Dr. John Owen, which have been quoted, (page 268,) we may justly say concerning those statesmen: "It was all *the vengeance of the Lord and his temple!*—a Davidical *preparation of their paths in blood*, that they might for ever reign in righteousness and peace."

The most cursory and inattentive reader cannot fail of being amused, when he sees a Calvinistic divine of that age deliberately comparing the covenant of his own party, to the leagues and covenants of the Papists. No explanation of Nye's phraseology will be required, by those who know the Calvinistic application of the several terms which he employs, and the interpretation which they bore in those days of anarchy and fanaticism.

* "Another while, the sheriff Toftes, and alderman Linsey, attended with many zealous followers, came into my chapel to look for superstitious pictures, and relics of idolatry, and sent for me, to let me know they found those windows full of images, which were very offensive, and must be demolished! I told them they were the pictures of some ancient and worthy bishops, as St. Ambrose, Austin, &c. It was answered me, that *they were so many popes;* and one younger man amongst the rest (Townsend, as I perceived afterwards,) would take upon himself to defend, that *every diocesan bishop was pope.* I answered him with some scorn, and obtained leave that I might, with the least loss and defacing of the windows, give order for the taking off that offence; which I did by causing the heads of those pictures to be taken off, since I knew the bodies could not offend.

"There was not that care and moderation used in reforming the cathedral church bordering upon my palace. It is no other than tragical to relate the carriage of that furious sacrilege, whereof our eyes and ears were the sad witnesses, under the authority and presence of Linsey, Toftes the sheriff, and Greenewood. Lord! what work was here, what clattering of glasses, what beating down of walls, what tearing up of monuments, what pulling down of seats, what wresting out of irons and brass from the windows and graves! what defacing of arms, what demolishing of curious stone-work, that had not any representation in the world, but only of the cost of the founder, and skill of the mason! what tooting and piping upon the destroyed organ pipes, and what a hideous triumph on the market day before all the country, when, in a kind of sacrilegious and profane procession, all the organ pipes, vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross, which had been newly sawn down from over the

"Hereupon followed also the defacing and demolishing of many crosses erected as the monuments of christianity, in cities, towns, and most of our country-villages; none being spared which were within the compass of those enemies of the cross of Christ. Amongst which crosses none more eminent for cost and workmanship, than those of Cheapside in London, and Abington in the county of Berks; both of them famous for the excellencies of the *statuas* which were placed in them; more for the richness of the trimming which was used about them. But the Divine vengeance fell on some of the executioners, for a terror to others;† one of them being killed in pulling down the cross of Cheapside; and another hanged at Stow-on-the-Wold, within a short time after he had pulled down the first image of the cross in Abington.

"They must have new Priests also, and new forms of prayer a new confession of the faith, new catechisms, and new forms of government.‡ Towards the first, an ordinance comes out

green-yard pulpit, and the service-books and singing-books that could be had, were carried to the fire in the public market-place: a lewd wretch walking before the train, in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service-book in his hand, imitating in an impious scorn the tune, and usurping the words of the litany used formerly in the church! Near the public cross, all these monuments of idolatry must be sacrificed to the fire, not without much ostentation of a zealous joy in discharging ordonance to the cost of some who professed how much they had longed to see that day. Neither was it any news upon this guild-day to have the cathedral now open on all sides to be filled with musketeers, waiting for the mayor's return, drinking and tobacconing as freely as if it had turned alehouse." HALL's *Hard Measure*.

† "May 2, 1643.—I went to London, where I saw the furious and zealous people demolish that stately Cross in Cheapside."

‡ "Are all your humble and earnest desires and solicitations for peace, all your pangs and throes for a reformation in religion, delivered at last of a sacred vow and covenant against both? Have you at last thought fit to tell the world, that there is no possibility or hope of peace, but by blood and desolation? Have M. Burroughes and M. Case so perverted all texts of scripture, and sergeant Wilde and M. Glyn so confounded all rules of law, that your consciences are grown so dead to the one, and your understandings so dull to the other, that in plain English you promise God Almighty to assist any body to kill the King; and set up new covenants of your own, point blank against your oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and publish all this to the people as the articles of your new creed? And yet that your lordship should tell me 'that your affection and duty to the King continues still the 'same you have pretended it; that you have still not only the same desire, 'but the same hope of peace; and that you are confident that the Anabap-'tists and Brownists (whom methinks you have sworn to defend) will short-'ly ship themselves for another climate,' is so strange to me that amazement itself is not more confounding. You tell me of a trick your lordships have found out, 'to save you harmless from any obligation by this oath, a Salvo 'to all your other oaths lawfully taken; and those being in a diameter con-'trary to this, you have upon the matter engaged yourselves to nothing by 'this new covenant, and so have cunningly evaded the design of the con-'trivers:' Oh (my lord) can you please yourselves with these shifts? Is this the wisdom, vigilance, integrity, and courage of the highest court of judicature, (for so the House of Peers in Parliament is,) to lead the people by their example to so solemn an act as a covenant with God Almighty, which at the instant you took it you intended should signify nothing?

"There is not a godly, learned, orthodox divine in England, whom you have not traduced, imprisoned, or eminently reproached and discounte-

from the Lords and Commons in October following, (advice being first had with the Assembly of Divines) by which a power was given to some chief men of the Assembly, and certain

nanced, even those whose learning and integrity first gave credit and reputation to your great reformers; you have not only disused and suppressed that excellent book of Common-Prayer, (the first and glorious instance in this Kingdom of the true reformed Protestant religion,) but scurrilously and profanely reviled and scoffed at it to the scandal of christianity; you have carried yourselves with such impious and debosh behaviour in churches and consecrated places, committing such horrid and beastly outrages that the heathen themselves would tremble at the mention of them; and all this out of *pure zeal to the true reformed Protestant religion!* This, you will say, is done without your consents by the disorderly soldiers, whom you cannot restrain. By your lordship's favour, you have very pretty votes of one or both Houses which directly encourage those soldiers to most of this. What remedy have you provided for these disorders, if the King concurred with you in all you propose to yourselves? You have presented him a bill to pull down the whole fabrick of church government, to leave heresy, incest, blasphemy and adultery, as unpunishable as any other acts of good fellowship; to take away his supremacy, and so cancel the oath you have all taken to him; and to take away bishops, and so cancel the oath he hath taken at his coronation to defend and protect them; and have not yet so much as fancied amongst yourselves into what shape you will lick that monstrous Chaos you would produce: This you leave to your SYNOD, of such men, as most of them no schools or nurseries of learning ever knew, men never known or heard of but by *their faction, treason, and rebellion*, such who never had title or subsistence in the church of England till your votes, as patron and ordinary, imposed them upon parishes, and over cures in the places of those whose religion was not rebellion. Oh (my lord) can you forget the excellent times in which you were born, and the happy times in which you have since lived,—the flourishing state of religion here in doctrine and discipline, in the lives and learning of so many reverend divines famous throughout Christendom,—can you so much forget this, to believe these courses the way to defend the true reformed Protestant religion? If you were a Protestant two years since, I am sure *they* are none *whose* directions you now follow. Is the countenancing and joining with Anabaptists and Brownists, (name as odious to you, and so mentioned by you even in your last letter, as the Papists,) to advance the Protestant religion? But it is no wonder when you take your rules of allegiance and fidelity from traitors and rebels, that you should take your directions of religion from hypocrites and schismatiques. I do not know your face better then your heart in this point: You are no more of my lord Say's mind in religion, then bishop Wren is. When you have recovered the courage to love truth again, this clause, if there were nothing else in your covenant, will take your sleep from you, and leave you no comfort but in the charity of those you have endeavoured to destroy.

"Wind yourself out of this labyrinth with courage and magnanimity, and in your evening do somewhat that may redeem the faults of the day. Consider that these men who by your assistance prosper in their bad ways, are doing their own business, and every day make a progress to their own ends. My lord Say, since all honest men have been undoing, hath bettered his own estate above twenty thousand pounds, besides advancing his younger sons to full and ample revenues; M. Pym hath sweat to purpose, and hath thrived so well in two years that he is your equal at least. They who abhor Bishops, revenge themselves at your charge; and every action that advances that design, is more pleasant to them than life. Your great General hath the sovereign delight of opposing the King, and having his health drank with loud musique. Pennington, Ven, Fulk, and Manwaring are from broken, beggarly, contemptible varlets, become your fellow Peers, and no doubt when they have reconciled your Lordships and the Commons into one House, will have the negative voice, which you two have snatched from the King, deposited in their hands. That vital part of the Kingdom, the city,

ministers of London, or to any seven or more of them, to impose hands upon such persons whatsoever whom they found qualified and gifted for the holy ministry;* a clause being added thereunto, 'That every person and persons which were so 'ordained, should be reputed, deemed, and taken for a minister 'of the Church of England, sufficiently authorised for any office 'or employment in it, and capable of receiving all advantages 'which appertained to the same.' To shew the nullity and invalidity of which ordinations, a learned tractate was set out by Dr. Bohe, Chaplain sometimes the right Reverend Dr. Houson, Bishop of Oxford first, and of Durham afterwards,

will never be trusted in your custody who have managed all the rest so ill. If any accident should happen, providence or victory, to defeat them, these men have been good and wary husbands, and have the fortitude to love any country equal to their own. Is your lordship of a constitution fit to mingle with these men? Is your revenue improved, or exchequer inlarged since these troubles? Is any one design of yours satisfied by your concurrence, or can you be content to die a Peer of New-England, or the Isle of Providence? Is not your reputation and interest with all good men lost, and have you one friend left whose face you knew a year before this Parliament? These are melancholique considerations, but you must pass through them; and then if some noble, at least some honest resolution do not possess you, resolve to die the last of your name, and to leave this character behind you, *That, notwithstanding all your discourse and pretence of religion, you would have turned Turk, if the major part of both Houses and the stronger part of the Kingdom had required you to take a covenant to that purpose.*"—LETTER *to a Noble Lord at London from a friend at Oxford.*

The preceding extract contains a most impressive lesson to Noblemen, not to degrade their characters and diminish their influence by becoming the patrons of seditious persons, or by yielding to all the unreasonable and varying passions of an uninstructed multitude. When the period of its publication is considered, (the year 1643, after the actual commencement of hostilities between the King and Parliament,) the words of the author seem to have been awfully prophetic with regard to those noblemen who disgraced themselves by their disloyal conduct at that critical juncture.

* "But after the Covenant was appointed to be taken, and was generally swallowed of both clergy and laity, my power of ordination was with some strange violence restrained. For when I was going on in my wonted course, (which no law or ordinance had inhibited,) certain forward volunteers in the city, banding together, stir up the Mayor and Aldermen and Sheriffs to call me to an account for an open violation of their Covenant. To this purpose divers of them came to my gates at a very unseasonable time, and knocking very vehemently, required to speak with the Bishop! Messages were sent to them, to know their business. Nothing would satisfy them but the Bishop's presence; at last I came down to them, and demanded what the matter was; they would have the gate opened, and then they would tell me; I answered, that I would know them better first: If they had any thing to say to me, I was ready to hear them. They told me they had a writing to me from Mr. Mayor, and some other of their magistrates. The paper contained both a challenge of me for breaking the Covenant, in ordaining ministers; and withal required me to give in the names of those which were ordained by me both then and formerly since the Covenant. My answer was, that Mr. Mayor was much abused by those who had misinformed him, and drawn that paper from him; that I would the next day give a full answer to the writing. They moved, that my answer might be by my personal appearance at the Guildhall. I asked them when they ever heard of a Bishop of Norwich appearing before a Mayor. I knew mine own place, and would take that way of answer which I thought fit; and so dismissed them, who had given out that day, that, *had they known before of mine ordaining, they would have pulled me, and those whom I ordained, out of the chapel by the ears.*"—HALL'S *Hard Measure.*

never since answered by the Presbyterians, either Scots or English. Next after, comes the *Directory*, or new form of worship,* accompanied with an ordinance of the Lords and Commons on the third of January, for authorising the said Directory or form of worship; as also, for suppressing the public Liturgy, repealing all the acts of Parliament which confirmed the same, and abrogating all the ancient and established festivals,† that so Saint

* "What do they mean by *Directory for Worship &c.* Do they intend thereby some established set rule for publique prayer, administration of the sacraments, and other parts of God's worship and service? Believe me, then, they did wisely in expressing their meaning in such an unwonted phrase; for otherwise their covenant, for this very clause sake, would never have been indured by thousands that were most greedy in swallowing it. And here I cannot but smile to think, how hard the contrivers of this solemn league were put to it to find a title for their new-intended form of worship. They durst not for their ears, those that had any, call it a set form of service or publique prayers and administration of the sacraments; that had come too near the title of the English Common-Prayer Book: and rather than they will make use of that Protestant title, or come near it, they chose to borrow a complete Papist title from Parsons, or Radford, or Peter Camus, or some other of that Romish rabble, (for I cannot recall any other that ever used that title but them,) and call it a *Directory for Worship, &c.* But how yet to make sense of bringing the *Churches of God, &c. to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in Directory for Worship, &c.* is past my skill. And so much for the nonsense of these words,—a little of their nonequity. What an unjust and unreasonable thing it is, for us of the Churches of England and Ireland, or those of the Church of Scotland, to swear 'that we 'will indeavour to bring the churches of God in the three Kingdoms, to the 'nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of 'church-government,' &c. when the church of Scotland hath a good while since amongst themselves, solemnly covenanted, and sworn in their covenant, subscribed at Edenborough, Anno Dom. 1581, 'That they will per-'severe in the doctrine and discipline of their church, and that they will ac-'cording to their calling and power defend the same all the days of their life, 'under pain of all the curses in the law, and upon the hazard of body and 'soul in the day of the dreadful judgement.' So that to make good this part of this present league, of bringing the churches of God in all three Kingdoms to a nearer conjunction and uniformity in confession of Faith, and discipline, than they are already in, either they of the church of Scotland must recede from their former vow and covenant in altering their doctrine and discipline, to bring it nearer to ours of the churches of England and Ireland; or else we of the churches of England and Ireland must wholly yield up and submit our doctrine and discipline to be altered according to theirs of the church of Scotland: Both which seem very unjust and unreasonable, especially without any necessary, and indispensible cause shewed why either should be done. For why may not the churches of God in the three Kingdoms, still retain their several distinct confessions of faith, and forms of worship, &c. which they have ever retained since their several reformations to this present, and that not with a few or small blessings from God attending them, as others of his approving the same? Why should we swear to rob our churches of such justifiable and honourable liberty, which God hath ever indulged his churches in several Kingdoms? Or if we must have but one confession of faith, and form of worship, &c. in all three Kingdoms, why should not ours *&* the church of England be thought as worthy to be that one, as theirs of the church of Scotland? Ours had the honour to be published to the world and approved by other reformed churches divers years before theirs saw light; and hath, since the publication" of both, had the approbation of more learned and religious men by far than ever theirs had.—*The Anti-confederacy, or the Hypocrisy of the late Covenant.* 1643.

† To modern readers, who are accustomed to observe the ancient festival of Christmas, the following extracts will sound somewhat harshly.—"Dec

Sabbath (as sometimes they called it) might be all in all. The insufficiency of which Directory to the ends proposed in the same, pronounced the weakness of the ordinance which authorised it; and the excellency of the public Liturgy, in all the parts and offices of it, was no less learnedly evinced* by Dr.

25, 1654. CHRISTMAS-DAY. No public offices in churches, but penalties on observers, [those who observed the day,] so as I was constrained to celebrate it at home." EVELYN'S *Diary*.

That violent republican, Edmund Calamy, who was a member of the Westminster Assembly preached a sermon before the House of Lords, from Matt. xii, 25, at their monthly fast in 1644, which was appointed that year to be held on Christmas-day. In reference to this appropriation of the day to *fasting* instead of *feasting*, Calamy said: "This day is commonly called *the Feast of Christ's Nativity*, or *Christmas-day*: a day that has formerly been much abused to superstition and profaneness. It is not easy to say, whether *the superstition* has been greater, or the *profaneness*. I have known some, who have preferred Christmas-day to the Lord's-day. I have known those who would be sure to receive the sacrament upon Christmas-day, though they did not receive it all the year after. Some persons, though they did not play at cards all the year long, yet they must play at Christmas; thereby, it seems, to keep in memory the birth of Christ. This, and much more, hath been the profanation of this Feast. And truly I think, that the superstition and profanation of this day is so rooted into it, as that there is no way to reform it but by dealing with it as Hezekiah did with the brazen serpent. This year, God by his providence has buried this FEAST in a FAST, and I hope it will never rise again. You have set out, right honourable, a strict order for keeping the Fast; and you are here this day to observe your own order, and I hope you will do it strictly. The necessities of the times are great; never more need of prayer and fasting. The Lord give us grace to be humbled on this day of humiliation for all our own and England's sins, and especially for the old superstition and profanation of this Feast!"

* "But these new employments no way diverted him from his former tasks; for, according to his wonted method, he continued to address remedies to the increasing mischiefs of the times, and published the tracts of Superstition, Idolatry, Sins of Weakness and Wilfulness, Death-bed Repentance, View of the Directory; as also, in answer to a Romanist, who, taking advantage of the public ruin, hoped to erect thereon trophies to the Capitol, his Vindication of the Lord Falkland, who was not long before fallen in another kind of war." FELL'S *Life of Hammond*.

In this laudable manner did Dr. Hammond defend the Church against two of its inveterate enemies, the Papist and the revolutionary Presbyterian. For his successful refutation of the latter, his memory has been undeservedly maligned by those individuals who, through their injudicious excuses, "do allow the sanguinary deeds of their fathers." Among these Mr. Orme is very conspicuous: In his *Memoirs of Dr. Owen* he states the controversy which arose between Hammond and Owen respecting some of the opinions of Grotius then recently deceased; he then informs us, that his hero "successfully establishes what he had formerly asserted" on the subject of dispute; and adds, "Hammond rests the defence of his hero, on his work 'De Satisfactione,' and on the denial, that his posthumous work on the epistles was not properly his, as it contained sentiments contrary to his declared opinions in his life. Without pronouncing a positive opinion on the subject of dispute, it must be admitted, that Grotius afforded strong reason for suspecting that he either did not believe, or that he considered the doctrines referred to, as of inferior importance. Dr. Hammond, the opponent of Owen on this occasion, was a man of talents, learning, and character. He was one of the warmest defenders of his church, and a most devoted servant of Charles, its royal head; to whose love of power and of Popery, he had no serious objections. His New Testament shews him to have been a considerable critic, though influenced by strong systematic prejudices. His controversial writings discover more of learning than of judgment; and mark a greater deference to the authority of Fathers and Councils, than to that of Christ and his Apostles."

Hammond, then newly made a Chaplain in ordinary to his Sacred Majesty; which though it might have satisfied all equal and unbiassed men, yet neither learning nor reason could be

This ungracious attack upon Grotius I shall take another opportunity to repel. One circumstance, however, is very evident: Mr. Orme has, in the judgment now delivered, proved himself to be as ill-informed about the facts in the case of Grotius, as about those which relate to Dr. Hammond. His remarks on this great man's "deference to the authority of Fathers and Councils" receive an easy reply in the notes, pages 395 and 430; but when he says, that Dr. Hammond's "deference" to these human authorities was "GREATER than to that of Christ and his Apostles," he begins to act the part of a public defamer, and to blame what he does not understand. Mr. Orme, and others of his class, cannot be too frequently reminded, that when the great and learned divines of our Church produce authorities from the Ancient Fathers for the doctrines which they advance, they exhibit the greatest proof of their diffidence and humility in not obtruding upon other men the crude inventions of their own spirits, but those evangelical doctrines which have received the suffrage of Christian Antiquity. When the Denomination of christians to which Mr. O. belongs shall be able to produce and substantiate such a claim as the following, by Bishop Atterbury, he and his friends may be allowed to become competent witnesses in this case, and to deliver their unbiassed testimony respecting the *quantum* of deference that is due to Fathers and Councils; till that period arrives, he must submit to be told, that, on this subject, "A LITTLE LEARNING is a dangerous thing!" Bishop Atterbury says: "Ye are the sons of a clergy, whose undissembled and unlimited veneration for the holy scriptures hath not hindered them from paying an inferior, but profound regard to the best interpreters of scripture, the primitive writers; in whose works, as none have been more conversant than they, so none have made a better use of them towards reviving a spirit of primitive piety in themselves and others. And their searches and endeavours of this kind have been blessed with a remarkable success: For, as to the earliest and most valuable remains of pure antiquity, (such are those of Barnabas, and Clement, and Ignatius, and Polycarp,) I may safely venture to say, 'that the members of this church have done more towards either 'bringing them to light, or freeing them from corruption, or illustrating 'their doctrine, or asserting their authority, than *the members of any 'church*, or indeed *of all the churches in the world*.'"

The extracts from Dr. Hammond which have been already quoted, will stand as proofs, that he possessed no mean share of imagination. Concerning this accomplished divine, who is here said to have displayed "more *learning* than *judgment*," Mr. Orme further says, "He had no serious objections" to his royal master's "love of power and of Popery." On this point I join issue with Mr. Orme, and challenge him to shew, that Dr. Owen, who is depicted by him as the first and greatest champion of constitutional liberty in England, had at that early period made any such liberal concessions in favour of religious toleration, or had pleaded with such propriety the just liberties of subjects, as Dr. Hammond has done in the production against the Papists which Bishop Fell describes at the commencement of this note. Yet this is far from being the sole instance of the doctor's aversion to arbitrary power and Popery.

Few of my readers will require to be told, that, at the commencement of the Civil War, the Papists insinuated themselves as church-members or as preachers among all the new-fangled sects and parties, and inflicted a serious injury on Protestantism, by inculcating this doctrine, "that the only remedy for all existing evils and differences, was, their adherence to an infallible head and guide in matters of faith." Lord Falkland wrote an essay against "the Infallibility of the Church of Rome." A Roman Catholic attempted to refute this able pamphlet in a *Treatise Apologetical*, in which the following is one of the specious arguments which he employs: "Besides, if we [the Papists] were to yield, to whom were it to be done? There is a world of distracted sectaries now in this kingdom, all sprung from the same roll, or from

heard in the new assembly; or, if it were, the voice thereof was drowned by the noise of the ordinances. For on the 23d of

the rule of faith which is common to you all, of which one sort imagines there is no Papacy, and these were the first ring-leaders of all the rout; another, that there is no episcopacy; a third, that there is no clergy, but that lay-elders is all in all, and must rule the roast; a fourth, that there is no church nor church-government at all, but that the church is like a school of philosophers, where every man may believe and do what he pleases without being accountable to another or any obligation of conformity: And, peradventure, the inquirer was one of this number, together with his confederate, Mr. Chillingworth; a fifth sort, that there is no Trinity; a sixth, that there is no sacrament, or at least none necessary or effectual. Is it not fit, think you, that these divided christians should come and write laws to others, or punish any man for non-conformity? Nothing more improbable! It is a comedy, to see Dr. Featly a Protestant, and Page a Puritan, make catalogues of heretics; and, when they have done, can find no way whereby to exempt themselves, nor give a reason why they themselves should not be of the number, as much sectaries as any others of the catalogue!"

Dr. Hammond engaged in a reply to this Popish performance, and produced his *View to some Exceptions*, in 1645. The Preface says: "The sad effects of the present differences and divisions of this broken kingdom having made peace, and unity, and infallibility, such precious desirable things, that if there were but one wish offered to each man among us, it would certainly, with a full consent, be laid out on this one treasure, *the setting up some Catholic umpire or days-man, some visible, infallible definer of controversies:* the pretenders to that infallibility, having the luck to be alone in that pretension, have been looked on with some reverence, and, by those who knew nothing of their grounds or arguments, acknowledged to speak, if not true, yet seasonably; and having so great an advantage upon their auditors, and so a fair probable entrance, by that inlet of their affections, to their minds, they began to redouble their industry, and their hopes; and, instead of the many particulars of the Romish doctrine, for which they were wont to offer proof in the retail, now set all their strength upon this one in gross." Describing the arts of his author, he adds: "By all this, [I am] endeavouring to lay grounds for all men to judge, how little truth there is in that so epidemical persuasion, that there is no middle betwixt *asserting an infallible judge* and *the falling headlong into all the schisms and heresies of this present age.* My conscience assuring me, that the grounds on which the established Church of England is founded, are of so rare and excellent mixture, that as none but intelligent truly christian minds can sufficiently value the composition, so there is no other in Europe so likely to preserve peace and unity, if what prudent laws had so long ago *designed*, they now were able to *uphold:* For want of which, and which only, it is, that at present the whole fabric lies polluted in confusion and in blood, and hopes not for any binding up of wounds, for restoration of any thing that looks like christian, till the faith of the reformed English have the happiness to be weighed prudently, and, the military sword being timely sheathed, the power and laws of peace be returned into those hands which are ordained by God the defenders of it." He commences the refutation of some of the Papist's arguments in favour of burning heretics, in the following manner: "As for that of burning men here for religion, you seem unwilling to be tried by antiquity in this point, 'Because,' say you, 'antiquity did not all it might, but left somewhat to 'posterity to add.' Yet, sure, this was a little unlucky that your *additions* to antiquity should be of this bloody complexion. Christ's addition to the ancients was, *to love and bless and pray for enemies*, not to retaliate injuries upon any terms: and your improvement of the ancient doctrine and practice is of somewhat a distant making; your *Sermon on the Mount*, (EBAL, it seems,) to your disciples, is persecuting and massacring of friends which never provoked you, but *by not being entirely of your opinion.*" He concludes his remarks on this part of his adversary's argument, in the following words: "Then, if you will make the comparison to go no farther than ourselves, what shoals of persons (far enough from the teaching illegal things, even

August, Anno 1645, another ordinance comes thundering from the Lords and Commons, from the more effectual execution of

from teaching at all,) were in Queen Mary's days, whole becatombs at once, offered up to your fury. So remarkable are your proceedings herein, that I fear it was not a jest of him that said at Geneva, *Servetus occidendus est, ne apud exteros ecclesiæ nostræ male audiant*; 'That Servetus was to be burnt, 'that their churches might not hear ill abroad,' that is, that the Papists might not be scandalized; which if it were the consideration that moved in that matter, then have you more blood *lying at your door*, than *what you have spilt*; even that which, in care and caution, those, whom you recriminate, shed by your example, and that you might not be scandalized at their mercy and lenity. This were, I confess, an ill excuse to them [the Calvinists] that were so careful to transcribe that bloody lesson, (and which is worse, if you will have mine opinion, they have no better,) but yet will be an argument that you are not over fit to accuse them for it. ERASMUS among you, and CASTELLIO among us, were, about the beginning of the Reformation, very bitter against such dealing. The former you may see in his notes upon St. Jerome, (*Ep. ad Læt.*, t. i, p. 39,) where he can hardly allow them the name of Christians that fight for religion, (kill for religion,) though against the Turk; as if war were wont to make christians, *cum ipsi Turcam in pectore geramus*, 'when the very using of this violence is a prime piece of Turcism.' The latter wrote a book on purpose against that practice. I wish the whole christian world of both parties would suffer themselves to be represented by a couple of such meek and honest proxies. Be you pleased to convert as many as you can to the doctrine of neither killing nor damning, and I will promise you to do the like; and that will be better employment for us than this debate. And, because examples are the most popular arguments, I will help you to one of this nature and leave you to apply it: Nero went through Greece a-contending in the *Musica Certamina*, with all that pretended to that skill. If he had the better of it, he was crowned; if not, he took care that they that had the better of him were put to death. The issue of it was, that they that had skill did on purpose play as ill as they could; he conquered wherever he came, was crowned when he was there, and, when he was gone, was counted a madman."

On the subject of toleration, his sentiments are thus on record against his Popish antagonist: "Your restraint or exception is, 'that where a kingdom 'is in a peaceable possession of Catholic religion, there it is no cruelty to in-'flict these punishments on the teachers of new doctrines.'—And for this, you say, there is reason, which cannot probably be contradicted; but you are so very uncourteous and contemptuous to us as not to think us worthy to partake of the least syllable of such reason, unless that must go for one,—'that wicked men aim at temporal contents, and are consequently with-held 'by temporal punishments,' which shall be acknowledged a reason, when *difference in opinion* appears to be an impiety of so much design, and when all whom you call *heretics*, are, by you, proved to be worms of the earth, deep worldly designers also. For truly, I confess, to all those things which are committed by any who may justly be presumed to commit them *against conscience*, for some worldly interest, I should give my willing suffrage that some temporal bitterness should be apportioned; that so seeing their error, and finding temporal pains instead of temporal advantages to be their portion, they may be disciplined to better and more honest thoughts. Nay, if the doctrines tend to liberty, I mean either as Mahomet's did to all kind of voluptuous living, or that other liberty, *the shaking off the yoke of civil obedience to the magistrate set over them by God*, (of which some of your friends, and some others that call themselves *reformed*, but in my opinion are very far from it, have been guilty,)—it is then lawful to co-erce such innovators, if the prudence of the state shall think fit. But *difference in opinion*, (though it be in a kingdom never so peaceably possest of the Catholic religion,) *if it tend not to eny of these dangers, nor be convincible of those impieties and designs*, WILL BY NO REASON OR CONSEQUENCE BE INVOLVED IN THAT NUMBER."

His adversary endeavoured to give a less exceptionable view of his sentiments, by saying, "My sense is, *that religion may not be* PLANTED *by arms*,

the Directory for public worship; with several clauses in the same, not only for dispersing and use thereof, but for calling in

but, being once planted and in quiet possession, it may." To this Dr. Hammond replies: "At an adventure I shall make a plain state: If your doctrines were in quiet possession here, and you should know of any man that taught the contrary to them, must your sword be drawn against him, or no? I beseech you, answer out of the sense of your brethren, that we may know what to expect from you. For my own part, I shall make no scruple to tell you, that, though the defender of the faith have the power of the sword given him by God to that end, to govern in godliness and quiet, and may therefore draw it effectually against any that raise sedition to bring in some other religion against that which is by law established, or [against any] that vent doctrines that are in themselves seditious, yet ought he not only [merely] in case of *any single doctrine* or *difference in religion*, (where none of the *civil interests* are concerned, no violent assault made or feared from the dissenters,) to unsheath his slaughtering sword against any such dissenter, provided always that that doctrine be not blasphemous. And they that, consenting to this truth, will yet tyrannize over men's souls *in ordine ad temporalia*, as you and some others have done over men's bodies and estates *in ordine ad spiritualia*, shall never be excused by me. And of this opinion I conceive there might be vouched as learned and as primitive-tempered christians as any that are more zealously and so more bloodily minded." Many passages, still more catholic and tolerant, might be selected from the good Doctor's pamphlet.

These noble sentiments, though not in every point unexceptionable, will yet be allowed to hold the pre-eminence over those of Dr. Owen, which have been thus pourtrayed by a writer of the greatest accuracy, judgment, and moderation: "With all deference, however, to the admirers of Dr. Owen, we presume that his merits as a friend and advocate of religious liberty have been somewhat over-rated. It does not appear that he renounced the narrow and intolerant views of the Presbyterians on this subject, till about the year 1645; and for a considerable time after that period, his principles, compared with those which had been avowed by many of his contemporaries, were not at all remarkable for liberality and catholicism. While he held the Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Oxford, he was concerned in condemning two Quaker women to be publicly whipped for addressing a congregation in one of the churches, after the celebration of Divine service; notwithstanding they had been already treated with more than brutal violence by some of the students, in consequence of which one of them died soon afterwards. The conduct of these misguided females, however, may be considered as a civil offence: they certainly had no right to occupy the church for any such purpose, and they might have cast unwarrantable reflections upon the officiating minister; a case which was not uncommon in those times. Yet, considering their sex, their conscientious motives, and the treatment they had just received, it would have required no very singular stretch of forbearance in the Doctor, to have been satisfied with the infliction of a punishment less severe; especially as the Mayor absolutely refused to interfere, expressing his conviction that the women, though mistaken, were sincerely religious, and had no evil intention. Besides, the execution of such a sentence was illegal, when unsanctioned by the chief magistrate of the city. But waiving this circumstance, the Doctor did not publish any thing *expressly* on the subject of toleration till the latter end of the year 1648, when the licentious army had dispersed the parliament, and murdered the King; and when every man was at liberty to write what he pleased against religious persecution with perfect impunity. But even then, speaking of what he conceived to be the duty of the civil magistrate, he says, 'Outward monuments, ways of declaring and holding out false and 'idolatrous worship, he is to remove: as the Papists' images, altars, pic-'tures, and the like;.....Prelates' Service Book:' that is, *the Book of Common Prayer*. In another publication, which bears the date of 1655, though he expresses his disapprobation of capital punishments in cases of heresy, he intimates that the burning of Servetus was an exception, and coolly thinks that '*the zeale of them that put him to death may be acquitted.*"

the Book of Common-prayer, under several penalties.* Which coming to his Majesty's knowledge, as soon as he returned to his winter-quarters, he published his proclamation of the 13th of November, commanding in the same the use of the Common-Prayer, notwithstanding any ordinance to the contrary from the Houses of Parliament. 'For taking notice, first, of those nota-'ble benefits which had for eighty years redounded to this na-'tion by the use of the Liturgy; he next observes, that by 'abolishing the said Book of Common-Prayer, and imposing the 'Directory, a way would be left open for all ignorant, factious, 'and evil men, to broach their fancies and conceits, be they 'never so erroneous, to mislead people into sin and rebellion 'against the King, to raise factions and divisions in the church;†

Now if Dr. Owen's views of religious freedom were so liberal and correct as his friends have often represented them, how is it that he should have expressed himself in language so highly objectionable? If liberty of conscience is one of the most sacred rights of human nature, it is a universal right. A Protestant magistrate therefore can have no legitimate authority to interfere with the peculiarities of Catholic worship, any more than a Catholic has to interfere with those of a Protestant. And on what ground could Dr. Owen justify an Independent or a Presbyterian magistrate in wresting from an Episcopalian *the Book of Common Prayer*, which would not equally justify an Episcopalian in the prohibition of *extemporaneous worship?* And if the unhallowed 'zeal' of those men who burnt Servetus alive may be 'acquitted,' upon what principle shall the 'zeal' of Gardiner and Bonner be condemned? To Dr. Owen the Christian Church is under some obligation for his writings on the subject of religious liberty, but he certainly was not 'one of the first of our countrymen who entertained just and liberal notions of the right of private judgment and of toleration;' much less can he be ranked among the first of those by whom they were openly avowed and consistently defended."—JACKSON'S *Life of Goodwin.*

* "Bishop Sanderson seemed to lament that the Parliament had taken upon them to abolish our Liturgy, to the grief and scandal of so many devout and learned men, and the disgrace of those many martyrs, who had sealed the truth and necessary use of it with their blood: and that no minister was now thought godly that did not decry it; and, at least, pretend to make better prayers *extempore:* and that they, and only they that could do so, prayed by the Spirit, and were godly; though in their sermons they disputed, and evidently contradicted each other in their prayers. And as he did dislike this, so he did most highly commend the *Common Prayer* of the church, saying, 'The Holy Ghost seemed to assist the composers; and 'that the effect of a constant use of it would be, to melt and form the soul 'into holy thoughts and desires, and beget habits of devotion.' This he said: and 'that the Collects were the most passionate, proper, and most elegant 'comprehensive expressions that any language ever afforded; and that there 'was in them such piety, and that so interwoven with instructions, that they 'taught us to know the power, the wisdom, the majesty, and mercy of God, 'and much of our duty both to him and our neighbour; and that a congre-'gation behaving themselves reverently, and putting up to God these joint 'and known desires for pardon of sins, and their praises for mercies received, 'could not but be more pleasing to God than those raw unpremeditated ex-'pressions which many understood not, and to which many of the hearers 'could not say Amen.'" WALTON'S *Life of Bishop Sanderson.*

† "If any question be moved concerning the doctrine of the Church of England, expressed in the Thirty-Nine Articles, give not the least ear to the movers thereof, that is so soundly and so orthodoxally settled, as cannot be questioned without extreme danger to the honour and stability of our religion, which hath been sealed with the blood of so many martyrs and confessors as are famous through the christian world. The enemies and underminers

'and finally, to utter those things for their prayers in the con-
'gregation, to which no conscientious man can say AMEN. And
'thereupon he gives commandment to all ministers in their
'parish-churches, to keep and use the said Book of Common-
'Prayer, in all the acts and offices of God's public worship,
'according to the laws made in that behalf; and that the said Di-
'rectory should in no sort be admitted, received, or used; the
'said pretended ordinances, or any thing contained in them to
'the contrary notwithstanding.' But his Majesty sped no better by his proclamation, than the two Doctors did before by their learned arguments. For if he had found little or no obedience to his proclamations when he was strong, and in the head of a victorious and successful army, he was not to expect it in a low condition, when his affairs were ruinated and reduced to nothing.

On this subject the biographer of John Goodwin observes:

"This renowned Parliament, while professing to execrate the persecuting spirit of the prelates, whose property they had seized, in their Ordinance for putting the Directory in execution not only prohibited the use of the Book of Common Prayer in all places of public worship; but also subjected those who should use it in their families or in secret, to the penalty of five pounds for the first offence, of ten pounds for the second, and, for the third, to one whole year's imprisonment, without bail or mainprize."

thereof are the Romish Catholics (so styling themselves) on the one hand, whose tenents are inconsistent with the truth of religion, professed and protested by the Church of England (whence we are called PROTESTANTS), and the Anabaptists and Separatists and sectaries on the other hand, whose tenents are full of schism and inconsistent with monarchy: For the regulating of either, there needs no other co-ercion than the due execution of the laws already established by Parliament.

"If any attempt be made to alter the discipline of our church, although it be not an essential part of our religion, yet it is so necessary not to be rashly altered, as the very substance of religion will be interessed in it: Therefore I desire you, before any attempt be made of an innovation by your means, or by any intercession to your master, that you will first read over and his Majesty call to mind that wise and weighty proclamation, which himself penned and caused to be published in the first year of his reign, and is prefixed in print before the Book of Common Prayer (of that impression), in which you will find so prudent, so weighty reasons, not to hearken to innovations, as will fully satisfy you that it is dangerous to give the least ear to such innovators, but it is desperate to be misled by them. But to settle your judgment, mark but the admonition of the wisest of men, King Solomon, (Prov. xxvii, 21,) *My son, fear God and the king, and meddle not with those who are given to change.*"—Sir Francis BACON'S *Letter of Advice to the Duke of Buckingham, when he became Favourite to King James.*

* In reference to this interdict the following anecdote is told in Parr's Life of Archbishop Usher, page 75. "Cromwell, being now highly enraged against the loyal party, for their indefatigable though unsuccessful endeavours for his majesty's restoration to his throne, after he had shewed himself very implacable and severe to the cavalier gentry, (as they then called them,) began now to discharge part of his rage upon the orthodox clergy, forbidding them, under great penalties, to teach schools, or to perform any part of their ministerial function: whereupon some of the most considerable Episcopal clergy, in and about London, desired my lord Primate, that he would use his

In the year 1655, these severities were much increased by Cromwell's *Declaration*,* in which the sequestered or ejected clergy were incapacitated under severe penalties, from teaching school, living in private families as chaplains or domestic tutors, preaching in any public place or at any private meeting, administering Baptism or the Lord's Supper, marrying any persons, and from using the Book of Common Prayer,† &c. In Bishop Fell's most

interest with Cromwell, (since they heard he pretended a great respect for him,) that, as he granted liberty of conscience to almost all sorts of religions, so the Episcopal divines might have the same freedom of serving God in their private congregations, (since they were not permitted the public churches,) according to the Liturgy of the Church of England; and that neither the ministers, nor those that frequented that service, might be any more hindered, or disturbed by his soldiers. So according to their desires, he went and used his utmost endeavours with Cromwell for the taking off this restraint, which was at last promised (though with some difficulty), that they should not be molested, provided they meddled not with any matters relating to his Government. But when the Lord Primate went to him a second time, to get this promise ratified and put into writing, he found him under his chirurgeon's hands, who was dressing a great boil which he had on his breast. So Cromwell prayed the Lord Primate to sit down a little; and that, when he was dressed, he would speak with him. Whilst this was a-doing, Cromwell said to the Lord Primate, *If this core* (pointing to the boil) *were once out, I should quickly be well.* To whom the good Bishop replied, *I doubt the core lies deeper. There is a core at the heart that must be taken out, or else it will not be well.—Ah!* replied he, seeming unconcerned, *so there is indeed*, and sighed. But when the Lord Primate began to speak to him concerning the business he came about, he answered him to this effect: that he had since better considered it, having advised with his Council about it, and that they thought it not safe for him to grant liberty of conscience to those sort of men, who are restless and implacable enemies to him and his Government; and so he took his leave of him, though with good words and outward civility. The Lord Primate seeing it was in vain to urge it any farther, said little more to him, but returned to his lodgings very much troubled and concerned that his endeavours had met with no better success; when he was in his chamber, he said to some of his relations and myself that came to see him, 'This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses 'to perform what he promised; well, he will have little cause to glory in his 'wickedness, for he will not continue long: The King will return; though 'I shall not live to see it, you may. The government both in church and 'state is in confusion: The Papists are advancing their projects, and making 'such advantages as will hardly be prevented.'"

† "Nov. 27, 1655. This day came forth the Protector's edict or proclamation, prohibiting all ministers of the church of England from preaching or teaching any schools, in which he imitated the Apostate Julian.

"Dec. 25, 1655. There was no more notice taken of Christmas-day in churches. I went to London, where Dr. Wild preached *the funeral sermon of preaching;* this being the last day after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach or administer sacraments, teach school, &c. on pain of imprisonment or exile. So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen, or the Church of England herself since the Reformation; to the great rejoicing of both Papist and Presbyter. So pathetic was his discourse, that it drew many tears from the auditory. Myself, wife, and some of our family, received the communion. God make me thankful, who hath hitherto provided for us the food of our souls as well as bodies! The Lord Jesus pity our distressed church and bring back the captivity of Zion."—EVELYN'S *Diary*.

It is added in a subsequent note: "The text was 2 Cor. xiii, 9, ['*For we 'are glad, when we are weak and ye are strong: And this also we wish, even 'your perfection.*'] That, however persecution dealt with the ministers of

edifying Life of Dr. Hammond, it is said: "The interdict of Jan. 1655, disabled the loyal suffering clergy from doing any ministerial act; which he resented with the highest passion; not only upon the general account of God's more immediate displeasure to the nation legible therein, but (what he had much less reason to do) in reference to his own particular; he looking on this dispensation of Providence as God's pronouncing him unworthy to do him service, 'the reproaching' (to use his own words) 'his former unprofitableness, by casting him out as straw to the dunghill.' Nor should any consideration that terminated on himself have persuaded him at all to regard that tyrannous injunction, had not charity to the family where he was, made him content to admit of an expedient that secured all real duties, whilst he for some short time forbore that attendance on the altar which was the very joy of his life. And now, though his physicians had earnestly forbidden his accustomed fastings, and his own weaknesses gave forcible suffrages to their advice, yet he resumed his rigours, esteeming this calamity such a one as admitted no exception, which should not be outlived, but that it became men to be martyrs too, and deprecate even in death.*

God's word, they were still to pray for the flock and wish their perfection, as it was [the duty of] the flock to pray for and assist their pastors, by the example of St. Paul."

"Aug. 3, 1656. I went to London to receive the blessed sacrament, the first time the Church of England was reduced to a chamber and conventicle, —so sharp was the persecution! The parish churches were filled with sectaries of all sorts, blasphemous and ignorant mechanics usurping the pulpits every where. Dr. Wild [formerly chaplain to Archbishop Laud] preached in a private house in Fleet-street, where we had a great meeting of zealous christians who were generally much more devout and religious than in our greatest prosperity." *Ibid.*

* Dr. Hammond was indeed "one of the warmest defenders of his church" and a very warm oppugner of Popery, (notwithstanding Mr. Orme's unjust insinuations to the contrary,) as the following most eloquent extract from one of his sermons, preached before the Court at Oxford, in 1645, will testify:

"Have the Romanists' marks of the church so convinced us that we must presently forsake our Saviour, because we see him in danger of crucifying, tear our gospels and run out with horror as soon as we come to the 26th of Matthew,—'the multitude came with swords and staves for to take him?' Was the cause of God worth the charge and pains of killing men formerly, and is it not worth the patience and constancy of suffering now? Is there any condition in the world so hugely desireable, as that of suffering for or with Christ? 'Behold, we count them happy that suffer,' was gospel in St. James his days. The state of suffering is a state of bliss, I may add, a superior degree of a glorified state, a more than ισαγγελια, [equality with the angels,] a dignity above that orb that the angels move in. For, they, for want of bodies, are deprived of the honour of suffering; all that they aspire to is but to be our seconds, our assistants in this combat: Only Christ and we have the enclosure of that vast preferment. And if there be any need to heighten it yet farther, Is there any prize more worthy that masculine valour, than that venerable sacred name, 'JERUSALEM THE MOTHER OF US ALL,' that brought us forth unto Christ, begot us to all our hope of bliss; and now, for no other crime but that, is a struggling under the pangs and agonies of a bitter combat with the ingratefullest children under heaven;—THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND I mean, which whosoever

" While he thus earnestly implored the aids of heaven, and exhorted unto present duty, he omitted not a third expedient, by securing a succession to the church, thereby to preserve its future being. And this he did, not only in reference to the superior order of episcopacy,* (which it has pleased God now to

hath learning and temper enough to understand, knows to be the brightest image of primitive purity, the most perfect conjuncture of the most ancient and most holy faith that for these twelve hundred years any man ever had the honour of defending or suffering for. And should the provocations of an ungracious people, the not valuing or not walking worthy of the treasures here reserved, the rude continued iniquities of our holy things, tempt God to deliver it up, as he did once his ark to the Philistines, his Christ to the Pharisees and the soldiers, the zeal of the one, and the fury of the other; yet sure this would not be the confuting of what now I say, it would not, I must hope, be an argument of God's renouncing that ark and that Christ, which he did thus deliver."

* The following extract of a letter from the celebrated M. Claude, to Bishop Stillingfleet conveys " the opinion of the generality of the French Churches concerning Episcopacy ;" and when it is considered, that this opinion proceeds from a Presbyterian pastor, it will appear to be exceedingly liberal :

" We are so very far from believing, that a man cannot live with a good conscience under your discipline and under your Episcopal government, that in our ordinary practice we make no difficulty, either to bestow our chairs, or to commit the care of our flocks, to ministers received and ordained by my Lords the Bishops ; as might be justified by a great number enough of examples both old and new : Wherefore our churches have always looked upon and considered yours, not only as *a sister*, but as *an elder sister*, for which we ought to have a kindness accompanied with respect and veneration, and for which we do present most ardent prayers unto God without ceasing. We do not enter into the comparison of your order with that under which we live. We know that there is not, neither can there be any amongst men, which, by reason of our natural corruption, is not subject to inconveniencies. Ours has hers, as well as yours; and the one and the other without doubt have their advantages and disadvantages in divers respects ; *alternis vincunt, et vincuntur*. It is enough for us to know, that the same Divine Providence, which, by an indispensable necessity and by the conjuncture of affairs, did at the beginning of the Reformation put our churches under that of the Presbytery, has put yours under that of the Episcopacy ; and as we are assured that you do not despise our simplicity, so neither ought we to oppose ourselves against your pre-eminence. So that, my Lord, we utterly disapprove and see with grief certain extreams whereinto some of the one side and of the other do cast themselves ; the one looking upon Episcopacy as an order so absolutely necessary, that without it there can be no ecclesiastical society, lawful vocation, or hope of salvation; and the other looking upon it with indignation as a relique of Antichristianism. These are equally heats and excesses, which do not come from him that calls us, and which do offend against the laws of wisdom and charity.

" For what concerns those which amongst you they call Presbyterians, as I am persuaded that they have light, and wisdom, and zeal, so I could wish with all my heart, that they would observe more moderation in the scandal they believe they have heretofore received from the Episcopal order, and that they would distinguish the persons from the ministry. The persons that possess the places have not only their faults, but it may happen too sometimes that the most holy and most eminent places may be possessed by wicked men ; and in that case reason and piety do equally require that we should not confound the ministry with the minister. At present, that God by his grace has taken away this scandal from before their eyes, and made them see piety, zeal, and constancy for the preservation of religion in the persons of the Bishops,—I hope that this will not a little contribute to the sweetening of their spirits. Besides, I could wish that they would be

secure by another more gracious method of his favour, and even miraculous goodness,) but also in the inferior attendance on the altar; the latter of which as it was an enterprize suiting well

pleased to consider that if there be some unpleasant inconveniencies in the Episcopal government, as I do not doubt but there are, there are too some very unpleasant ones in the Presbyterian, as I have said already. No order whose execution is in the hands of men, is exempt from them; an *equality* has its faults and excesses to be feared, as well as a *superiority*. Therefore it is not the most safe and wise way to leap from the one to the other, nor to hazard the making a general concussion, upon the hopes of being better, though one should be in authority and power to do it. Christian prudence, justice, and charity do not permit us to proceed to such daring and dangerous extreams, for a single difference of government. It is most safe and wise to endeavour to provide some kind of temper to avoid, or to lessen, as much as may be, the inconveniencies that are feared, and not have recourse to violent remedies."

The celebrated author of *the Interest of England, in the Matter of Religion, Unfolded*, makes the following enquiry: "Is there any thing in the nature of Prelacy that frames the mind to obedience and loyalty? or is there any thing in Presbytery, that inclines to rebellion and disobedience?"

To these interrogatories the zealous author of INTEREST MISTAKEN replies thus:

"OBSERVATION.—Truly I think there is. Prelacy holds a better proportion in the scale of order, as a more regular subordination of duties and relations. Nature and providence do not move by leaps, but by insensible and soft degrees, which give stability and beauty to the universe. Is not the world composed of disagreements, hot and cold, heavy and light?—And yet we see those oppositions are, by the means of middle and conciliating mixtures, wrought into a compliance. It is the same case in subject and superior. Higher and lower, betwixt top and bottom, are but as several links of one providential chain, where every individual, by virtue of this mutual dependency, contributes to the peace and benefit of the whole. Some are below me, and this sweetens the thought that I am below others: By which libration are preveuted those distempers which arise either from the affectation of more power or the shame of having none at all. As these degrees of *mean* and *noble* are, beyond doubt, of absolute necessity to political concord, so possibly the closer the remove, the better yet as to the point of social expedience; provided that the distances be such as to avoid confusion, and to preserve distinct offices and powers from interfering. Nor is this gradual method only suited to human interest, as being most accommodate to public quiet and to defend the sacredness of majesty from popular distempers; but it is the very rule which God himself imposes upon the whole creation: making of the same lump one vessel to honour and another to dishonour: (Rom. ix, 21.) Subjecting, by the law of his own will, this to that; that, to what is next above it; both, to a further power: all, to Himself. And here we rest, as at the Fountain of authority. From God, kings reign; they appoint their substitutes; and so on, to inferior delegations. ALL POWERS DERIVE FROM A DIVINE ORIGINAL.

"This orderly gradation, which we find in Prelacy, must needs beget a reverence to authority; the hierarchy itself depending upon a principle of obedience, whereas our Utopian Presbytery advances itself upon a level of confusion. It is a kind of negative faction, united to dissolve a laudable and settled frame of government, that they may afterward set up they know not what. We may have learnt thus much from late and sad experience: let him that would know more of it, read *the Survey of Pretended Holy Discipline*. I think it would be hard to shew one eminent Presbyterian, that stickles not for an aristocracy in the state as well as in the church; and he that said, *No Bishop no King*, gave a shrewd judgment; not as implying a prince's absolute dependence upon bishops; but, in effect, the King's authority is wounded through the church; the reformation of what is amiss belonging to the ruler not to the people. Yet I do not condemn all presbyters, not justify all prelates."

with his heroic mind, so was it no way answering his narrow fortunes. The thing in his design was this: Whereas the ancient stock of clergymen were by this edict in a manner ren-

" How came so many wise men in all ages to think that there is something in the frame and nature of *Episcopal* government that is more suitable to MONARCHY, than either the *Presbyterian*, or any other scheme? And for what reason did the most noted COMMONWEALTHS, when they reformed from Popery, make *Presbytery* their form of church-government? And how came it to pass that there are so few instances in the world in which MONARCHY and *Episcopacy* are not joined together? In our own country, we are sure, they rose and fell altogether; and if any future Prince shall have the curiosity to try whether Presbytery, when established, will not prove as good a support to Monarchy as Episcopacy has been found to be, it will be a very wanton experiment."—*Animadversions on a London Journal.*

In Bishop Stillingfleet's *Unreasonableness of Separation*, the following very just observations occur in reference to this subject:

" Let Dr. Owen give an account, how a change so great, so sudden, so universal, [as that of the rule of bishops in the Primitive Church,] should happen in the christian world, in the government of the church; that when Christ had placed the power in the people, the Bishops in so short a time should be every where settled, and allowed to have the chief management in church-affairs, without any controul from the people: which to me is as strong an argument as a matter of this nature will bear, that the power was at first lodged in them, and not in the people. For, as Mr. Noys of New-England well argues, ' It is not imaginable that Bishops should come by ' such power, as is recorded in Ecclesiastical history,—and that over all the ' world and in a way of ambition, in such humbling times, without all manner of opposition for 300 years together, and immediately after the apostles,— ' had it been usurpation or innovation. When and where is innovation without opposition? Would not elders, so many seeing and knowing men, at ' least some of them, have contended for truth, wherein their own liberties ' and rights were so much interessed? Aerius his opposing of Bishops, so ' long after their rise and standing, is inconsiderable.' The force of which reasoning will sway more with an impartial and ingenuous mind, than all the difficulties I ever yet saw on the other side.

" Bishop Bilson fully agrees as to these particulars: (1.) ' That the ' apostles did not at first commit the churches to the government of Bishops, ' but reserved the chief power of government in their own hands. (2) That ' upon experience of the confusion and disorder which did arise through ' equality of pastors, they did appoint at their departures certain approved men ' to be Bishops. (3.) That these Bishops did succeed the apostles in the care ' and government of churches,' as he proves at large; and therefore he calls their function *Apostolic*.—Instead of many others, which it were easy to produce, I shall only add the testimony of King Charles I. in his debates about Episcopacy, who understood the constitution of our church as well as any Bishop in it, and defended it with as clear and as strong a reason.

" In his first paper at the treaty at Newport, he thus states the case about Episcopal government: ' I conceive that Episcopal government is most con- ' sonant to the word of God, and of an apostolical institution; as it appears ' by the scriptures to have been practised by the apostles themselves, and by ' them committed and derived to particular persons as their substitutes or ' successors therein, (as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving rules ' concerning christian discipline, and exercising censures over Presbyters ' and others,) and hath ever since to these last times been exercised by Bi- ' shops in all the churches of Christ; and, therefore, I cannot in conscience ' consent to abolish the said government.'—In his reply to the first answer of the divines, he saith, ' that mere Presbyters are *Episcopi Gregis* only; ' they have the oversight of the flock in the duties of preaching, administration of sacraments, public prayer, exhorting, rebuking, &c. but Bi- ' shops are *Episcopi Gregis et Pastorum* too, having the oversight of flock ' and pastors within their several precincts in the acts of external govern- ' ment. And that, although the apostles had no successors *in eundem gra-*

dered useless, and the church was at best like the Roman state in its first beginning, *res unius ætatis populus virorum*, a nation of ancient persons hastening to their graves, who must in a few years be wasted; he projected by pensions unto hopeful persons in either University,* to maintain a seminary of youth, instituted

' *dum* as to those things that were extraordinary in them, as, namely, *the* ' *measure of their gifts, the extent of their charge, the infallibility of their* ' *doctrine*, and *the having seen Christ in the flesh;* but in those things that ' were not extraordinary, (and such those things are to be judged which are ' necessary for the service of the church in all times, as *the office of teach-* ' *ing and the power of governing* are,) they were to have, and had, succes- ' sors; and therefore the learned and godly fathers and councils of old times ' did usually style Bishops *the successors of the apostles*, without ever scru- ' pling thereat.' Many other passages might beproduced out of those excellent papers to the same purpose; but these are sufficient to discover that our Bishops are looked on as *successors to the apostles:* and therefore Mr. Baxter hath no reason to call our Episcopacy *a new devised species of churches*, and such as destroys the being of parochial churches."

* The reader will have already learnt, (page 346) that Dr. Hammond had been ejected from his situation in Christ Church, Oxford. The subjoined extract from WALTON'S *Life of Bishop Sanderson* will shew the fate of his learned friends, who could not submit to the new impositions. This was indeed the common fate of nearly every man in either university that was eminent for learning and loyalty. Dr. Hammond's plan therefore was a very excellent one, and well calculated for the purposes which he had in view:

" I proceed to tell the reader, that about the time of his reading those lectures, (the king being then prisoner in the Isle of Wight,) that part of the Parliament then at Westminster sent the covenant, the negative oath, and I know not what more to Oxford, to be taken by the doctor of the chair, and all heads of houses: and all the other inferior scholars, of what degree soever, were also to take these oaths by a fixed day: for those that did not were to abandon their colleges and the University too, within 24 hours after the beating of a drum; and if they remained longer, they were to be proceeded against as spies.

" Being possessed of this mistaken hope, that the men in present power were not yet grown so merciless, as not to allow manifest reason for their not submitting to the enjoined oaths, the University appointed the delegates to meet, consider, and draw up a manifesto to them, why they could not take those oaths but by violation of their consciences: And of these delegates Dr. Sheldon, (late arch-bishop of Canterbury,) Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Morley (now bishop of Winchester) and that most honest, very learned, and as judicious civil lawyer, Dr. Zouch, were a part: the rest I cannot now name; but the whole number of the delegates requested Dr. Zouch to draw up the law part, and give it to Dr. Sanderson, and he was requested to methodize and add what referred to reason and conscience, and put it into form. He yielded to their desires, and did so. And then, after they had been read in a full convocation, and allowed of, they were printed in Latin, that the Parliament's proceedings and the University's sufferings might be manifested to all nations; and the imposers of these oaths might repent, or answer them: but they were past the first; and for the latter, I might swear they neither can, nor ever will. And these reasons were also suddenly turned into English by Dr. Sanderson, that all those of these three kingdoms might the better judge of the cause of the loyal party's sufferings.

" I now return to Dr. Sanderson in the chair in Oxford, where they that complied not in taking *the covenant, negative oath, and parliament ordinance for church discipline and worship*, were under a sad and daily apprehension of expulsion; for the visitors were daily expected, and both city and university full of soldiers, and a party of Presbyterian divines, that were as greedy and ready to possess, as the ignorant and ill-natured visitors were to eject the dissenters out of their colleges and livelihoods. But not-

in piety and learning, upon the sober principles and old establishment of the Anglican Church. In which work, though the assistances he presumed on failed in a great measure, yet somewhat not inconsiderable* in this kind by himself and friends he did achieve, and kept on foot until his death. In his instructions to them whom he employed in this affair, he gave in charge 'carefully to seek out such as were piously inclined, and to prefer that qualification before unsanctified good parts;' adding this as a certain maxim, 'that exemplary virtue must restore the church.'

"And whereas that black defeat at Worcester, raising the insolent tyrant here unto that greatness which almost outwent the impudence of his hopes, made him to be feared by foreign nations almost as much as hated by his own, the loyal sufferers abroad became subjected to the worst effect of banishment,† and

withstanding, Dr. Sanderson did still continue to read his lecture, and did to the very faces of those Presbyterian divines and soldiers, read with so much reason, and with a calm fortitude make such applications, as, if they were not, they ought to have been, ashamed and [to have] begged pardon of God and him, and forborne to do what followed. But these thriving sinners were hardened; and as the visitors expelled the orthodox, they without scruple or shame possessed themselves immediately of their colleges; so that, with the rest, Dr. Sanderson was (in June 1648) forced to pack up and be gone, and thank God he was not imprisoned, as Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, and others then were."

* In Dr. Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, it is stated:

"One of the persons upon whom a portion of this bounty was most deservedly bestowed, was Isaac Barrow, afterwards the great precursor of Sir Isaac Newton, and the pride of the English pulpit; and another was the Rev. Clement Ellis, a divine whose writings in practical theology, for their eminent and fervent piety, for soundness of doctrine, and for a vigorous, unaffected, and manly style, have been very rarely surpassed; and deserve to be much more extensively known, than it is apprehended they now are, or ever have been."

† Many eminent and conscientious Episcopal clergymen, it has been already stated, were compelled to consult their safety in exile. In 1641, after the breaking out of the horrid Irish rebellion, "by which Archbishop Usher lost every particle of his property, except his library and some furniture in his house in Drogheda, the city and University of Leyden offered to choose him their honorary professor, with a more ample stipend than had formerly been annexed to that place: And Dr. Bernard likewise tells us, that Cardinal Richelieu did, about the same time, make him an invitation to come into France, with a promise of a very noble pension and freedom of his religion there. But it pleased his late Majesty [then] to provide for him much better in England."

When Cardiff was given up in 1645, as one of the King's garrisons, the Lord Primate, having long resided there with his loyal son-in-law Sir T. Tyrrel, "had some thoughts of going over into France or Holland. But whilst he was in this perplexity, the lady-dowager Stradling sent him a kind invitation to come to her castle of St. Donate's, as soon as he pleased; which he accepted, as a great favour.

"Within a little more than a month after my Lord Primate's coming hither, he was taken with a sharp and dangerous illness, which began at first with the straugury and suppression of urine, with extremity of torture which at last caused a violent bleeding at the nose, for near forty hours together, without any considerable intermission, no means applied could stop it, so that the physicians and all about him despaired of his life, till at last, when

even there expelled and driven from their flights: so paralleling in their exigencies the most immediate objects of that monster's fury. The excellent doctor, to whose diffusive virtue the limits of the nation were too strait a circle, thought this a season to exert his charity: accordingly, though this greatest duty were solemnly declared treason, he then continued to send over several sums for their relief.

"Which practice of his, by the surprise of the person entrusted, being discovered to the tyrant, he was alarmed with the expectation of that usage which was then a certain consequent of such meritorious acts. But this adventure brought nothing of amazement or disturbance to the doctor, his most importunate reflection being only this, that he seemed to have gained an opportunity of saying something very home to that fierce monster concerning his foul deeds,* and to discourse the

we apprehended he was expiring, it staunched of itself: For he lay a good while in a trance; but God had some farther work for him to perform, and was pleased by degrees to restore him to his former health and strength. While he was thus bleeding, there came to visit him one of the then House of Commons, that was related by marriage to that family. To whom he said, 'Sir, you see I am very weak, and cannot expect to live many hours; you are 'returning to the Parliament, I am going to God; my blood and life are 'almost spent. I charge you to tell them from me, *That I know they are in 'the wrong, and have dealt very injuriously with the King, and I am not mis-'taken in this matter.*'

"After the Lord Primate had fully recovered his strength at St. Donate's, and been most kindly entertained, and tenderly used during his great weakness, by the lady of that place, he began now to consider where next to remove, but the King's affairs growing every day more desperate, and Oxford like speedily to be taken, there was no returning thither; nor yet had he a mind to trust himself at London, the faction there being very much exasperated against him: Therefore he began to re-assume his former thoughts of passing beyond the seas, and upon this endeavoured to get a vessel for his transportation, having before obtained a pass from the Earl of Warwick, then Admiral, for that purpose. But when we had now procured him a vessel, and that we were preparing to go to it, there came into the road, before Cardiff, a squadron of ships under the command of one Molton, Vice-Admiral for the Parliament. Whereupon my Lord Primate sent me to him, (being then on shore at Cardiff,) to know if he would suffer him to go by him; and I shewed him the pass above-mentioned, to which Molton returned a rude and threatening answer, absolutely refusing it, and saying, 'If he could get 'him into his hands, he would carry him prisoner to the Parliament,' and threatened likewise to send me also to his ship. By which you may see how highly enraged those of that faction were at this good Bishop, for adhering to the King. He, being thus disappointed in this design, attempted it no farther: And not long after came to him a most kind invitation from that noble Lady, the Countess Dowager of Peterborough, to come and make his abode with her, and she would engage that he should not be molested, but have all accommodations suitable to his condition, and the great affection and esteem she had for him, as a return for those benefits she had formerly received from him, in converting her Lord and securing herself from Popery." PARR's *Life of Archbishop Usher.*

* In a preceding page (419) is recorded a similar instance of intrepid conduct and plain dealing on the part of Archbishop Usher; and another, in page 424, concerning Dr. Sanderson. Such instances were not uncommon among the loyal clergy of that age. The following is of the same description, and its expressions relative to the Lord Primate's judgment of Cromwell

appropriate ways remaining to alleviate at least, if not to expiate for them; which he purposed within himself to press to the highest advantage: and indeed this was the only issue of that so threatening accident, God's restraining power interposing here, and exemplifying upon him, what in others he was wont to observe, 'that they who least considered hazard in the doing of their duties fared still best.'

"And this success, as it was indeed, and accordingly he frequently acknowledged it for, an eminent act of the Divine Pro-

is explanatory of the note, page 316; illustrating, at the same time, the truth of the character which Bishop Fell has ascribed, in the text, to the usurper.

On the 19th of Nov. 1648, Archbishop Usher preached a loyal sermon before his Majesty, who was then a prisoner in Carisbrooke castle. Dr. Parr says:—"This sermon, together with the Archbishop's steady carriage in the point of Episcopacy, did so much enrage both the Presbyterian and Independent factions, that, in their news-books and pamphlets at London, they reproached the Lord Primate for flattering the King, as also for his persuading him not to abolish Bishops; and that he had very much prejudiced the treaty; and that none among all the King's Chaplains had been so mischievous (meaning to them) as he; I am sure his Majesty's affairs were in as ill a condition to tempt any man to flatter him, as the temper of his soul was then to suffer it: But the truth is, the Lord Primate did no more than assert his Majesty's just rights and prerogative, then trampled upon; and it was no more than what he had both preached and written before in that treatise, since published, *of the power of the Prince and obedience of the subject.*

"After the Lord Primate had taken his last leave of his Majesty, and done him and the Church all the service he was able at that time (though not with that success he desired) he returned to Southampton, in order to his going towards London, where he was kindly received by the chief of the town, and withal intreated to preach there the next day, being Sunday. But when he thought of complying with their desires, the Governor of the Garrison hearing of it, came to my Lord Primate, and told him, he had been informed, he intended to preach on the morrow; to which, when my Lord answered *Yes, it was true;* he replied, that it might be at that time of ill consequence to the place, and therefore wished him to forbear, for they could not permit it: And so they suffered him not to preach there; for they were afraid of his plain dealing, and that he would have declared against that villainy they were then about to execute: For not long after my Lord's return to London, his Majesty was brought up thither as a prisoner by the army, in order to that wicked piece of pageantry, which they called his trial: And now too soon after came that fatal thirtieth of January, (never to be mentioned, or thought on by all good men, without grief and detestation,) on which was perpetrated the most execrable villainy (under the pretence of justice) that ever was acted since the world began, *a King murthered by his own subjects, before his own Palace, in the face of the sun!*

"After this sad tragedy, the government (if it may be so called) was managed by a corrupt Oligarchy, until Oliver Cromwell turned them out, and set himself up for Protector, by the help of his army and creatures, though with equal tyranny and arbitrariness as the former; during most of which sad times the Lord Primate kept close to his study and charge at Lincolns-Inn, utterly disowning those usurpers, and their wicked actions, and still comforting the loyal party (then sufferers) that this usurpation would quickly expire, and that the King (whose right it was) would return unto his throne, though he himself should not live to see it; and thus much he declared, not long before his death, to his said grand-son and myself (among others,) saying, that this usurpation of Cromwell's, was but like that of some of the Grecian tyrants, which, as it began by an army, so commonly ended with the death of the usurper."

vidence; so we may likewise take it as a signal testimony of the commanding worth the doctor had, which extorted a reverence to his person from that worst of men, and rendered him a sanctuary, perhaps the only one this architect of mischief stood in awe of, and even his sacrilege preserved inviolate. Nor did this danger being over, (as with others in all likelihood it would have done,) persuade to caution for the future; but with the wonted diligence that formerly he used, he immediately proceeded, and cheerfully went on in the pursuit of his heroic charity."

Doctor Heylin afterwards gives the following relation of the further labours of *the Assembly of Divines*:

"Such being the issue of the war, let us next look upon the Presbyterians in the acts of peace; in which they threatened more destruction to the church, than the war itself. As soon as they had settled the strict keeping of the Lord's-day sabbath, suppressed the public Liturgy, and imposed the Directory, they gave command to their Divines of the Assembly, to set themselves upon the making a new Confession.* The nine and thirty articles of the Church of England, were either thought to have too much of the Ancient Fathers,† or too little of

* This was not the first time that this plan had been pursued by the Presbyterians. According to REID'S *Memoirs*, "At the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which met at Edinburgh, Aug. 12, 1639, a motion was made by Mr. Henderson, concerning the expediency of drawing up a Confession, positively condemning the errors and immoralities charged on and defended or practised by any ministers, and clearing the doctrine of the Church of Scotland in opposition to them, that none might afterward pretend ignorance. The Synod of Dort adopted this method with the Arminians: Mr. Henderson's motion, in imitation of that Synod, was unanimously approved and a Committee named for the purpose."

From this description of the practice of the Scotch Assembly, and the previous enlightening example of the Dutch Synod, it will not be difficult to discover the description of "ministers" whose "*errors* and *immoralities* were to be condemned."

† Archbishop Wake, in his *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England*, (in answer to the *Exposition of the Catholic Doctrine* by M. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux,) has very satisfactorily shewn, that the deference paid by our church to the Christian Fathers of the three first ages, is neither of such an idolatrous description as our adversaries generally represent, nor is their authority ever extolled to an equality with that of the holy scriptures. The Archbishop's words are, "Though we have appealed to the churches of the first ages for new proofs of the truth of our doctrine, it is not that we think that the doctors of those times had more right to judge of our faith than those had that followed them; but it is because after a serious examination we have found, that, as for what concerns *the common belief* that is among us, they have believed and practised the same things without adding other opinions or superstitions that destroy them,—wherein they have acted conformably to their and our rule, THE WORD OF GOD: Notwithstanding, it cannot be denied, but that they effectually fell into some wrong opinions, as that of the Millenaries and infant communion," &c.

This is the becoming reverence which our church has always entertained for the authority of the christian Fathers. Very different were the sentiments of Calvin on this subject: As all the Fathers who preceded St. Augustine knew of no predestination except that of FAITH AND PERSEVERANCE FORESEEN, Calvin, as was his manner, spoke much to their disparagement, and had among

Calvin, and therefore fit to be reviewed, or else laid aside. And, at the first, their journey-men began with a review, and fitted

his disciples many who foolishly imitated him in this and other blemishes. Baxter tells us: "The truth is, MOST (if not ALL) THE FATHERS of the first Two or Three Hundred years do speak in a language seeming to lean strongly that way, and therefore Calvin, and Scultetus in *Medulla Patrum*, charge them with no less than Pelagius his error. Yet perhaps their laying the blame of evil actions on man's will, and persuading men's wills, may occasion men to charge them too far, as if therefore they supposed natural sufficiency: or they speak of free-will as opposed to fate, nature and co-action, as you may find very many of them favourably interpreted by Chamier. But the plain truth is, TILL PELAGIUS' DAYS, ALL SPOKE LIKE PELAGIANS."—*Saints' Everlasting Rest.*—In reference to this point, the judicious Melancthon says: "All the ancient [christian] writers, with the sole exception of St. Augustine, have supposed, *that there is some cause of election in ourselves.*"

Baxter's expressions remind me of the difficulty which Grotius found in obtaining citations from the early Christian Fathers, that might not terrify the Calvinistic party by their too legal aspect. He makes the following mention of it in a letter to his friend Vossius, at the period (1614) when he was engaged in completing the famous edict of the States of Holland respecting Religious Toleration, which obtained the highest commendation from King James. (See *the Works of Arminius*, vol. i, p. 412.) After alluding to several passages in their writings he thus proceeds: "We must not omit to notice, that Calvin confesses in his INSTITUTES this [conditional predestination] to have been the opinion of the Ancients: But Beza in his comment on Rom. xi, 2, [God hath not cast away his people whom he foreknew,] declares, that 'on 'this subject we must not listen to the Fathers.' Prosper also of old, when writing to St. Augustine, confesses, that, 'after a fresh examination into the 'opinions of the preceding Fathers, he found the sentiments of all of them to 'be one and the same concerning the *predestination of God which proceeded* '*from foreknowledge*.'—In reference to the question about PREVENTING GRACE the sentiments which you have quoted from St. Chrysostom and Jerome are indeed far too favourable to Semi-Pelagianism. I have likewise noted other similar passages, such as the subjoined from St. Jerome against the Pelagians: 'From which we understand, that it is our part *to will* and *to run*, but 'that it belongs to the mercy of God to complete our *willing* and our *running*; 'and that this is so done as to preserve *freedom of will* in our willing and 'running, and to leave all things to *power* in the consummation of God's will,' &c.—I would certainly give a great price, could I possibly clear those Fathers from the suspicion of this error; especially when it is not difficult to believe, that the Church Universal was at no period ignorant how much was due to grace, which is far from being the least part of piety. St. Jerome indeed we might probably assist, by means of an accommodated interpretation; but the expressions of St. Chrysostom are of a more unbending character, and will not suffer themselves to be in the least inclined or adjusted. And yet I recollect, that I have observed some passage or other in Chrysostom's writings in which he also refers the beginnings of good to God." In a preceding letter he thus alluded to the unwillingness of the Calvinists to admit the competency of the early Fathers: "I could wish, even at the dearest rate, to have mention made of the primitive church in this edict: But, you know, that is refused by the members for Dort [who were Calvinists], because they are unwilling to be brought back to the times which preceded the age of St. Augustine. With much greater justice you do not allow those things to be obtruded on you which were introduced after St. Augustine. But, in the mean time, these things which were never called in doubt either before or after St. Augustine, and which have always been held both by the Eastern and Western churches, may possibly receive some additional degree of authority from the consent of such a number of ages and nations: Of this description are the contents of the Edict"

The following quotations from Calvin will shew, that he accounted his sentiments concerning predestination to be NOVELTIES and unsupported by the testimony of the ancient Fathers: "God moves the will, not, *as it has*

fourteen of the articles to their own conceptions; but, in the end, despairing of the like success in all the rest, they gave

been taught and believed for many ages, that it may be a matter of option with us either to obey or to resist the motion, but by efficaciously affecting it. That expression therefore so often repeated by St. Chrysostom must be rejected, *God draws him who is willing to be drawn*; by which he intimates, that the Lord, after stretching forth his hand, only waits to see whether or not we be pleased to accept of his assistance." (*Instit.* l. ii, c. 3, s. 10.) "Among ecclesiastical authors, although there is no one who would deny, that the soundness of human reason has received a grievous wound through sin, and that the will of man is deeply entangled by depraved appetites, yet many of them approach much nearer than is becoming to the philosophers." (*Ibid.* l. ii, c. 2, s. 4.) St. Chrysostom, Jerome, and others then receive a due portion of blame, and he adds: "Those therefore who vaunted themselves on being the disciples of Christ, have spoken in too philosophical a manner on this subject. For the term FREE-WILL has always been employed by the Latin Fathers, as though man yet stood in his primitive integrity. But the Greek Fathers have not been ashamed to use a word of still greater arrogance; for they have called it *αυτεξουσιον*, as if the power over himself were within the capacity of man." He afterwards says: "All men, even the very populace, have been imbued with this principle, that *man is endowed with a free-will*."—"If the authority of the Fathers have any influence upon us, they without doubt have the word [free-will] continually in their mouths." (*Ibid.* l. ii, c. 2, s. 5.) "I may probably appear to create a great prejudice against myself by my confession, that all the ecclesiastical writers, with the exception of St. Augustine, have spoken on this subject with such ambiguity or variety that nothing certain can be gathered from their productions. For some persons will interpret such conduct into a wish on my part *to exclude these Fathers from the right of giving their suffrages, because* THEY ARE ALL MY ADVERSARIES. But I had no other purpose in view than a wish in all simplicity and good faith to manifest a regard to [men of] pious dispositions; who, if they wait for the sentiments of the Fathers on this point, will always fluctuate through uncertainty: For at one time they teach, man, robbed of the freedom of his will, to take refuge in grace alone; at another time they equip and adorn him with his own arms [or power], or appear so to do." (*Ibid.* l. ii, c. 2, s. 9.) After reading these extracts from the Father of the modern Predestinarian system, (who was an eloquent, wise and learned man,) every scholar will be amused at the awkward attempts of some modern Calvinists, who have exhibited irrefragable proofs that they were ignorant of the very construction of the language which they quoted, and yet have pretended to enlist the most famous among the early Christian Fathers in favour of their novel doctrines.

The judicious Hooker, in the preface to his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, has properly stated, "that of what account the *Master of the Sentences* was in the Church of Rome, the same and more amongst the preachers of the Reformed Churches Calvin had purchased, so that the perfectest divines were judged they who were skilfullest in Calvin's writings. His books almost the very canon, by which to judge of doctrine and discipline. The French churches, both under others abroad or at home in their own country, all cast according to that mould, which Calvin had made." When this great man had attained to such celebrity as is here related, it ought not to appear wonderful when we meet with such statements as the following:

"I have heard it credibly reported that in a certaine College in Cambridge," [St. John's is the College alluded to,] "when it happeneth that, in their disputations, the authoritye either of St. Augustine, or of St. Ambrose, or of St. Jerome, or of any other of the ancient Fathers, nay, the whole consent of them all altogether is alleged; it is rejected with very great disdaine; as, 'What tell you me of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, or of the rest? I regard them not a rush. Were they not men?' Whereas at other time, when it happeneth, that a man of another humour doth aunswere, if it fall out that he beinge pressed with the authority either of Calvin or Beza shall chance to deny it; you shall see some beginne to smile, in commiseration of such the poore man's simplicity; some grow to be angry in regard of such presumption; and some will depart away, accounting such

over that impertinent labour, and found it a more easy task to conceive a new, than to accommodate the old Confession to their

a kinde of fellowe not worthy the hearing."—BANCROFT's *Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline.*

"As in affection they challenge the virtues of zeal and the rest; so in knowledge they attribute unto themselves light and perfection. They say, the Church of England in King Edward's time, and in the beginning of her Majesty's reign, was but in the cradle; and the Bishops in those times did somewhat grope for day-break; but that maturity and fulness of light proceedeth from themselves."—Sir F. BACON, *of Church Controversies.*

Bishop Womack has also furnished a description, at once appropriate and humorous, of this Calvinistic propensity to depreciate the Fathers, in the preceding dialogue, page 70, when he draws these expressions from the lips of Mr. Fatality, one of the Triers and Ejectors: "But you may see he hath studied the ANCIENT FATHERS,—more than our modern divines, such as Mr. Calvin and Mr. Perkins. And, alas! they [the Ancient Fathers] threw away their enjoyments, (and their lives too, some of them,) for they knew not what. They understood little or nothing of the Divine decrees, or the power of grace and godliness: This great light was reserved for the honour of after ages."

In 1610, the famous Isaac Casaubon addressed the subjoined letter to Daniel Heinsius, who had not at that period addicted himself to the Calvinistic party in Holland, as he afterwards did, to his great temporal advantage: "I smiled when I read in your letter, *that I had gone over to the ranks of the Jesuits:* Only wait a little, and you shall see what GOOD AGREEMENT I hold with those pests. My letter to Fronto Ducæus [F. Bonald,] which, after being submitted to the judgment of the King [James the First], the Archbishop of Canterbury [Abbot], and of several other very learned individuals, has elicited from them wonderful expressions of approbation, will teach my false accusers this lesson,—that it is *one thing*, to admire the piety of the ancient church, to detest novelties, and to manifest a desire for concord in the Church of Christ,—and that it is quite *another thing*, to unite one's self to an abandoned and profligate faction.—But, my Heinsius, how can I sufficiently evince my gratitude to you, for defending my reputation in that quarter with such assiduity? But know, that those who hold forth the Fathers of the ancient church as objects of ridicule and scoffing, are the very men that act the part of detractors against me, nay, that manifest towards me a greater portion of hatred than towards a dog or a serpent! For they [the Calvinists] are a generation of men who suppose, that they alone engross all the wisdom in the world, that only themselves have a correct understanding of the meaning of the sacred scriptures, and that they are the sole church of God and *the peculiar people.* Relying on the authority and reputation of one individual [Calvin,] who was truly a very great man, though not free from liability to error,—these persons cannot endure the bare mention of the names of those most holy Fathers, whose most felicitous services the immortal God was pleased formerly to employ. One of them is Du Moulin, a [Reformed] minister at Paris, who has not been ashamed in one of his productions to style the blessed Cyprian 'AN ANABAPTIST,' in order to pollute and disgrace the memory of a Christian Martyr with the infamy of a modern heresy! Why should I recount the audacious attempts of other writers, which are filled with epithets equal in rashness? For they wish to represent the Fathers as having been half heathens, unskilled in the scriptures, silly, foolish, stupid and impious persons. It is on this account that they attack the errors of the Papists in such a manner, as very frequently to inflict through their sides a mortal wound on the ancient church. I am much displeased with this licentious, or rather, detestable impiety: because I perceive, while these men attack superstition, they open a wide door to the profanation of sacred things and of the whole christian religion. This is the reason why they exclaim that *I am a Papist*, when I am prepared to refute the errors of Popery with far greater keenness and severity than they can display. But this is my opinion—'since 'the true church will hereafter be ONE, and since this UNITY is possible, we 'must not rashly recede from those doctrines of faith which have obtained 'the approbation and unanimous consent of the Church Universal; and 'since I acknowledge no foundation for true religion except that of the 'divinely-inspired scriptures, with Melancthon and the Church of England

private fancies. And in this new Confession, they establish the morality of their Lord's-day sabbath, declare the Pope to be

'I desire the doctrines of faith, which have their origin in the fountain of 'scripture, to be brought down to us along the channel of antiquity.'—If we adopt a contrary method, where will innovation terminate, or what restraint will it be possible to impose on the minds of those who are fond of novelties? —I wish you to believe this concerning me,—though my whole and sole delight consists in the perusal of the scriptures, yet I have not derived from them a single private opinion, [as opposed to those approved by antiquity,] I hold no such peculiar sentiment, and, speaking in the fear of God, I never will hold one. This was formerly the determination of that great man, John Calvin, when he composed the preface to his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans,—'In those points which are of principal importance we ought 'not to recede from the concurring agreement of the Church.' I follow this guide, while I detest and abominate those new teachers who deny God's Infinity, Eternity and Omnipotence."

The celebrated Edict of the States of Holland for restraining within prescribed bounds the discussions of divines on the subject of Predestination has been briefly alluded to in a former part of this note. In that document it is stated, "Some ministers are conceived either directly or indirectly to have taught, that *God has created certain men to damnation, and has imposed on such men a necessity of sinning; and that God likewise invites some men to salvation whom he has decreed entirely to debar from salvation.*—Other ministers are conceived to have taught, that *it is possible for the natural powers or deeds of men to effect their salvation.*" The States, therefore, exhorted both these classes of divines, (though of the latter there was none then in the Dutch ministry,) "not to think of themselves more highly than they ought to think, but to think soberly according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith." They also commanded them, "in their various explanations of passages of Scripture, to attend diligently to the doctrine generally inculcated in the sacred writings, *That our salvation is from God alone, and that we are ourselves the sole cause of our own destruction.* (Hos. xiii, 9; Isa. xliii, 11, 25; John iii, 19; Rom. v, 15; vi, 23.) Wherefore in explaining the Holy Scriptures, the pastors must, as often as they have an opportunity, inculcate on their people, that *the* COMMENCEMENT, PROGRESS *and* END *of man's salvation, as well as faith itself, ought not to be attributed to the native powers or the deeds of men, but should be stated as received through the sole and unmerited grace of God in Jesus Christ our Saviour; that the Omnipotent Jehovah has created no men for damnation; that He has not imposed on any man a necessity of sinning; and that no man is invited by God to salvation, when He has decreed not to bestow salvation upon that individual.*" In a subsequent part of the same edict, their Lordships declare: "It is our pleasure, that those pastors suffer no kind of molestation, who, in their explanations of the preceding passages and sayings, hold no other sentiments and teach nothing more than, *that Almighty God, according to the benevolent affection of his own will founded on Jesus Christ our Redeemer and Saviour, has from all eternity elected to everlasting salvation those men who, through grace unmerited and the operation of the Holy Spirit, believe on Jesus Christ our Lord, and who, through the like unmerited grace, persevere to the end in the faith; and, on the contrary, that those are rejected to damnation who do not believe on Jesus Christ, and who persevere to the end in unbelief.*"—At the time when this decree passed, it was approved even by the Calvinists, who did not immediately perceive, that it encouraged ARMINIANISM, (another term for GENUINE CHRISTIANITY,) whose doctrines, as contained in the words of Scripture, stand at an equal distance from *Manicheism* on the one hand, and *Pelegianism* on the other; and that it discountenanced the foul dogmas and blasphemous consectaries of Supralapsarian Calvinism, which was at that period the fashionable creed of the majority of the Dutch Predestinarians.—This Edict was the production of the learned Grotius, who, soon after its publication, illustrated the whole of it, with consummate ability by notes from the Holy Scriptures, from the ANCIENT FATHERS, (some of whom, it is seen, were rather unmanageable,) from the Acts of Councils, from the Confessions of the Reformed Churches, from the

the Antichrist, the Son of Perdition, and the Man of Sin : And therein also interweave the Calvinian rigours, in reference to the writings of modern divines, and especially from those of the Church of England. This Edict and the *Pietas Ordinum*, which Grotius was soon after compelled to publish in defence of it, were of the greatest service to the cause of Arminianism in every nation of Europe. And I am bound in charity to conclude, that neither the early nor the modern vilifiers of Arminius perused this excellent exposition of his system ; for if they had, they could not as Christians have mis-stated and maligned, in the manner they have done, the plain and scriptural principles, which it expounds.

The pleasure which a perusal of this very impartial and learned document imparted to King James, is well known : The famous Isaac Casaubon expressed to Grotius his Majesty's approbation of the Edict and of its design, declaring its great utility " in turning aside the minds of the people from two rocks, which are equally dangerous in the doctrine of Predestination,—that of the Manichees and of the Pelagians," &c. In a few months afterwards, the King resolved to publish something that might have the same beneficial tendency ; and accordingly thought no method better suited to his purpose than to guard the sacred fountains of learning from Calvinistic contamination. This was effected by his Majesty's DIRECTIONS, addressed to the English Universities on the 18th of January, 1616, the Seventh and Eighth of which are here subjoined : " That young students in divinity be directed to study such books as be most agreeable in doctrine and discipline to the Church of England, and incited to bestow their times in the FATHERS and Councils, Schoolmen, Histories and Controversies, and not to insist too long upon Compendiums and Abbreviatures, making them the grounds of their study in divinity. That no man, either in pulpit or schools, be suffered to maintain dogmatically any point of doctrine that is not allowed by the Church of England." This measure was adopted long before Dr. Laud had acquired any reputation at court ; and it was intended to diminish the deleterious influence which the Institutes of Calvin had then obtained among students and doctors. In Dr. Heylin's Life of Archbishop Laud it is said : " It was withal insinuated to him [King James] what dangers would proceed by the training up of young students in the grounds of Calvinism, if some directions were not issued from his Majesty for the course of their studies ; that there was no readier way to advance the Presbyterial government in this kingdom, than by suffering young scholars to be seasoned with Calvinian doctrines ; that it was very hard to say, whether of the two, either the Puritan or the Papist, were more destructive of monarchical government, &c. This was the first step toward the suppressing of that reputation unto which Calvin and his writings had attained in that University [Oxford] ; and a good step it might have been, if Dr. Goodwin, Dean of Christ Church, who was then Vice-Chancellor, had not been father-in-law to Prideaux, or rather if Prideaux himself had approved the Articles ; or that Dr. Benfield of Corpus Christi, the other Professor for divinity, a grave but sedentary man, had been active in it. But, howsoever, being published, though it went no farther, it gave such a general alarm to the Puritan faction, that the terror of it could not be forgotten for twenty years after. Certain I am, that, in the year 1636, it was charged by H. Burton of Friday Street, for an innovation,—' one of the many innovations introduced by Laud and others ' of the Prelatical party to subvert religion.' "

Such, in brief, is the history of the proper and subordinate attachment which the Church of England has always manifested for the writings of the early Christian Fathers. In a subsequent part of this volume it will be shewn, that the esteem of Arminius for the ancient writers of the Church was much greater than that of some among his Dutch successors ; and that while he was gradually deducing from those venerable Fathers, as the best and safest interpreters of Holy Writ, the principles of his christian system,—other divines in England his co-temporaries were drawing from the same pure sources the doctrines of General Redemption, which received the strongest sanction from the scriptural formularies of the Church of England, both of them bearing an equal impress of primitive antiquity.

The usefulness and necessity of studying the writings of the Ancient Fathers have been demonstrated by many persons eminent for their learning

absolute decree of Predestination, Grace, Free-will, &c. But knowing that they served such masters as were resolved to part with no one branch of their own authority, they attribute a power to the civil magistrate, not only of calling Synods and Church-assemblies, but also of being present at them, and to provide that

and piety. This note commenced with a quotation from an English Archbishop, and I conclude it with one from the Lord Primate of Ireland. Archbishop Usher was one who beyond all men then living knew the vast importance of these studies, and had derived the greatest benefits from them: The following brief advice, in the language of his erudite biographer, will convey his sentiments on this very interesting subject.—"Indeed he had so great an esteem of the ANCIENT AUTHORS, for the acquiring any solid learning, whether sacred or profane, that his advice to young students, either in Divinity or Antiquity, was, 'Not to spend too much time in Epitomes, 'but to set themselves to read the Ancient Authors themselves; as, to begin 'with the FATHERS, and to read them according to the ages in which they 'lived, (which was the method he had taken himself,) and, together with 'them, carefully to peruse the CHURCH HISTORIANS that treated of that age 'in which those Fathers lived: By which means the student would be better able to perceive the reason and meaning of divers passages in their 'writings, (which otherwise would be obscure,) when he knew the original 'and growth of those heresies and heterodox opinions against which they 'wrote, and may also better judge what doctrines, ceremonies, and opinions prevailed in the church in every age, and by what means introduced. 'So likewise for profane authors,'" &c.

* In that masterly production, the Archbishop of Cashel's *Attempt to illustrate those Articles of the Church of England, which the Calvinists improperly consider as Calvinistical*, his lordship most judiciously observes:

"On one hand it has been contended, that our articles are consonant with the creed of Calvin; on the other, with that of Arminius. It is not my intention to follow this controverted question into particulars. Yet perhaps it should be cursorily remarked, that even the Calvinist has proved, in the most convincing mode, that they are not in their necessary construction completely Calvinistical; that something is wanting in them to produce entire satisfaction; for repeatedly has he laboured, although constantly laboured in vain, first to render them explicit on this head, and afterwards to get his favourite emendations approved and established by public authority.

"This is sufficiently evinced by the well known attempts of the Calvinists, both in the reign of Elizabeth and James, to procure the insertion of the Lambeth articles among the established articles of our Church. Upon the accession of the latter Prince, a conference was publicly held at Hampton Court, in which the innovations alluded to, with others of equal importance, was suggested.

"Although the Calvinists failed under James in their attempt to correct what they deemed to be '*the errors and imperfections of the Church, as well* '*in matter of doctrine as discipline*,' nevertheless, under his unhappy successor, or rather under the authority of a Parliament in opposition to the Sovereign, they commenced an actual reformation of our Articles. In the year 1643 'the Assembly of Divines,' as the committee alluded to has been usually styled, revised the first fifteen, 'with a design,' as the historian of the Puritans himself observes, 'to render their sense more express, and 'determinate in favour of Calvinism.' (Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 42. ed. 1754.) The 9th Article of Original Sin was thus amended by them; "Original Sin standeth not in the following of Adam, as the Pelagians 'do vainly talk, but [*together with his first sin imputed*] it is the fault and 'corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is propagated from 'Adam, whereby man is *wholly deprived of* [not as before, *very far gone* '*from*] original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined [only] to 'evil.....yet the Apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust *is* '*truly and properly* sin' [instead of, *hath of itself the nature of sin.*] In

whatsoever is therein contracted, be done agreeably to the mind and will of God.* But as to the matter of *Church-Government, the Divine Right of their Presbyteries, the setting of Christ upon his*

the 10th Art. upon Free-Will they made only one interpolation, but that of some importance. After the words, 'without the grace of God by Christ 'preventing us, that we may have a good will,' they inserted, '*and* '*working so effectually in us, as that it determineth our will to that which* '*is good.*' And again in the 11th Art. upon Justification, another explanation of no less importance was introduced: 'We are justified,' it was said, 'that is, we are accounted righteous before God, and have remission of 'sins not for nor by our own works or deservings, but freely by his grace, 'only for our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, *his whole obedience and* '*satisfaction being by God imputed unto us, and Christ with his righteous-*'*ness being apprehended and rested on by faith only.*' (Ibid. Appendix, No. 1.) Do not these emendations prove, that the respective opinions introduced were not, in the judgment of those who proposed them, at least necessarily contained in the original Articles? An unprejudiced Calvinist might perhaps admit a stronger conclusion to be warrantable.

"That the Assembly of Divines proceeded no further in their labours than to the review of the 15th Article, might be owing to a persuasion of the attempt being hopeless, from the incorrigibility of the ancient creed; or perhaps to a prospect, which then began rapidly to open upon the Puritanical cause, not merely of reforming the Church, but altogether of subverting it."

Much has been written concerning the arbitrary measures of Archbishop Laud, and his endeavours to render Arminianism triumphant in the Church of England. But where is the instance to be found of his attempts to alter *the Thirty-Nine Articles*, or to make them speak in *a more Arminian tone* than that in which they had always spoken? By an ingenious species of sophistry, it has been contended, that the manner in which he caused King Charles's *Declaration* in 1626 to be executed, was, in fact, an establishing of Arminianism: But a lame case was assuredly never more lamely supported than this is, by Dr. Maclaine, in his long note on Mosheim. (Cent. xvii, sec. 2, pt. 2.) In reference to the repeated and bold attempts at innovation on the Established Creed, the Bishop of Winchester observes, in his excellent *Refutation of Calvinism*: "The early Calvinists of this country having thus failed in their endeavours to obtain a change in our public formularies, their more modern successors, despairing of alteration, have adopted a different mode of proceeding, and have boldly contended that the Articles, Liturgy and Homilies are already Calvinistic, and admit of no other interpretation." What *Remarks* on this statement has the Rev. Thomas Scott published? He says: "That some persons, in former times, have wished to render our Articles, &c., more exactly agreeable to the tenets of Calvin, or even *Calviniores Calvino*, cannot be denied: but the evangelical clergy are not 'their successors.' They do not 'despair of alteration;' for a man never despairs of what he does not *desire*, but most earnestly *deprecates*. The despair of alteration is found among those who devise a variety of ingenious schemes, to reconcile men's consciences to subscribe what they almost openly avow *they do not believe*. The evangelical clergy do not contend, that our Articles, Liturgy and Homilies are in every tittle exactly co-incident with the sentiments of Calvin; but that they contain, in a more unexceptionable form, all that they deem essential in his doctrine." This kind of argument reminds me of a fable, familiar to all school-boys, about a fox that called the sweet and ripe grapes "sour," when he found them placed beyond his reach.

*The British Calvinists who composed the Westminster Assembly of Divines, endeavoured to found their proceedings, as far as possible, on the precedents afforded to them by the Synod of Dort. In *the Works of Arminius*, (vol. i, p. 642,) I have exposed the contrivance of the Dutch Calvinists "to elevate to a greater height their national standards of Predestinarian Orthodoxy, when they established *new formularies of consent* in their voluminous Canons or Articles, the subtle character of which is accurately described by Bishop Womack." Dr. Heylin and Archbishop Laurence have

throne, the parity or imparity of ministers in the church of Christ, not a word delivered: Their mighty masters were not then resolved upon those particulars; and it was fit the Holy Ghost

here adverted to "the incorrigibility of the ancient creed" of the Church England; and, in the Westminster Synod, Calvinism obtained an easier triumph than it had done at Dort, by the establishment of its new Confession of Faith and its two Predestinarian Catechisms, without any of the gainsaying arguments of such courageous and accomplished adversaries as Episcopius and the other cited Remonstrants.

In some of the subsequent notes it will be shewn, that the Dutch Calvinists, who always maintained (in opposition to the Arminians) the independent rights of the church, had in this respect a marked superority over their British brethren; and it was a happy circumstance for the remaining liberties of Englishmen, that the lay members of the Westminster Assembly resisted the exorbitant demands of these ambitious ecclesiasties, who wished to see Calvinism settled in England according to the model of the United Provinces and Scotland.

On this subject much useful information is conveyed in the following extract from the *Cases of Conscience*, which were written by Bishop Sanderson during the Inter-regnum at the request and under the patronage of the Right Honourable Robert Boyle: "Since the time that the Divines have divided themselves into several parties, it cannot easily be agreed upon amongst them to understand unto whom it doth belong to make Ecclesiastical laws.—The PAPISTS, who would have the Clergy to be exempted from all jurisdiction of the civil magistrate, do affirm, 'that Bishops only, and 'amongst them the chief Bishop especially, whom they call *the Bishop* 'Oecumenical, hath the right and power to make laws, which may not only 'oblige the consciences of the clergy, but of the laity also, and that with-'out any consent or licence of the politic magistrate.'—There are some who (the person only, but not the opinion being changed,) do embrace *this Tenet, as also many others of the* PAPISTS, who, notwithstanding, do profess themselves most bitter enemies unto Popery; but in the mean time the *Disciplinary Reformers* our new Davusses do disturb all things, and, having taken away all power, authority, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction from the King, they do challenge it only to themselves, and to their own classes and conventions.—The ERASTIANS on the other side, and our new reformers no less than they, under the pretence of reformation, having altogether disinvested the clergy of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, do wholly attribute the universal right of the external government of the church to the civil magistrate: And moreover as for these our own disciplinarians at home, good God! what monsters of names and opinions, as full of deformity as of difformity, have these last seven years fruitful of prodigies brought forth, and nursed under the pretence of reformation.—But in these (as in many other debates) that opinion seemeth to be the truer, and is truly the safer, which is lodged in the middle betwixt the two extremes; and I am confident you will be so much the more willing to imbrace it, by how much it is more agreeable to the doctrine of the English Church, as also to the laws of the kingdom, which is, that the right of making Ecclesiastical laws is in the power of Bishops, Elders and other persons duly elected by the Clergy of the whole kingdom: But so nevertheless that the exercise of the same right and power in all christian common-wealths ought to depend on the authority of the supreme magistrate, both *a parte ante* (as the schoolmen have it) and *a parte post*, on the part precedent, and on the part subsequent, to wit, that they ought not of themselves to assemble for the making of Ecclesiastical Canons and laws, unless they be called to it by his mandate or command, or at least defended by his authority; a full and free leave being both asked, and obtained: And being thus called and warranted, their laws or canons to which they have consented, are not ratified, nor have any power of obliging, until the assent of the supreme magistrate be obtained; by whose approbation and authority, as soon as they are confirmed, they are presently to pass for laws, and do oblige the subject."

should stay their leisure,* and not inspire their journey-men with any other instruction than what was sent them from the Houses.

" But this Confession, though imperfect, and performed by halves, was offered in the way of an humble advice to the Lords and Commons; that by the omnipotency of an ordinance it might pass for current, and be received for the established doctrine of the church of England. The like was done also in the tendry of their Larger Catechism, which seems to be nothing in a manner but the setting-out of their Confession in another dress, and putting it into the form of questions and answers, that so it might appear to be somewhat else than indeed it was. But being *somewhat of the largest* to be taught in schools, and *somewhat of the hardest* to be learned by children, it was brought afterwards into an epitome, commonly called *the Lesser Catechism,* and by the authors recommended to the use of the church, as far more orthodox than Nowel's, more clear than that contained in the Common-prayer book, and not inferior to the

* The profane expressions, here employed, of " the Holy Ghost staying their leisure," And of " every thing being done agreeably to the mind and will of God," are borrowed from the desecrating practice of the republican Calvinists: And Dr. Heylin intended by the use of them to stigmatize at once the hypocrisy of the Westminster Assembly and their extreme servility. In Bishop Sanderson's second lecture, *On a Good Intention,* the following remarks occur: " All pious men must take heed, lest, being transported by a zeal to the glory of God, they be carried away to unlawful acts. Being transported with too hasty and too preposterous a zeal to the glory of God, what contumelies, what slaughters did not those men of that faction amongst the people of the Jews commit, who peculiarly were called *Zealots!* And among Christians in the memory of our fathers, the same things have been recorded (by men worthy of belief, and who were no ways ignorant of the transactions of the affairs of their times,) to have been done in Germany, and other places, by the Anabaptists, in whose chronologies such horrid acts, and so far from all humanity, are reported, that we should hardly have given any belief unto them, if we had not of late seen the same tragedies every day to be prodigiously acted to the life, by their unhappy offspring, the dismal scene being translated into our Britannies. That none of you may be deceived therefore with so splendid a deceit, and that you may not deceive others, consider with yourselves, in the first place, that all seducers, the ministers of Satan and instructed by Satan himself, (the chief seducer, who is accustomed to transform himself into an angel of light,) have not more advanced themselves by any artifice, nor imposed more upon the belief of the common people of Christendom, nor more vigorously troubled the peace of our churches and commonwealths, than *under the pretence of the glory of God, and of the reformation of religion, and of the propagation of the gospel, and of rooting out superstition, and of the exalting of the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ.*"

In those days it was a common saying among the royalists, in allusion to the pretences of sanctified motives under which the most rebellious of the Calvinists acted, " All mischief has its commencement IN THE NAME OF THE LORD." The author of *Sphinx Lugduno-Genevensis* imposes on them the name of *the Sanctified Legion,* and adds, "Why, he [the Presbyterian] bears this denomination thou wilt less wonder, if thou call to mind that he was formerly an army-saint, and fought the devil s battles *in the name of the Lord.* He once blew the trumpet to rebellion in the pulpit, and afterwards charged majesty with ordnance of both kinds, and all *in the name of the Lord,*" &c. On this topic consult the note page 359.

Palatine or Genevian forms. But in all three, they held forth such a doctrine touching God's decrees, that they gave occasion of reviving the old Blastian heresy, in making God to be the author of sin: Which doctrine being new-published in a pamphlet, entituled, *Comfort for Believers in their Sins and Troubles,* gave such a hot alarm to all the Calvinists in the new Assembly,* that they procured it to be burnt by the hands of the hangman. But first, they thought it necessary to prepare the way to that execution, by publishing in print their detestation of that abominable and blasphemous opinion, that God hath a hand in, and is the author of the sinfulness of his people, as the title tells us. So that now Calvin's followers may sleep supinely without regard to the reproaches of uncivil men, who had upbraided them with maintaining such blasphemous doctrine. The reverend Divines of the Assembly have absolved them from it, and shewed their detestation of it; and who dares charge it on them for the time to come?

" But these things possibly were acted as they were Calvinians, and perhaps Sabbatarians also, and no more than so. And therefore we must next see what they do on the score of

* A few extracts from ARCHER's work will exhibit the deformity of high Calvinistic speculations, when they are tendered incautiously and without limitations. " God may as truly ande asily have a will and hand in, and be the author of sins, as of afflictions.—We may safely say, that God is, and hath an hand in, and is the author of the sinfulness of his people.—The fear of some of these inconveniences hath made divines not to acknowledge so much of God in sin, as is in sin: They have erred on the other hand, and made sin more of the creature and itself, and less from God, than it is. They grant ' that God is willing sin should be, and that he permits it, and orders circum-' stances about its production, and hath an hand in, and is the author of the ' physical or moral act, in and with which sin is; but the essence of sin, that ' is, the pravity and ataxy, the anomy and irregularity of the act, which is ' the sinfulness of it, God hath no hand, neither is he any author at all ' thereof.' This opinion goes wrong another way, and gives not to God enough in sin. Let us embrace and profess the truth, and not fear to say that of God which he in his holy book saith of himself, namely, ' That of him and ' from his hand is not only the thing that is sinful, but the pravity and sinful-' ness of it.' "

The true cause of the suppression of the book seems to have been this circumstance—its author was an Independent teacher at Arnheim, and consequently at that period an object of the intolerance of the Presbyterians, one of whom speaks thus of him and his book: " Neither is this all the new light that did shine forth in the candlestick of Arnheim; but there also master Archer giveth forth, for the COMFORT of his hearers, without the reproof so far as yet we have heard of any of his colleagues, ' That God is not only ' the author of sin, but also of the sinfulness, the very formality, the anomy, ' the ataxy, the pravity of sin:' A doctrine which all Protestants ever did abhor as high blasphemy, and which the Assembly of Divines, with both the Houses of Parliament, did condemn as such; appointing Master Archer's book for that worst heresy of the Libertines, and grossest blasphemy of the Antinomians,—to be solemnly burnt by the hand of the hangman. The order of the House of Lords runs thus: ' Complaint being this day made to ' the Lords in Parliament, by the Assembly of Divines, that a certain blasphe-' mous and heretical book intituled, *Comfort for Believers,* is printed and ' published, being written by JOHN ARCHER; their Lordships much abhor-' ring the said blasphemies, do award and adjudge, that the said book shall be ' burnt by the hand of the common hangman.' "—BAYLIE's *Dissuasive.*

Presbytery, for setting up whereof they had taken the covenant, called in the Scots, and more insisted on the abolition of the Episcopal function, than any other of the propositions which more concern them. To this they made their way in those demands which they sent to Oxon, the Ordinance for Ordination of ministers, and their advancing of the Directory in the fall of the Liturgy. They had also voted down the calling of Bishops, in the House of Commons, on Sept. 8, 1642; and caused the passing of that vote to be solemnized with bells and bonfires in the streets of London, as if the whole city was as much concerned in it, as some factious citizens. But knowing that little was to be effected by the propositions, and much less by their votes, they put them both into a bill, which past the House of Peers on the third of February, some two days after they had tendered their proposals to the King at Oxon. And by that bill it was desired to be enacted, that from the fifth of November, (the day designed for the blowing-up the Parliament by the gun-powder traitors,) which should be in the year of our Lord 1643, there should be no Arch-bishops, Bishops, Commissaries, &c. (with all their train recited in the Oxon article, Numb. 21,) in the church of England: That from thenceforth the name, title, and function of Arch-bishops, Bishops, Chancellors, &c. or likewise the having, using, or exercising any jurisdiction, office, and authority, by reason or colour of any such name, dignity, or function, in the realm of England, should utterly and for ever cease. And that the King might yield the sooner to the alteration, they tempt him to it with a clause therein contained, for putting him into the actual possession of all the castles, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, belonging to the said Arch-bishops, or Bishops, or to any of them.* And for the lands of Deans and Chapters, the brethren

* "Before we swear the extirpation of *Church-Government by Archbishops, Bishops, &c.*, it would beseem us to consider, besides what we have been already put in mind of, these particulars. (1.) What shall be done with all their rents and revenues, to which they and their successors have as good and just right, as any subjects have to whatsoever they call theirs? If they must be alienated to the use of some others, how shall those many heavy anathemas and terrible curses laid upon the alienators thereof, by the donors and others, be avoided? (2.) Whether divers families of this kingdom have not already smarted sufficiently for less sacrileges? (3) What encouragements will there be left to persuade any of good birth, parts and abilities, to apply themselves to the study of divinity; when every other profession, from the noblest to the basest, shall have honourable preferment and advancement for those that are diligent and laborious therein, only they which rule the church of God well, and labour in the word and doctrine, (whom God himself declares to be worthy of double honour or double maintenance, 1 Tim. v, 17,) shall have all hopes and possibility of honour and honourable maintenance taken from them; so that every noble, free-born, well-bred, ingenuous son shall say to his parents, 'Rather make me a tailor, a button-maker, 'a cooper or a cobler, than a divine?' (4.) Whether our adversaries the Papists will not by this means soon find far fewer abler to encounter with them, and far more ready and willing to enter combat for them, they having so great rewards for their champions, and we so little for ours? If good

had a hope to parcel them amongst themselves, under the colour of encouraging and maintaining a preaching-ministry; some sorry pittance being allowed to the old proprietaries, and some short pension during life to the several Bishops.*

livings with cures of souls be thought encouragement ample enough, it were good to consider, (5.) What honourable or comfortable support or salary those worthy men shall have whom God shall hereafter endow, either with the gift of tongues, or the interpretation thereof, or with the gift of wisdom and knowledge in the great controversies and mysteries of religion, and yet have not the gift of preaching or prophesying, and so are not so fit for pastoral charges or cures as some others, otherwise far inferior to them? (6.) How shall they whom God requires to be given to hospitality above other men, (1 Tim. iii, 2,) be able to shew themselves hospitable at all, when all means of hospitality shall be denied them? In a word, and that such as may perhaps be better listened unto by some, than all that hath been spoken: What will become of those many tenants and their children and families, who in this kingdom have and do and still may (if this government be not extirpated) enjoy so much benefit and profit by their leases from Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, &c. hitherto accounted, by their own acknowledgment, as good tenures as the most in this kingdom? What I say, within a while, will become of them and theirs? when they shall be compelled to turn tenants to those landlords whose cruel exactions in raising their rents above what Archbishops, Bishops, and other church-governours have required, the experience of some former alienations to such, do abundantly witness; they must not then expect, what divers of them are now scarce content with, that their landlords will take one year's rent, and give them the profit of almost seven?

"But what do I speak of tenants alone? Let it be seriously considered, how many other ingenuous men serviceable to God, to the King and to the whole kingdom, have been bred, brought up and maintained by the revenues of the church-governors: I verily believe, far more in one age than all the ages to come will ever see bred, brought up, and maintained by those revenues, if they should (which God of his mercy disappoint) once come to be estated upon others. Let also the many poor that have been relieved thereby, be a little thought on. And let it not be forgotten what issues out thence yearly in first-fruits, tenths and subsidies towards the necessary and royal support of the crown itself; which otherwise must and would be raised out of the revenues of other men, in some manner and measure far more burdensome unto them. Put all these together, and you will find, that the demesnes of our church-government do not deserve that envy which some malicious sacrilegious conspirators carry towards it: neither do our church-governors reap to themselves out of their own demesnes a fifth part of so much profit and emolument as others gain by them. I would have scorned to have named this as any piece of an argument in this holy cause, did I not too well know that it is the demesnes of the church chiefly that makes so many to quarrel at the government of it: and if the revenues of the church were wholly in their hands, so that the Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, &c. had nothing but what they would allow them, they would not much grudge to allow them all their degrees, titles and offices."—*The Anti-Confederacy.*

* After all the property of Archbishop Usher had been destroyed in the grand Irish Rebellion, (1641,) "it pleased his late Majesty [Charles I] to provide for him much better in England, by conferring on him the Bishopric of Carlisle, (lately void by the death of Dr. Potter,) to be held *in commendam*. This, though very much abated by the Scotch and English armies quartering upon it, as also by the unhappy wars which not long after followed, yet he made shift to subsist upon it, with some other helps, until that rebellious House of Commons seized upon all bishops' lands. And though, in consideration of his great losses in Ireland, as also of his own merits, and to make him some satisfaction for what they took away, they voted him a pension of four hundred pounds *per annum*, yet I cannot hear that he ever received it, above once or twice at most: For the Independent faction, getting uppermost, soon put an end to that payment."

" Such was the tenour of the bill, which found no better entertainment than their propositions : So that despairing of obtaining the King's consent to advance Presbytery, they resolved to do it of themselves, but not till they had broken the King's forces at the battle of Naisby : for on the nineteenth of August then next following, they publish ' Directions in the name of ' the Lords and Commons, (after advice with their Divines of ' the Assembly,) for the chusing of Ruling-Elders in all the con- ' gregations, and in the Classical Assemblies, for the cities of ' London and Westminster, and the several counties of the ' kingdom, in order to the speedy settling of Presbyterial govern- ' ment. Amongst which, no small care was taken for making ' twelve classes of the ministers of London only ; and after, for ' dividing each particular county into several classes, with refe- ' rence to the largeness and extent thereof.' Which orders and directions were after seconded by the ordinance of October the twentieth ; containing certain rules for the suspension of scandalous and ignorant persons from the holy supper, and giving power to certain persons therein named, to sit as judges and triers, as well concerning the election as the integrity and ability of all such men as are elected Elders within any of the twelve Classes of the province of London. It is not to be thought, but that the London Elderships made sufficient haste to put themselves into the actual possession of their new authority.* But in the country, most men were so cold and back-

Good Bishop Hall was called to endure similar ill treatment from that usurping administration. (See page 334.) And if the two pious Prelates were thus treated, who, for their love of a species of predestination, were in high esteem, and became subjects of hatred to the Presbyterians solely on account of their laudable attachment to Episcopacy and Monarchy; what must have been the deplorable fate of those worthy divines who had to bear a double portion of that hatred on account of their love of Arminianism ?

* Joshua SPRIGGE, who had entertained as sanguine expectations, as any other Calvinist, concerning the favourable and auspicious issue of the united enterprizes of his brethren, uttered the following complaint, in the Preface to the second edition of his *Testimony to an approaching Glory*, in 1649 : " God is not only the unchangeable glass wherein all changes are truly represented, and the unchangeable EYE and LIGHT wherein and whereby they are according to their true state seen and discerned; but he is the unchangeable FATHER of these differing and changeable *lights* and appearances that are thus seen by us, and represented in us, according to another text in James, (i. 17.) ' *Every good and perfect gift comes down from above, from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, nor shadow of turning.*' Yet what pity is it ! not only the ordinary sort of teachers who take for doctrines the traditions of men, but even those who have separated themselves to a more diligent enquiry after truth, and seem to be of a choicer taste, yet are dazzled with the light they carry in their own lanthorns. But were this infirmity found only in the teachers, it were not so great, though a very great mischief: But where shall we find almost a saint that knows his own prayers, or is not afraid to meet his own dear hopes in the things of [which] we are speaking ?

" It may not be forgotten what a spirit of prayer was poured forth upon the people of God in this kingdom some six or seven years past ; how our hearts were drawn forth in requests for the Spirit, for the kingdom of Christ, for his coming in the Spirit, for his truths to open and empty themselves

ward, that the Lower House was fain to quicken them with some fresh Resolves; by which it was required, on the twentieth of February, that choice be forthwith made of Elders, throughout the kingdom, according to such former directions as had past both Houses; and that all classes and parochial congregations should be thereby authorised effectually to proceed therein. And that the church might be supplied with able ministers in all times succeeding, the power of ordination, formerly restrained to certain persons residing in and about the city of London, (according to the ordinance of the second of October, 1644,) is now communicated to the ministers of each several classis, as men most like to know the wants of the parish-churches under their authority.

"But here it is to be observed, that, in the settling of the Presbyterian government in the realm of England, as the Presbyteries were to be subordinate to the classical, provincial, and national assemblies of the church, so were they all to be subordinate to the power of the Parliament, as appears plainly by the ordinance of the fourteenth of March; which makes it quite another thing from the Scottish Presbyteries, and other assemblies of that Kirk, which held themselves to be supream, and unaccountable in their actings, without respect unto the King, the Parliament, and the courts of justice. But the truth is, that as the English generally were not willing to receive that yoak;*,

upon us. These with that fervency and uncessantness, as served to some instead of PROPHECIES of these things shortly to be, to their great comfort and encouragement to expect them! And now is all that truth [which] we expected, come to a new form of government, whether *Presbyterial* or *Congregational?* Is this all THE NEW LIGHT we looked for,—to see to cast our cities and counties into Classes, and Provinces, or to put new names of PASTOR and TEACHER upon our ministers, instead of the old names of PRIESTS and DEACONS? I say, is this all that 'coming of Christ in the Spirit' we wanted, desired, expected? Hath this mortified our lusts, quickened our hearts, beautified our ways, that we are at rest? Are these the changes that speak the day of Christ so notable, so terrible, that it is said, *Who may abide the day of his coming?* Shall the refiner's fire, and the fuller's soap, find only a few superstitious Ceremonies to purge out of our Parish assemblies? Is this the shaking of heaven and earth, to shake men out of an *Episcopal* prelacy into a *Presbyterial?* Or say, it were out of a *Presbyterial* form into a *Congregational*, which is but a step further: May not, have not these changes been made, *salvo nomine*, with good credit and advantage to the makers? O my brethren, these are but the delusions of your adversary the devil, who, if he cannot content you with his old trash, will turn merchant of REFORMATION, and cheat you with the SUPERFICIES OF IT."

* The friends of Episcopacy could not be expected to shew themselves favourable to the Presbyterian yoke; and the Independents, who were then becoming a powerful faction, expressed a similar aversion. This is indirectly admitted by the wary author of the *Interest of England, in the Matter of Religion, Unfolded*, published in 1660. He says: "It is most unreasonable to object, that the late wild postures, extravagancies and incongruities in government, were the work of Presbytery or Presbyterians. The nation had never proof of Presbytery, for it was never settled, but rather decried and exposed to prejudice by those that were in sway, and that in the more early times of the late wars. The joint stock of UNIFORM RELIGION was left, and

so neither did the Houses really intend to impose it on them, though for a while, to hold fair quarter with the Scots, they seemed forward in it. And this appears sufficiently by a decla-

Presbytery neglected, before the first war was ended. Yea, and those that stedfastly adhered to it were maligned and reviled by the exorbitant party, for opposing their new models or agreements of the people."

To this remark his clever opponent, the author of *Interest Mistaken*, thus replies: "I must confess, indeed, that Presbytery was never settled, nor ever likely to be, so much did the whole nation stomach it; but yet how this agrees with his former reasoning, page 29, I do not understand. There he pretends, that, *by long practice, men's minds are fixed in this opinion*; and that the party is numerous. Here he contents himself to acknowledge, that the Presbyterians lost their power early, and that they never recovered it since. This will not serve his turn, to acquit the faction, (so denominated,) of our late miseries." The paragraph to which allusion is here made, if not a complete contradiction, is at least a great oversight. The Presbyterian author had been describing the co-incidence in sentiments between the old English Puritans and the Scotch Presbyterians, in former days, and tried to draw the following inference from his statement: "Even then, the way called Puritanism did not give, but get ground. But now [after the Restoration] the tenents of this way are rooted more than ever; and those things formerly imposed [by the Episcopal clergy], are now by many, if not by the most of this way, accounted not only *burdensome*, but *unlawful*. And after a long time of search and practice, the minds of men are fixed in this opinion, and are not like to be reduced to the practice of former times; and therefore, in all reason, the imposing of such matters of controversy, as, by so many, are held *unlawful* and, by those that have a zeal for them, judged *indifferent* or not *necessary*, cannot procure the peace of church and kingdom."

But poor Robert Baylie's doleful tale, published in 1645, while the Assembly of Divines was sitting, is the most instructive, and shews, even at that early period, four years before the murder of his Majesty, that the sectaries themselves would then have preferred an *Episcopal* to a *Presbyterian* regimen, (see note, page 342,) if they might not be indulged in their wayward wishes for unbounded licentiousness. "The Assembly of Divines," says Robert, "the necessary means of reformation, was for a very long time hindered by the diligence of the Independent party, to be called; and when, to their evident grief and discontent, the Parliament had voted its calling, they may remember their extraordinary industry to get it modelled according to their principles, both in its members and power; to have it an elective synod only for advice, to consist of so many of themselves and of their favourers as was possible, not any known divine of any parts in all England of their opinion being omitted. How cautious they were by great sleight of hand to keep off so many of the old Puritan Unconformists, and how much more inclinable towards men of Episcopal and Liturgic principles, themselves do know.—Their averseness to the Assembly doth appear, not only in their opposition to its calling, in their retarding of its proceedings, but in their pressing of its dissolution. I do not speak of the huge contumelies which some of their party have poured out upon the face of that most reverend meeting, in a number of very wicked pamphlets, which to this day were never so much as censured, though the authors, by name and sirname, are complained of in print. But that which I speak of is the express article of the Independent petition, desiring the Parliament in formal terms, according to Master Peters' dictates, to dissolve the Assembly.

"Had either the Popish faction, or the Episcopal party, or the malignant Courtiers, procured the continuance of our woful anarchy, our anger would have been greater than our grief or shame. But when the mercies of God now for some years have removed the Papists, Prelates and Courtiers so far from us, that, by word or deed, they have not hindered us in the least measure to heal the diseases of our church at our pleasure; that her wounds to this day should be multiplied, and all kept open to drop out her best blood, alone through the obstinacy of our [Independent] brethren, though we compress our indignation, yet we cannot but be oppressed with a great measure

ration of the House of Commons, published on the seventeenth of April, 1646; in which they signify, 'that they were not able to 'consent to the granting of an arbitrary and unlimited power and 'jurisdiction to near ten thousand judicatories to be erected in 'the kingdom, which could not be consistent with the funda- 'mental laws and government of it, and which by necessary con- 'sequence did exclude the Parliament from having any thing to 'do in that jurisdiction.'* On such a doubtful bottom did Presby-

of grief, nor can we choose but to be covered with confusion and shame, when we are forced to taste the most bitter fruits of our brethren's principles, though denied by them in words, yet ingenuously avowed by their friends in Amsterdam, and constantly practised in New England. To the uttermost of their power they must oppose the building of a church any where in the world, if it be not after their pattern.

"It must be a heavy guiltiness to be a powerful instrument of keeping two so great kingdoms as England and Ireland without the fold and hedge of all ecclesiastic discipline, for divers years together, especially in the time of a devouring war. How many thousand souls have perished by this means in their ignorance and profaneness, who in a well governed church might have been reclaimed! Unto this great misery, another great unhappiness addeth much weight. Beside their marring of the begun reformation, they have occasioned the perishing of some millions of poor souls, by the unheard-of multiplication of heresies and schisms. I believe no place in the world, for this mischief, is now parallel to London. Amsterdam long ago is justified; that city hath transmitted hither the infamy of her various sects. Now, upon whom shall this blame be fastened?"

* This salutary control, which the Long Parliament felt itself compelled to exercise over the triumphant Calvinists, is a strong proof, were any additional evidence required, of the vile spirit of incroachment which then actuated the whole tribe of Predestinarians, of the manifest incongruousness of the demands of "the Disciplinarian Brethren" with the infant liberties of the kingdom, and of the propriety and justice of *some of those* precautions which had been adopted by the preceding administration, whose love of Arminianism was esteemed the greatest offence of which they could be guilty. Though it fell to the lot of the Presbyterians to make the first essay in England at spiritual tyranny, and to receive the first repulse; yet any man conversant with the rise and early progress of the Independents, who imitated the Jesuits in their advances to power by seizing upon *a little* when they could not obtain *much*, will entertain no doubt about their readiness to have acted the same part as the Presbyterians, had they been the first in possession of ecclesiastical authority. Each of these Calvinistic sects issued, with equal virulence, their intolerant anathemas and ecclesiastical censures against all the enemies within their reach; the only difference on this point between them, was, that while the Independents denounced excommunications against offenders, which were rendered perfectly innocuous as well as ridiculous by their want of power to execute them, the Presbyterians in Scotland and the Low Countries were aided by the arm of the civil magistrate, whom they constituted the legitimate executioner of their definitive sentences. In like manner the Independents of New England, in which country they had gained ecclesiastical ascendancy, conferred the same power upon the civil rulers. Cotton tells us in his Treatise *on the Keys:* "The magistrates address themselves to the establishment of religion, and reformation of corruptions, by civil punishments upon the wilful opposers; Josiah put to death idolatrous Priests; nor was that a peculiar duty of the Kings of Juda; for of the times of the New Testament it is prophesied, that in some cases capital punishment shall proceed against false prophets." These sentiments are nearly allied to those avowed by Dr. Owen, in page 416. But when the platform of the Presbytery was established in England, it lost much of its former *rigid efficiency* by being deprived of this carnal support, which was then accounted necessary for its existence.

tery stand, till the King had put himself into the power of the Scots, and that the Scots had posted him in all haste to the town of Newcastle: Which caused the Lords and Commons no less hastily to speed their ordinance of the fifth of June,* for the

* In a preceding page, (348,) I have alluded to the severity of a Presbyterian excommunication, &c: I now present the reader with the following description of intolerance, as depicted by the able author of *English Presbyterian Eloquence*:

"A short specimen of Presbyterian government [will] shew how barbarous and insupportable it is in its NATURE, and how tyrannical in its EXECUTION: and upon the comparison it will appear, that *the little finger* of Presbytery is heavier than *the whole loins* of the Church.

"The discipline of Presbytery is but another name for the Papal power; it equally disrobes Princes of their ecclesiastical supremacy, it restrains their civil authority, and punishes their persons. Kings must be subject to its decrees; neither the ruler nor the ruled, great nor small, are exempted from subjection to *the sceptre of Jesus Christ*, by which they mean what the Papists call 'the Keys of St. Peter.' A prince has no power to receive an ambassador, nor to pardon an offender, without the approbation of the Presbytery. They are to direct him in making peace or war, in the choice of his guards and of his counsellors, what forfeitures to take, and how to dispose of them; and he is upon his good behaviour, as much as the meanest man in the parish. He is indeed the chief member of the General Assembly, but they allow him no *negative voice*; and if he has the fortune to be outvoted, he must cause the sentence to be executed, whatever it be, under pain of censure, and consequently of deprivation. And what is the colour for all this haughtiness and state? The ministers, forsooth, are *Christ's Deputies*; whereas judges, counsellors and parliaments are but *substitutes of the King*, and their laws only *human*;—so that it seems absolutely impossible for Monarchy and this rigid Presbytery to prosper in the same soil; and I would not give any prince in Christendom above eighteen months' purchase for his crown, that should put it to the venture: For he has nothing in the world to trust to but miracles,—the gratitude, faith, goodnature and pure integrity of the party! The Presbytery likewise lays claim to an authority over the civil magistrate who puts the law in execution, and pretends to a right of appeal, from all temporal governors, to *the sceptre and sentence of Christ* sitting upon his tribunal in the Assembly; by virtue of this device, they not only impose upon ministers and courts of justice, but they may, when they please, fetch in the whole business of Westminster Hall to the bar of the Consistory.

"You see how it fares with kings, parliaments and laws, under the dominion of Presbytery; we are now to look into the condition of the people, and of the Presbyterial clergy, (to speak in their own way,) under the power of that discipline. I often thought that the Consistory, to support its own grandeur, had contrived that their ministry should be handsomely maintained, and that their revenues or their stipends were sufficient to live comfortably upon and to procure them veneration and respect with the people; but, upon a review of their platform, I find quite the reverse, and their clergy, (some few of the select ones excepted,) are of all mortals the most contemptible. Their discipline divides the church-patrimony into four parts; one for the pastor, another for the elders and deacons, and other church-officers, their doctors and schools; a third for charitable uses; and the rest for repairing of churches and other incidental charges. So that the clergy is stript already of three parts of four of their legal maintenance. And then, for the poor pittance that is left, so much as will keep life and soul together, they are allowed in meal and malt, and wholly dependent upon the mercy of the church for the rest. And yet for this pitiful stipend they are to be called to account how they spend it, and their wives and children to be thrown at last upon the charge of the parish.—In their preaching they are limited by the direction and design of their leaders, only tenants at will in their cures, and liable to be removed, suspended or deposed at pleasure. This arbitrary dominion, together with the shameful condition of their bondage, has proved so

present settling of the Presbyterial government, without further delay, as in the title is exprest."

great a discouragement to the Presbyterian ministry, that they have found themselves forced to press persons and admit them into present pay and good quarters, as they would do soldiers ; and where they find men of ability for their purpose, the civil magistrate is called upon to compel them into the service.

"The great pillar of Presbytery is excommunication and church-censures, which they thunder out with all imaginable terror, and have made it extend almost to all the actions of human life : By this means they crucify the weak consciences of the people, with needless, infinite, and incurable scruples,—with scruples that haunt, dog, and torment them in the most necessary and ordinary cases ; at the church, at the table, at the market, at home and abroad, at all times, in all places, and upon all occasions, in their very thoughts, words, and deeds. Every bit they put in their mouths, and every rag they put on their backs, becomes a snare to them ; it may be either too much or too costly : And what reformation soever the church thinks fit to order, either in their clothes or diet, must be observed with the same degree of submission and obedience, as if the matter in question were an article of their creed.

"Excess and intemperance in eating fall under the censure of presbytery, either in the quantity or in the quality of your diet : So that, in the first place, the Eldership is to provide one common gage for the stomachs of the whole parish, for fear of a mouthful too much ; and, in the second place, it is made a matter of salvation and damnation, whether a man eats roast beef or plumb pudding.

"The case is the same in excess of apparel ; one inch more than to cover your nakedness, is superfluity ; and one penny more in the pound than the allowance of the Presbytery, is made as much as a man's soul is worth.

"Chiding they have drawn within the compass of ecclesiastical censure : So that a master shall not reprove his servant, nor a parent his child, without leave of the eldership, to the utter dissolution of order and discipline in private families. And they have stretched their authority to take notice of brawling and scolding, and made every Billingsgate quarrel, every squabble between a butter..... and an oyster-wench, a matter of consistorial cognizance.

"The censure of vain words is yet more rigid, and reaches to the most honest endearments and familiarities of friendship and conversation, even to the exclusion of common decency and civility : for let our words be what they will, we shall still be depending upon the good pleasure of the eldership, whether they will pronounce them vain or edifying. A nurse shall not dare to quiet her child, but with a Psalm ; and you must not presume to ask *What o'clock it is*, without a text to prove that the question tends to edification.

"But the hardest case of all is that of suspicion : The very suspicion of pride or avarice, makes a man liable to censure ; though it seems very severe for a man to be delivered over to Satan, because the brotherhood suspects him to be proud or covetous, whether he be so or no : And for a man and a woman to be only seen together, shall be ground enough for a suspicion of incontinency. Nay, they shall be cited, interrogated, close committed, and put to bread and water upon it and compelled to purge themselves by oath ; and if ever they are seen together afterwards, unless at church or in the market, they shall be taken, *pro confesso*, for guilty.

"And now what greater slavery in the world can be imagined, than to live in subjection under such an establishment, where you shall have neither freedom of conscience, law, person nor fortune, where you shall not speak, look, move, eat, drink, dress yourselves, nay, not so much as entertain a thought, but at your peril ? Down upon your knees, therefore, and pray, '*From the importation of such foreign ware, Good Lord, deliver us !*'"

Under these circumstances, therefore, it cannot seem wonderful that the author of *the Character of the Sanctified Legion*, should exclaim, in the spirit of a real John Bull : "Though this mad Presbyterian form destroys *Bishops*, and clips the wings of *regality*, it will not be so contented, but intrench also upon the *gentry* in their own lordships by a strange way of parochial tyranny, and bring *all people* into the condition of mere galley-

I add the following brief remarks from JACKSON'S *Life of John Goodwin*.

"The Presbyterians, who had long groaned under the rod of oppression, and sighed for power, had the high gratification at length of seeing their system of ecclesiastical polity receive parliamentary sanction, and adopted as the national establishment. But instead of 'remembering the wormwood and the gall,' which they and their forefathers had been made to drink, and of treating with lenity their brethren who differed from them in religious opinion, these men rivalled the greatest tyrants, in systematic opposition to the rights of conscience. Had not these sons of intolerance been restrained from the execution of their purpose by the army of the parliament,* they would unquestionably have left their names written in characters of blood. They contended for the *divine right* of Presby-

slaves, while the blind Priests sits at the stern, and their hackney dependents, the elders, hold an oar in every boat. Besides, one reason why Presbytery is so much destructive, is, because of the Popish trick taken up by the Presbyterian Priests, in drawing all secular affairs within the compass of their spiritual jurisdiction; and this they do, by means of that awe wherein they pretend to hold the consciences of magistrates and people; the one being liable as well as the other, by suspensions and excommunications, to be exploded at pleasure as *scandalous sinners*. This appears by that large extent of their authority in judging of scandalous sins, which reaches almost to every action of human life; so that all the people, except their favourites, (from the counsellor to the beggar,) must at every turn stoop like asses, to be ridden by them and their arbitrary Assemblies."

* "The Parliament began to be much divided amongst themselves under the names of PRESBYTERIANS and INDEPENDENTS. The first whereof, who were the major part in both Houses, were those who in compliance with the Scots thought themselves obliged by the Covenant to set up the Presbyterian discipline of Geneva, as it was exercised in Scotland, under the government of congregational, classical, provincial and national assemblies, (to whom the city of London very much adhered,) but the others disliked that sort of government, as too rigorous, imperious and conclusive, holding that churches should not be subordinate, as parochial to provincial, and provincial to national, but co-ordinate, without superiority; and from hence they were called INDEPENDENTS. Whereof the first eminent appearance was in *the Assembly of Divines*, which met in the year 1643, at Westminster, to consult about matters of religion; for the major part of these, being Presbyterians, were in consideration of a directory and model of that government to be proposed to the Parliament, when five of their members, viz. Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpson, Jeremiah Burroughs, and William Bridge, made some opposition, and desired toleration to be indulged to them, that they might not be concluded by the votes of the Assembly; but the rest of the members opposed their toleration, and some moved their ejection out of the Assembly, except in convenient time they would comply therewith: whereupon the dissenters appealed from the Assembly, and presented *an Apologetical Narrative* to the parliament, wherein they petitioned for some favour to them, whose conscience could not join with the Assembly in all particulars; concluding, that they pursued no other interest or design, but a subsistence in their own land, as not knowing where else with safety, health, and livelyhood to set their feet on earth. Upon this petition, they found such favour that they were secured from further trouble; and from this beginning they grew to so great an increase, that they had the best preferments left in the church, and opened and shut the door of preferment to others.

"Lieutenant General Cromwell, and commissary General Ireton, and the greatest part of the army, consisting now of men of several sects of religion, did much favour these Independents, who, to ingratiate themselves with

terianism, and protested, in the genuine spirit of fanaticism, against the toleration of "sectaries." The inflammatory

them, (though in their Confession of faith and doctrine they wholly agreed with the Presbyterian,) held out a liberty of conscience to all other sects in the profession of their faith and exercise of their religion. This inclination of the army to the Independents, made the Presbyterians, who were the major part of the Parliament, very watchful over their actions, and observing that the army at their courts of war laid hold on all pretences of scandals and crimes to disband and cashier Presbyterians, that Independents might be put in their places, resolved to disband all of them except five thousand horse, a thousand dragoons, and five companies of fire-locks, for which they wanted not a good pretence, that the people might be eased thereby of a great part of the taxes imposed upon them for their maintenance, and that some of them might be sent into Ireland, where there was a want of English soldiers. And for this purpose, they borrowed two hundred thousand pounds of the city of London. The head quarters of the army was at St. Edmunds-bury in Suffolk, when these matters were debated in Parliament; but, by the intelligence they kept at Westminster, nothing thereof was concealed from them, and by the Independent party in the House (as it was commonly said) they were so practised on, that they were resolved not to disband; yet when something of this was suggested in the House of of Commons, Cromwell with his hand upon his breast said, 'In the presence 'of God before whom he stood, that he knew the army would disband and 'lay down their arms at their doors whensoever they should command them.' Upon this assertion, orders of both Houses for disbanding were sent to the army, with instructions for determining the accompts of the soldiers; but instead of obedience to these orders, a council of officers, met at St. Edmunds-bury to consider thereof, began to debate of the matter with much dissatisfaction, and two soldiers out of each of sixteen regiments of horse and foot, as agitators or agents of their respective regiments, were allowed to meet also in a kind of council on the same business, and both of these assemblies agreed upon the same things in substance, namely, against disbanding; and in a petition to the general, they desired the army might be speedily drawn to a rendezvous, and that he would use his utmost to endeavour that it be not disbanded till public grievances should be redressed, and all such persons called to account who had been intenders, contrivers, or promoters of their destructions, for so they termed those of the Parliament that voted them to be disbanded. These requests of the officers and soldiers produced a general rendezvous of the army at Newmarket on the fourth of June, and the agitators the day before privately sent Cornet Joyce with a party of soldiers to seize on the King."PHILLIPS's *Continuation of Baker*.

This extract is illustrative of the statement in page 351; and contains shrewd reasons why Dr. Owen, and other Independent ministers, entered into the tolerant views of the republican statesmen. The different scattered memorials which we have of those transactions, and especially of the proceedings of the Assembly of Divines, inform us, that liberal sentiments among the Calvinists concerning religious toleration were first avowed, and consistently maintained, by the lay-men who sat as Parliamentary Commissioners in that Synod. The Scotch Presbyterians indeed, at an early period, had told the people, that they came to "deliver them from the tyranny of the Prelates;" but it was not till they begun openly to explain in the Assembly their severe mode of "deliverance," that the statesmen, Erastians as they were generally termed, and "the Independents," (under which denomination were included all the sects that were not Presbyterians or Episcopalians,) manifested their aversion to the enforcement of the minute and rigid observances of the Presbyterian system. Several of these strict *minutiæ* have been well described in page 446; and though the national platform of church-government adopted by the long Parliament was Presbyterian, yet it was encompassed with such guards and checks in its execution, as mollified its native intolerance, and rendered many parts of its discipline inefficient: For without the power of the civil magistrate, a Presbyterian excommunication became "a thing of nought,"—and that power the magistrates were unwilling to

prayers, sermons, and tracts of their clergy, not unfrequently excited popular tumults in London, and stimulated their frantic

exert at the beck of every lay-elder, partly on account of the unpopularity of such a course in those days of professed liberty, and partly on account of having imbibed better notions about religious freedom.—See page 401.

In a subsequent part of this Appendix it will be seen, that, on Cromwell's assumption of the supreme authority, the Presbyterian influence was further weakened by the appointment of "the Triers and Ejectors," and by the encouragement afforded to the swarms of sects which then abounded. That wary politician seems to have acted upon the maxim of King James, in balancing the power of one party by that of its opponent. It was in this way that the Independents obtained the greatest portion of their influence, and not by any more enlightened views of toleration which they entertained. On the contrary, it can be proved, that, in various places, both in England and in foreign countries, in which the novel system of Independency had obtained its wishes, it ruled in the churches with a rod of iron, and was in no respect inferior to its Presbyterian rival in the severity and multitude of its exactions. The Independents of those days were eminently a time-serving race: Of this, a stronger proof will not be desired, than the following extract from Robert Baylie's *Dissuasive*, which is quoted, with manifest complacency, by Mr. Orme in his *Life of Dr. Owen:* "Of all the by-paths wherein the wanderers of our time are pleased to walk, this [Independency] is the most considerable; not for the *number*, but for the *quality*, of the erring persons therein. There be few of the noted sects which are not a great deal more numerous; but this way, what it wants in *number*, supplies by the *weight* of its followers. After five years' endeavours and great industry within the lines of the city's communication, they are said as yet to consist much within one thousand persons; men, women, and all who to this day have put themselves in any known congregation of that way, being reckoned. But setting aside number, for other respects they are of so eminent a condition, that not any nor all the rest of the sects are comparable to them; for they have been so wise as to engage to their party some of chief note, in both Houses of Parliament, in the Assembly of Divines, in the army, in the city and country-committees; all whom they daily manage with such dexterity and diligence, for the benefit of their cause, that the eyes of the world begin to fall upon them more than upon all their fellows."

Baylie afterwards informs us: "The Independents of London, Arnheim, and Rotterdam, have been famous for a sufficient care of a set provision, above the ordinary, to the rate of two or three hundred pounds a year: And lest their income should decrease with too large deduction for the supply of the poor, it hath been their providence to admit none or few poor members of their congregations." In proof of this he adduces the following paragraph from BASTWICK'S *Independency*: "It is well known and can sufficiently be proved, that godly christians of holy conversation, against whom they had no exception either for doctrine or manners, and who offered themselves to be admitted members upon their own conditions, and yet were not suffered to be JOINED MEMBERS, *only because they were poor;* and this very reason was given them for their not-admission, *that they would not have their church over-burthened with poor*.—It was replied, that the congregation of which he was pastor consisted of great personages, knights, ladies, and rich merchants and such people, as they, being but poor, could not walk so suitably with them; wherefore he persuaded them to join themselves with some other congregation among poor people, where they might better walk, and more comfortably, in fellowship with them."—This method of gathering together a christian church is somewhat different to that described in St. Matthew, (xi, 5,) "THE POOR have the Gospel preached to them." If those reverend fathers of Independency preached *the gospel* at all, it appears to have been a modification of evangelical truth that was not calculated for the meridian of the poor, but was designed for the powerful and the opulent.

Laing says, in his *History of Scotland*, "Contrary to the progress of other sects, the Independent system was first addressed, and *apparently* recommended by its tolerating principles, to the higher orders of social life.

admirers to assemble in mobs, and annoy other congregations of Christians by showers of stones. They imagined that the sacred truths of revelation would soon become extinct, unless

It was in the progressive state of the sect, when in danger from the persecuting spirit of the Presbyterians, that it descended to the lower classes of the community, where other sectaries begin their career." It has been observed by the most judicious of our church-historians, that this has always been the scriptural "career" of Christianity itself, as predicted by the prophet Jeremiah and repeated in *the Epistle to the Hebrews*, "For they shall all know me, FROM *the least* of them UNTO *the greatest* of them, saith the Lord." The pliability of Independency accommodated itself to the extraordinary circumstances in which the country was placed on the abolition of Episcopacy; when all those who were disaffected towards Presbyterianism, might choose, among fifty INDEPENDENT sects, that which agreed best with their peculiar sentiments. Such cunning *fishers of men*, as was Dr. Owen, unfettered by Confessions of Faith except those of their own framing, which were interpreted according to the varying and latitudinarian principles of individuals, had abundant scope for the developement of their talents, while angling in those troubled waters: They suffered the small fry to escape, and retained only the largest of the fishes. What a temptation was this to the ambitious spirits of many young and unfledged ecclesiastics! The eagerness with which it was embraced, to the destruction of many who might in more favourable circumstances have been eminent in the Church of Christ for their piety and usefulness,—is recorded in the dark page of ecclesiastical history which relates to that agitated period. Many of those aspiring individuals lived to extreme old age, and were favoured with leisure for lamenting the youthful impetuosity which had plunged them into inexcusable errors.

In the parable of the GREAT SUPPER, when *the men of substance* "all with one consent began to make excuse, the MASTER of the house said to his servant, 'Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in 'hither *the poor, and the maimed, and the halt, and the blind!*'"—After reading this command, one would suppose, no true minister of Jesus Christ could so far disregard it as to exult in a contrary practice, and boast that the Christianity of his sect had been first embraced by "the great and the rich." Yet Mr. Orme thus fearlessly declares himself concerning this matter: "On the language of Laing I beg to observe, that if Independency in England was first embraced by the higher class of society, it has never been the religion of the lower class only. The great body of its supporters have all along been found in the middling, or mercantile and commercial class of the population: Whether they are the fools or fanatics of the country, may be easily determined." The purport of this observation seems to be, that the Independents "are not the fools or fanatics of the country," because "the great body of them have all along been found in the middling class of the population." Leaving this "mercantile or commercial class" to stand or fall to their own Master, I must observe, that, among "the higher class of society" by whom "Independency in England is said to have been "*first* embraced," were men of the greatest eminence in the State, who will always be recognized as the most consummate "*fools* or *fanatics* of the country," if they believed what they severally wrote, spoke, and published; if they did not believe, in many instances, their own canting Calvinistic expressions, which were then too frequently used as the only current coin of the realm, they were worse than "fools or fanatics," and some of them have in consequence received from posterity a more appropriate and disgraceful appellation. Rank and riches, therefore, do not necessarily endue the possessors of them with a superior understanding, or exonerate them from liability to error.—Mr. Orme seems to have mistaken the proper mode of argumentation on this topic: For, with no man of sense would the mere circumstance of "Independency being the religion of *the lower class only*," operate to its disparagement. His acquaintance with the Independent interest must lie chiefly among the inhabitants of large towns or cities, or he could never have ventured to assert "that the *great body* of the supporters of Indepen-

guarded by penal statutes; and that the ministers of Christ, even with the inspired volume in their hands, could do little in the defence and propagation of Christianity, unless, in the enforcement of their arguments, they could command the services of Constables, and Justices of the Peace.* Their determined opposition to that liberty of conscience which others claimed, after their own example, proves them unworthy of the deference paid to them by the Long Parliament, and has left an

dency have all along been found in the *commercial class* of the population." This is an incorrect statement even when it is modified by the addition of the "middle or mercantile class." I know many Independent congregations in small towns and villages so poor, as not to be able to allow their pastors a sufficient stipend for the maintenance of themselves and families. The good men have in consequence to labour with their hands to supply the deficiency; and, though nothing better than masons, weavers, or watch-makers during six days in the week, yet, for the acceptable service which they perform to the souls of men on "the sweet Sabbath of rest," they elicit unequivocal respect from many persons who have inveterate prejudices against lay-preaching and Dissent, while they prove themselves to be more useful members of the pastoral order than some of their gentlemanly brethren,—a few of whom, unfortunately for the interests of historic truth, possess too much leisure, and too little charity, learning, and discrimination.

These bickerings between the Presbyterians and Independents, respecting Toleration and Church-government, continued many years; yet it must never be forgotten, that on all great emergencies they combined, as Calvinists, against every thing that bore "the image and superscription" of loyalty and Arminianism. The subjoined was a good remark, by the author of a *Caveat to Cavaliers*, in 1661: "Concerning the supposed antipathy bewixt the wrangling Presbyter and Independent, all comes to this: They are two ravenous beasts, that agree well enough to devour beeves and muttons, and prey upon the innocent. So soon as the object of their common appetite is spent, they fall to worry one another; yet, in the heat of all their fury, cast but a sheep (a cavalier) betwixt them, they shall part, reconcile, fall on, and share the quarry." See also the note in page 386.

* "Dec. 25 1657. I went to London with my wife, to celebrate Christmas-day, Mr. Gunning preaching in Exeter Chapel, on Michah vii, 2. Sermon ended, as he was giving us the holy sacrament, the chapel was surrounded with soldiers and all the communicants and assembly surprized and kept prisoners by them, some in the house, others carried away. It fell to my share to be confined to a room in the house, where yet I was permitted to dine with the master of it, the Countess of Dorset, Lady Hatton, and some others of quality who invited me.—In the afternoon came Col. Whaly, Goffe, and others, from Whitehall, to examine us one by one: Some they committed to the Marshall, some to prison. When I came before them, they took my name and abode, examined me 'why, contrary to an ordinance 'made that none should any longer observe *the superstitious time of the nati-* 'vity, (so esteemed by them,) I durst offend, and particularly be at Common 'Prayers, which, they told me, was but *the Mass in English*, and particu- 'larly pray for Charles Stewart, for which we had no scripture.' I told them, we did not pray for Charles Stewart, but for all christian kings, princes and governors. They replied, 'In so doing we prayed for the King of Spain too, who was their enemy and a Papist,' with other frivolous and ensnaring questions, and much threatening: And finding no colour to detain me, they dismissed me with MUCH PITY OF MY IGNORANCE! These were men of high flight and above ordinances, and spoke spiteful things of our Lord's nativity. As we went up to receive the sacrament, the miscreants held their muskets against us, as if they would have shot us at the altar, but yet suffering us to finish the Office of Communion, as perhaps not having instructions what to do in case they found us in that action. So I got home late the next day, blessed be God!" EVELYN'S *Diary*.

indelible stain upon their memory.* It would be easy to produce some hundreds of extracts from their printed works, in which they not only avow the principles, but also display the spirit of persecution."

* The following extract from Archbishop TENISON's *Argument for Union*, will afford a brief view of the spirit of the different religious sects that prevailed during the Inter-regnum: "There was a party in the nation who were then called *Dissenting Brethren;* and to these the Directory was as offensive, as the Canons and Liturgy had been to those of the Discipline. In 1644 they drew up reasons against *the Directory of Church government* by Presbyters. They afterwards in 1645 printed an open *Remonstrance* against Presbytery, of which the Assembly of Divines complained to the House as of a scandalous libel. And there were those who reproached the Presbyterians in the same phrases in which they had given vent to their displeasure against the Liturgy of the Church of England. The ministers of Lancashire complained concerning them [the Independents,] 'That they 'had compared the Covenant to the *Alcoran of the Turks, and Mass 'of the Papists, and Service-Book of the Prelates.* As likewise, that 'they said, it was a brazen serpent fit to be broken in pieces and ground to 'powder, rather than that men should fall down and worship it.' Amongst the Disciplinarians, some were confident of success. One of them, Mr. S. Sympson, in his sermon of reformation in 1643, (for he was not then gone over to the part of the Independents,) expressed his assurance in these most unbecoming words, before the Commons: 'It will,' said he, 'bring such a blot 'on God as he shall never wipe out, if your poor prayers should be turned 'into your own bosoms; that prayer for *reformation!*'—A speech not fit to have been repeated, if it were not necessary to learn sobriety and wisdom from the remembrances of extravagance in former times.

"Those Independents who adhered to that part of the House which joined with the army, prevailed for a season; but they also were disturbed by those who went under the name of *Lilburnists, Levellers, Agitators:* Then Enthusiasm, excited in part by the common pretence of an extraordinary light, revealed (as of a sudden) in those days in England, brake forth into open distraction. Enthusiasm was now openly favoured by Cromwell himself; who, together with six soldiers, prayed and preached at Whitehall. His own temper was warmed with fits of Enthusiasm. And he confessed it to a person of condition, (from whom I received it, as did others yet living,) 'that he prayed according to extraordinary impulse. And that, not 'feeling such impulse, (which he called *supernatural,*) he did forbear to 'pray, oftentimes for several days together.' In process of time, his House of Commons, and he himself, were publicly disturbed by that wild spirit, in the raising of which they had been so unhappily instrumental.—A Quaker came to the door of the House in 1654, and drew his sword, and cut those nigh him, and said, 'He was inspired by the Holy Spirit to kill every man 'who sate in that convention.' And he himself was not only conspired against by those who called themselves, *the free and well affected people of England*, but openly bespattered by the ink of the Quakers in several pamphlets, and by their clamours affronted in his own chapel, where, before his face, they gave bold interruption to his preachers."

At an early period, when pleading, as Lieutenant General, at the head of his victorious troops, for granting liberty of conscience to the Independents, whom he then favoured, Oliver Cromwell addressed a letter to the Long Parliament, in which the following expressions occur: "As for being united in forms commonly called UNIFORMITY, every christian for peace sake would study and do as far as conscience would permit; and from brethren, *in things of the mind*, we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason; *in other things*, God has put the sword into the Parliament's hands for the terror of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well; if any plead exemption from it, he knows not the gospel." The power here ascribed to the Parliament, Oliver subsequently adopted; and, in imitation of the former objects of his censure, extended it, in his last years, to several matters that belonged peculiarly to what he calls "things of the mind."

Having thus conducted the reader through the most remarkable events of that distracted period of our national history, and having connected Dr. Twisse with *the Assembly of Divines*, I will now give a few more particulars of the Doctor's life and writings: We left him at the Court of Heidelberg, (page 242,) and it appears from his own account of the journey, that he remained only a few months in the Palatinate and did not proceed to Bohemia. In Mr. Reid's *Memoir* of Doctor Twisse, the remaining transactions in his life are thus narrated:

"Upon his return to England, his native country, he was made vicar of Newbury, a mayor and market-town in Berkshire, fifty-six miles from London according to Entick.* The disposition of his mind was such, that he neither sought the riches of this world nor yet ecclesiastical dignities and preferments, but modestly rejected them when they were offered to him.† He declined being Warden of the College at Winchester, after he was chosen and earnestly requested to accept it, though it was a very lucrative place. He afterward refused a Prebend at Winchester, when offered him; returning thanks to Dr. Moore, his father-in-law, who was prebendary of Winchester, and other friends, but in-

* This reference to Entick does not speak much in favour of the *depth* of my author's erudition, though it is a token of its *complexity*, and is a very excusable notice on the part of a person dwelling in a remote part of Scotland.

† This is repeated by several of his biographers, one of whom adds, "No man ever sought more industriously to obtain ecclesiastical promotion than he did to avoid it."—But I could never learn how this species of voluntary humility comported with the following very significant hint to the Queen of Bohemia, to whom he dedicated his *Vindication of the Grace, Power and Providence of God*. In allusion to his early residence in her family as English Chaplain, he says: "From this circumstance I have had experience, that the protection of your name has been in some slight degree fortunate to my person. For, it was for your sake, and on account of my having held the situation of preacher to your Royal Highness, that the favour of your brother Charles, our most serene king, had nearly encompassed me before I was aware of the honour intended, and I narrowly missed an ecclesiastical dignity. But though his Majesty yielded to the importunity of other people who were striving to oppose my preferment, he did not allow my reputation to be blackened with the calumnies with which some persons endeavoured to asperse it. All these occurrences transpired without my having indulged in any expectations about their issue; but the recollection of them could have no other effect than to remind me of the potency even of your *name*, which has thus been the means of presaging my prosperity." This is evidently an allusion to the ill offices supposed to be done to him by those who were then at the head of affairs ecclesiastical, who certainly could not with the slightest appearance of consistency recommend Dr. Twisse to preferment in the church, when he had shewn himself to be a most violent Predestinarian and Nonconformist. In his immoderate zeal against Arminius, many of whose expressions he either did not understand or wilfully distorted, he was regardless of consequences, and wished to publish to the world his metaphysical lucubrations, strangely intermixed as they were with humorous sallies and touches of ridicule: Because he was not permitted to complete his purpose in England, he became still more embittered against the civil and ecclesiastical government of the country, and lent himself to the constitution-menders of those days and entered heartily into their desolating measures.

treating them to give him leave to abide at Newbury, to attend the flock over which God had placed him; saying, 'he thought 'himself unfit for a cathedral employment: it was hard for him, 'among such eminent men as the prebendaries of Winchester, 'either to sing musically enough, or to preach rhetorically 'enough.' Robert, Earl of Warwick, also offered him a rectory; which, because it was a smaller parish than Newbury, and old age was creeping in upon him, and his bodily strength failing, he thankfully accepted, provided that the Earl would take special care to send a pious faithful pastor to Newbury. The Doctor waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he had been well acquainted while they were students together at Oxford, concerning this business. The Archbishop entertained him courteously, and promised to grant his request; adding, that he would represent him to the King for a pious and learned man, and no Puritan. But the Doctor was quick enough to perceive, from such treatment and language, that snares were laid for him.* Accordingly he returned to Newbury, and thought no more of leaving it. He came to be so well known in the learned world, and in the church of Christ abroad, by his elaborate and celebrated Latin work in answer to the much-famed book of Arminius against Perkins, that the States of Friesland sent him a pressing invitation to accept the place of Divinity Professor in the University of Franeker. This is the highest preferment that a minister of the gospel was capable of in that country. And the States took order to clear the expenses of his transportation; but he refused this invitation also. Dr. Twisse refused to read the King's proclamation, commonly called *the Book of Sports*, wherein the people were allowed to use certain sports on the Lord's Day; and which was commanded to be read in all churches, on pain of suspension both from office and benefice: yea, he declared against it. Other faithful godly ministers did the same, for which that severe penalty was inflicted upon them. But when King James was informed of Dr. Twisse's refusal, he secretly commanded the bishops not to meddle with him. The King knew well, that though Dr. Twisse had only a small estate, and lived meanly at home, yet his fame was great in all the reformed churches, and that nothing could be done

* It is difficult to imagine how any more "snares could be laid for Dr. Twisse" in his new vicarage than in his old one, unless he was a man to be easily bribed. Archbishop Laud could exercise no stricter control over him in the one situation than in the other. But such surmises as these shew well upon paper, and answer all the purposes of detraction. It was no blemish in the character of the Archbishop, to call off every clergyman within the reach of his influence from the niceties of Calvinism to the inculcation of christian promises, precepts and duties. His private interviews for this purpose with several famous individuals, which are on record, redound greatly to his honour, and prove him to have been a man that had a good understanding in the practical doctrines of the Church of England, and in the proper method of applying them to general instruction and edification.

hardly against him, but it would redound greatly to the disgrace of those who did it. King Charles I. renewed his father's edict for allowing sports and recreations, on the Sabbath-day, to such as attended public worship ; and he ordered his proclamation for that purpose to be publicly read by the clergy after Divine service. And, the Puritans refusing obedience to this disgraceful command, were therefore punished with suspension or deprivation.* Dr. Twisse still continued to set the trumpet to his mouth, to shew the *people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins.* (Isa. lviii, 1.) And he spared neither King nor Parliament, but engaged them with their own weapons set against them: like David, when he cut off the head of Goliah the Giant with his own sword. (1 Sam. xvii, 50, 51.) He, with great ingenuity, turned the Act of their own Parliament, concerning the Sabbath, against themselves. He managed this with great propriety and energy, displaying his usual forcible and animated reasoning on the subject. He also appeared against the publications of these times, in support of Sabbath-profanation, as the translator of

* I shall shew in another part of this work, the form, which, through the perverseness of both parties, the Sabbatarian controversy assumed in the reign of King James. It became still more a party question in the reign of King Charles, when the doctrine of *the strict observance of the Sabbath* was generally embraced and defended by the Calvinists, though many Arminian divines at the same time appeared in behalf of the sanctity of the Lord's-day. Respecting the early Calvinists in England who promulgated this doctrine, Dr. Heylin says : " Whereas those who first did set on foot these doctrines, did, in all their other practices to subvert this church, bear themselves continually on the authority of Calvin, and on the example of those churches which came most near unto the platform of Geneva, they had, in these their Sabbath-speculations, not only none to follow, but they found Calvin and Geneva, and those other churches, directly contrary unto them. However, in all other matters, they cried up Calvin and his writings ; yet here, by his leave, they would forsake him, and leave him fairly to himself, that they themselves might have the glory of a NEW INVENTION."

All men conversant with this topic of controversy will assent to the following remark by Bishop Burnet : " The question about *the morality of the Fourth Commandment*, was an unhappy incident, that raised a new strife." Dr. Peter Heylin rendered himself exceedingly obnoxious to the most pious of his cotemporaries and of posterity, by his sincere but misguided zeal in this matter. It was indeed somewhat preposterous for that very clever man, to be the champion of *bowing towards the altar*, and at the same time of engaging in *pastimes on the Lord's day*. In his *History of the Sabbath* he has justly represented the practice of the Calvinistic Churches on the continent, which are at this day nearly as careless, as formerly, about the due observance of the christian Sabbath. I never reflect on this controversy and its baneful results, without being reminded of a letter addressed to Mr. Glen in 1636, (only a few months prior to the appearance of the Doctor's work,) by the celebrated Hobbes of Malmesbury, in which that infidel writer says : " I long infinitely to see those books of the Sabbath, [Dr. Heylin's History,] and am of your mind, *they will put such thoughts into the heads of vulgar people, as will confer little to their good life.* For when they see one of the Ten Commandments to be *Jus Humanum* merely, (as it must be if the Church can alter it,) they will hope also, that the other Nine may be so too. For every man hitherto did believe, that the Ten Commandments were the *moral* law, that is, an *eternal* law." These are judicious observations ; and the desecrating consequences of Dr. Heylin's doctrine prove Hobbes to have been well acquainted with the corruptions of human nature.

Dr. Prideaux's Lectures, and others, who came on the field in course, concerning the doctrine of the Sabbath. And such faithful testimony-bearing, against this very glaring evil, was not in vain in the Lord: it had its good fruit, its salutary effect in due time. For, when the Parliament went on vigorously with their intended reformation, in the year 1643, they applied themselves to that of the Sabbath also. And on May 5th, this year, the book tolerating sports on the Lord's day was ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman in Cheapside, London, and other usual places, which was done the 11th of May, 1643; and all persons having copies thereof were requested to deliver them up to one of the sheriffs of London to be burnt. And it was probably on account of his spirited appearances against the corruptions and evils of these times, that Dr. Prideaux once said,* 'that the Bishops did little consult their own

* The learned Professor Prideaux and Dr. Twisse were two of the most decided and bitter Calvinists of that period: Yet, it is seen, they were not unanimous in their judgment concerning the proper method of keeping holy the Sabbath-day. This diversity of sentiment was by no means an uncommon circumstance either among the Calvinists or the Arminians: For in each of the two parties were found judicious men, who deduced their opinions on that subject from the word of God, and disregarded the opposite conclusions of their brethren. Mr. Reid has, in a preceding sentence, alluded to Dr. Prideaux's Lectures in reference to the Sabbath; the reader is here presented with a compendium of the doctrine which he delivered *ex cathedra*:

"At last, some four years after his Majesty's declaration before remembered, Anno 1622, Doctor Prideaux, his Majesty's professor for the University of Oxon, did, in the Public Act, declare his judgment in this point, *de Sabbato;* which afterwards, in the year 1625, he published to the world with his other lectures. Now, in this speech or determination, he did thus resolve it. *First*. That the Sabbath was not instituted in the first creation of the world; nor ever kept by any of the ancient Patriarchs, who lived before the law of Moses: Therefore, no moral and perpetual precept, as the others are. *Secondly*. That the sanctifying of *one day in seven*, is ceremonial only, and obliged the Jews; not moral, to oblige us Christians to the like observance. *Thirdly*. That *the Lord's-day* is founded only on the authority of the church, guided therein by the practice of the Apostles; not on the Fourth Commandment, which he entitulcth 'a scandalous doctrine;' nor any other authority in holy scripture. *Fourthly*. That *the Church hath still authority to change the day*, though such authority be not fit to be put in practice. *Fifthly*. That, in the celebration of it, there is no such cessation from the works of labour required of us, as was exacted of the Jews; but that we lawfully may dress meat proportionable unto every man's estate, and do such other things as be no hindrance to the public service, appointed for the day. *Sixthly*. That on the Lord's-day all recreations whatsoever are to be allowed, which honestly may refresh the spirits, and increase mutual love and neighbourhood amongst us; and that the names whereby the Jews did use to call their festivals, (whereof *the Sabbath* was the chief,) were borrowed from an Hebrew word, which signifies *to dance, and to make merry, or rejoice*. And, *Lastly*. That it appertains to the christian magistrate, to order and appoint what pastimes on the Lord's-day are to be permitted, and what prohibited; not unto every private person, 'much less to every man's rash zeal,' as his own words are, 'who, out of a schismatical Stoicism, (debarring men from lawful pastimes,) doth incline to Judaism.' This was the sum and substance of his resolution, then: which, as it gave content unto the sounder and the better part of the Assembly; so it did infinitely stomach and displease the greater numbers, such as were formerly possessed with the other doctrines; though they were wiser than to make it a public quarrel.'

'credit, because they had not preferred Dr. Twisse, though 'against his will, to some splendid ecclesiastical dignity.' He thought, no doubt, that this would have been an effectual mean to stop his mouth from speaking against them, and the sins of the times. Hence it appears, that Dr. Twisse was an eminent champion for the grace of God, the morality and sanctification of the Sabbath, and that Puritan divinity unto which the honours of the good old way belong.—He was esteemed an able disputant. Dr. Baillie,* who had considerable opportunity of knowing what his talents were this way, says, in one of his letters addressed to the Presbytery of Irvine, dated London, February 28th, 1641, 'Dr. Twisse, to our great comfort, is here turned a remonstrant. Dr. Twisse, if there be any dispute, offers to be one. 'He is doubtless the most able disputer in England.' He generally wished to decline a verbal conference with regard to matters of disputation. And for this, he gives the following reasons:—Because, these things may be done more quietly by writing; the managers of the controversy will then be kept free from foreign discourse; the arguments on each side may be more properly and deliberately weighed; answers returned

* The reader is already familiar with the name of Robert Baylie, and has read some of his opinions: But Robert did not content himself with mere opinions, which are bloodless matters; he was one of those ministers who attended the army of the Scotch Covenanters in 1639 and 1640. In his letters, he says: 'I furnished, to half a dozen of good fellows, muskets and pikes; 'and to my boy a broad sword. I carried myself, as the fashion was, a sword, 'and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle; but, I promise, [they were] 'for *the offence* of no man, excepting a robber in the way: For it was our '[the chaplains'] part alone, to pray and to preach *for the encouragement of* '*our countrymen*; which I did *most cheerfully to the utmost of my power.* 'Every company had, fleeing at the captain's tent door, a brave new colour, 'stamped with the Scottish Arms and this motto, FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND 'COVENANT, in golden letters.—Had you lent your ear in the morning, or 'especially at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing 'psalms, some praying, and some reading scripture, ye would have been 'refreshed. For myself, I never found my mind in better temper than it 'was all that time since I came from home, till my head was again home-'ward: For I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and 'was resolved to die in that service, without return. I found the favour of 'God shining upon me; and a *sweet, meek, humble,* yet STRONG and VEHE-'MENT spirit leading me all along; but I was no sooner on my way west-'ward, after the conclusion of the peace, than my old security returned.'

Who that reads these expressions can wonder at the enthusiasm displayed by the Covenanters, both Scotch and English? Yet we are told, by Mr. Orme, (page 389,) "the *Puritans* and *Independents* were not the visionary fanatics of the age." Perhaps this is a sly method of throwing all the fanaticism upon the *Scotch Presbyterians;* but one of the latter denomination informs us, in a subsequent note, that "while the most eminent and suitable divines continued with the several [Parliamentary] regiments, none of the enthusiastic follies, which afterwards appeared and were truly reproachable, discovered themselves." This is a grand and sweeping excuse, every way worthy of such a lover of "the Covenanted Reformation" as Mr. Reid. But, unhappily for his consistency as an author, he has himself furnished too many documents, similar to this extract from Baylie, by which we may form a tolerably accurate judgment concerning the existence of those "enthusiastic follies which were truly reproachable."

with due consideration ; and the holy things of God may be more decently handled.

"Upon calling together the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, in the year 1643, he was chosen and appointed by both Houses of Parliament to be their Prolocutor, in which place he continued until his death. This Assembly of Divines first met at King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey, on Saturday the 1st of July, 1643. At their first assembling, Dr. Twisse, their Prolocutor, preached a sermon unto them, at which the members of both Houses of Parliament were also present. This Assembly was prohibited by the King's proclamation of June 22 ; and he declared, that no acts done by them ought to be received by his subjects : he also threatened to proceed against them with the utmost severity of the law ; which Dr. Twisse lamented, in his sermon at the opening of the Assembly, but hoped that in due time his Majesty's consent might be obtained.* Notwithstanding, sixty-nine ministers assembled the

* This is no proof of Dr. Twisse's christian allegiance to his sovereign ; but it justifies the opinion of his Majesty, recorded in page 401, "that the far greatest part of those who had been nominated to the present service, were men eminently disaffected to the government of the Church of England, and such as had openly preached rebellion," &c. The doctor's "hopes" did not tarry for the "due time" in which "his majesty's consent might be obtained" for the meeting of *the Assembly of Divines ;* but he accepted an appointment from a rebellious confederacy that had under various pretences raised themselves to the Supreme Authority in opposition to the king's just rights and title. After having been a member of the *Sub-Committee of Accommodation*, (page 315,) he could not be ignorant of the good intentions of his sovereign, in reference to the settlement of the interests of the Church. Yet such was the deep-rooted malevolence which Dr. Twisse exhibited against the civil and ecclesiastical government of the country, that, had not his advanced age operated as a preventive, he would have been as ready, as Philip Marshall, Hugh Peters, or any other of the more ignorant members of that Assembly, to march as a Parliamentary chaplain to a regiment, or to render effectual assistance in any warlike enterprize. But the will, in the case of Dr. Twisse, was accepted for the deed ; as, beside the impediment of his years and infirmities, he did not possess those high martial qualities which are thus ELOQUENTLY described, by our Mr. REID, as appertaining to another eminent member of the Assembly, one of Dr. Twisse's Assessors : "Dr. Burgess, being highly approved for his zeal, valour and fidelity, and admirably adapted to the nature of the military service, was wisely selected by the earl of Essex, the General of the Parliament's army, to be chaplain to his regiment of horsemen. The more eminent and suitable divines were appointed chaplains to the several regiments ; and, while these continued with them, none of the enthusiastic follies, which afterwards appeared and were truly reproachable, discovered themselves. Such chaplains were highly beneficial to the Parliamentary army, *to direct their views aright*, to afford them aid in their devotion, and to excite them in the performance of their duty in defence of their liberty and religion. They were now called to *add to their faith virtue*, or 'military valour,' as the word generally denotes in Homer."

It ought to be the occupation of such men as Mr. Reid, to make a better comment on the apostolical exhortation, *Add to your faith virtue*, than this, "VIRTUE, in Homer, generally denotes MILITARY VALOUR." The peaceful doctrines and soul-tranquillizing precepts of the Christian Religion will be completely nullified or prostituted, if we be compelled to take our lessons of civil conduct from such belligerent Calvinists as Mr. Reid, who does not

first day, who were called to meet there; and, after sermon, the ordinance of Parliament was read, declaring the cause and intention of their convention, viz. the settlement of religion and church-government. And then the roll, containing the names of the ministers appointed, was called over, and the names of those who were absent marked. About one hundred and twenty were nominated and appointed: They did not appear there in canonical habits, but chiefly in black coats and bands, in imitation of the foreign Protestants. This Assembly was not a convention according to the Diocesan government; nor was it called by the votes of ministers, in the Presbyterian form; but by the Parliament, in extraordinary circumstances, for advice in church affairs. Many of the most learned Episcopal divines were nominated, along with the Presbyterians and Independents; and Archbishop Usher,* Bishops Westfield, Prideaux and Brownrigg, Doctors Holdsworth, Hammond, Sanderson, and others; —but they refused, because the King had declared against it. None could enter to hear or see this Assembly without a written order from both Houses of Parliament. They met every workday except Saturday, which was allowed the divines to prepare for preaching on the Sabbath. Their session was generally from nine o'clock in the morning until two or three after noon, which the Prolocutor began and ended with prayer.† About sixty of

relish the specimen of Grecian lore afforded by our erudite translators in the English New Testament, but wanders to Homer for an authority. The warlike inhabitants of Scotland, in former days, too frequently "added to their faith *military courage*;" and no Dr. Burgess or Mr. Reid would now be required, "to afford them aid" in that part "of their devotion." But such doctrine demauds a more skilful casuist than our northern biographer, to reuder it as perfectly innocent as, in his hands, it is vapid and unscriptural.

* "This summer [1643] the Lord Primate was nominated (though against his desire,) to be one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as were also Dr. Brownrig Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Westfield Bishop of Bristol, and divers others of the orthodox Clergy. But the Lord Primate neither approved of the authority that named him, nor yet of the business they met about: So that he never troubled himself to go thither. But when that mock Assembly found he scorned to come among them, they complained of him to the House of Commons, who soon voted him out again; which yet the Archbishop took more kindly, than their choosing him into it. And now when this prevalent faction, sitting at Westminster, found that the Archbishop was not for their turn, but to the contrary had, in divers sermons at Oxford, preached against their rebellious proceedings, they were so enraged at him, that the committee they had appointed for DELINQUENTS' estates, (as they nick-named those who now faithfully served their prince,) made an order for the seizing of a study of books, &c. which were seized accordingly." PARR's *Life*.

The subsequent fate of this valuable library is narrated in page 404.

† The Doctor was accounted very tedious in these extempore effusions; and many of the ardent spirits, who were his reverend auditors, felt themselves aggrieved, because they considered themselves better qualified to offer up the joint adorations of so many gifted individuals, than an old divine could be, who had during many years been an unwilling Conformist to the excellent forms of prayer in the Episcopal Church. The following long extract from the "*Succinct History of the Life and Death of the learned and famous Divine, Daniel Featly*, by his nephew, the Rev. John FAIR-

the English divines were generally present. These were divided into three committees; and no man was excluded who pleased to come into any of the three. Every committee took a

CLOUGH, (*vulgo* FEATLY,)" presents us with some remarkable circumstances connected with the state of society at that period. The author tells us, his uncle, having long foreseen the storm which was impending over England, gave him an intimation of the necessity that existed for one of them to seek refuge in some of the distant colonies; and, on account of the advanced age of his relative, it was determined that John should emigrate. He then proceeds with his narrative thus:

"On June 24th, 1643, I weighed anchor at Tilbury Hope, and thence proceeded in my voyage to St. Christophers in the Western Indies, in a ship sufficiently pestered with Brownists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, &c. In the mean while, he stayed at home *to fight with beasts at Ephesus*, and defend the truth. And indeed he had a fair opportunity for it, being chosen a member of *the Assembly of Divines*, and wanting no courage either to preach the truth in the pulpit, or to assert and defend it in the Synod. But his religion and his loyalty were crimes unpardonable: And his vindication of the truth, in those erroneous times, betrayed him to the malice of new adversaries and their mischievous contrivements. The Bishops being voted down, and the Hierarchy of our church blown away with an unsavoury breath, every one's brain hammered and projected a new church-government, forgetting in the mean while that they had almost lost the very church itself. And, among the many superfœtations, that of the Presbytery appeared most prevalent: The professors thereof in England learned their lesson of their brethren in Scotland, whose first and greatest lecture was *the Solemn League and Covenant*. It was hatched in Scotland, and sent to *the Assembly of Divines* in England for their concurrence. Being proposed in our Synod, the Doctor, in a grave and learned speech, and with solid and judicious arguments, so strongly opposed it, that those who wanted learning to answer him, wanted not malice to ruin him.

"It seems the times could not bear sound doctrine: It was therefore concluded by a factious party, that either the Covenant must be suppressed, or the Doctor's mouth must be stopped. Every sectary was willing to help forward the *latter*, in a seeming defence of the *former*: Although the zeal of some of them was not grounded so much upon their love to the Covenant, as upon their envying his abilities, and madness at his stout and resolute defending the truth. At last a plot was laid by schismatics and sectaries of several judgments, who all concurred in the great design of silencing the Doctor. To this purpose, about the middle of Sept. in the year 1643, one Armiger Wardner, a despicable felt-maker at that time in Southwark, and afterwards a sutler in the army at St. Albans, made his application to the Doctor under pretence of friendship, and privately informed him, as from the Lord Primate of Armagh at Oxford, (from whence he pretended he was newly come,) 'That the king was very much offended at his complying with '*the Assembly*;' and that he charged him, upon his high displeasure, never 'more to meet with the Divines in Henry the Seventh's chapel.'—The credulous Doctor, intending no harm, suspected none; nor considered how strongly and stoutly he had, but a fortnight since, scourged the Covenant in that very Assembly; and that this therefore might be a plot to affright him into a future compliance, or at least to silence, in the Synod; or that it might be a snare to catch him, and to bring him into trouble. 'Evil be to him that evil thinketh:' The Doctor thought none. But he seemed indeed a little dissatisfied, in that the Primate had not written to him: But the cunning deceiver excused that by the danger of the times either to write or to carry intelligence of such concernment. The good Doctor was truly very much troubled at the contrary commands of the king at Oxford and the Parliament at Westminster. [This species of cant has been already exposed, page 379.] But the messenger seemed to be grieved for him, and to contrive some means to quiet his thoughts. At length he told the Doctor, 'that a 'word of the Primate's mouth to the king would set all aright again; and 'that he was presently to return to Oxford, by whom if the Doctor would

portion of the work prescribed, and in their afternoon-meeting prepared matters for the Assembly, writing their sentiments in distinct propositions, supported by sacred texts. After prayer,

'write a few lines to his Grace, acquainting him with some passages in the 'Assembly, and with his desire of his majesty's leave to continue his atten-'dance there, he would not only deliver the letter with much fidelity, but 'also bring him an answer upon Tuesday following.' Upon these fair shows of Armiger Wardner's friendship, and many promises of his faithfulness and secrecy, the Doctor caused a kinsman of his to write what he dictated, Armiger Wardner being in presence. And when he had finished and read it to them both, the Doctor asked Armiger Wardner's opinion, *Whether he thought there could be any danger in sending what was written*: the sutler pretended a confidence that *there could be no danger in it*. And thereupon the Doctor subscribed it with the two first letters of his name in Greek, one within another, which afterward, by the quiblet of a Member of Parliament, was interpreted FIDELITY."

This letter, as stated page 404, was taken before the *Close Committee* of Parliament, by whose directions Dr. Featly was arrested as *a spy and intelligencer*. He defended himself as well as he was able: "But," his kinsman says, "the doctor's defence was not armour-proof against the malicious resolutions of his mortal adversaries. The more reasons he urged, the more they were enraged: For, what they were not able to answer by the strength of reason, they howsoever could master by the strength of power. The Prolocutor [Dr. Twisse] was nettled, because the Doctor had written an *Eucomium* of his special gift in praying, not so much *extempore* as *de tempore*: And the Presbyterians were offended, because he opposed the Covenant: And the Sectaries in general were highly displeased, because he both discovered and opposed their schisms. Hereupon the Committee, being of *the discontented party*, resolved to silence him; and presently he was voted both out of the Assembly and out of his estate and liberty. On Sept. 30th, a warrant, mentioning no crime, was brought from the Committee, to commit the poor doctor; and the officer conducted him to the Lord Petre's house in Aldersgate-street. Before which, he was so plundered that he had no more money left him, than one bare five-shillings piece of gold, which he bestowed upon the officer. So soon as he was laid up, those whose mouths had long gaped and watered at his two livings, and undoubtedly had been very instrumental to clap him up, skipped hastily into them; Mr. White of Dorchester into Lambeth, and Mr. Philip Nye into Acton. Thus was the poor doctor plundered, sequestered, imprisoned, and even quite lost to the world. Yet, as if malice had pleaded for eternity, they left him not thus: For whilst he was penned up in that noisome prison, he yet preached constantly every Lord's-day to his fellow-sufferers,—for they were many, and persons of quality, and their sin was loyalty,—until at length Isaac Pennington, the pretended Lord Mayor of London, stopped his mouth, and gave orders that he should preach no more.

"Many sad months did he spend in prison, wanting the sweet and pleasant air at Kennington, the comfortable society of his books, his just revenue, a convenient accommodation, a well-ordered diet, the company of his old and bosom friends, and indeed all things, except a good conscience, which might qualify the bitterness of a tedious life. In the height of these his sufferings, it happened that a Papist sent a bold challenge abroad into the world, concerning *the Antiquity, Unity, Universality, Succession, and perpetual Visibility of the true Church*: Which threw dirt in the face of the Protestant Church, and, as the author thought, *invincibly* asserted the tenets of the Romanists. The Parliament saw the challenge, but neither could answer it themselves, nor persuade the reverend Synod, (wherein were yet left many persons of great learning and much estimation,) but it was recommended to the Doctor, whom they knew to be well versed in the matters in question. Had they first vindicated him from the aspersions of the hackney Mercuries [pamphlets] of the times, repaired his losses, enlarged his person, and sent him with honour to take his place again in the Assembly, they had given him a just and noble encouragement to answer

the Scribe read the proposition and text, whereupon the Assembly debated in a very grave, learned, ready and accurate manner. 'I do marvel,' says Mr. Baillie, one of the Scotch Commission-

their desires. But he was a poor Israelite under the Egyptian yoke, and must be content to abate the straw, yet make the brick. When no denial or excuse would satisfy, he complained 'that he wanted his books, and 'without them he could not answer expectations.' The House therefore voted, 'that he should have any of his own books which he should require, 'provided that he should never have more than THREE of them at one time.' By this vote, in the first place, his library was for a while preserved from the itching hands of Mr. White of Dorchester, who had gotten an order, 'that he should have the Doctor's books until the Doctor could get back Mr. 'White's, which some under the command of Prince Rupert had seized at 'Dorchester.' And the Doctor got a welcome employment, which diverted the irksomeness of his sad imprisonment. To work he went, and at length he finished and published his answer to the challenge, on Aug. 1, 1644, in a book entituled ROMA RUENS.

"Notwithstanding the great service which the Doctor had done the Church of England, at the request of the Parliament, by his answer to that Popish challenge in his *Roma Ruens*, yet they suffered him to continue *in limbo*, in his old prison. But when,—through the closeness and corruption of the air, the noisome stenches of the prison, his bad diet and ill lodging, the want of exercise, and many other inconveniences, he fell into a dropsy and other diseases,—he became a humble petitioner to the Parliament, that he might have leave to remove to Chelsea College, where the air was fresh and wholesome: And his physician's certificate was annexed to his petition, declaring that he could not possibly live without the benefit of better air. Full sixteen weeks did his friends and servants bestow upon a daily and wearisome attendance on the House, in pursuance of his request: For some members *would*, but *durst not*, move for him; some *durst*, but *would not*. His friends were fearful, but his enemies bold and violent. At length, when his adversaries were assured that his death approached, so that now there could be no fear of his further writing or preaching either against the Covenant or any Anabaptistical tenets, they granted him an Order to remove to Chelsea college for six weeks: For, although they proved prophets, yet they suspected that if he should be in any hope of recovery, he would fall again to his old game of opposing the heresies of the times: '*Provided always*, that he should first give good bail for his return to pri-'son at the six weeks' end.' By virtue of this long-looked-for order, he was removed to Chelsea College, about the beginning of March 1645..... On the 17th of April which was the very last day of those six weeks which the tender mercies of his enemies had allotted him for his continuance in Chelsea College, his spirit waxed faint, and, drawing near to the gates of the grave, he prayed as followeth: 'Lord, strike through the reins of them 'that rise against the Church and king, and let them be as chaff before the 'wind and as stubble before the fire. Let them be scattered as partridges 'upon the mountains, and let the breath of the Lord consume them! But 'upon our gracious sovereign [Charles I.] and his posterity, let the Crown 'flourish! This is the hearty and earnest prayer of a poor sick creature.' With which words, and many heavenly ejaculations, commending his soul into the hands of his faithful Creator, he fell asleep."

Such was the treatment which an Episcopal Calvinist experienced at the hands of his Predestinarian brethren, the Independents and the Presbyterians. I should have been gratified, had it been my pleasing duty to record a more pacific and evangelical death-prayer than the one which Dr. Featly uttered. But he was then under the influence of unsanctified irritation, and might have addressed his *quondam* friends, with some show of reason, in the language of David, "For it was not *an enemy* that reproached me; then I could have borne it: But it was thou, a man mine equal, my guide, and mine acquaintance. We took sweet counsel together, &c." Though, in the words that were wrung from him in the bitterness of his soul, may be perceived much of that asperity which he formerly dis-

ers to that Assembly, 'at the very accurate and extemporary 'replies that many of them usually make. They harangue long 'and very learnedly. They study the question well before-'hand, and prepare their speeches; but withal the men are 'exceeding prompt, and well spoken.' None were called upon to speak, but all rose of their own accord, and spoke as long as they pleased without interruption.* All speeches were addressed

played against Bishop Mountagu for his Arminianism and love of Christian Antiquity, his relative seems to intimate, that these were not the only expressions employed at the hour of his dissolution; for, in "commending his soul into the hands of his faithful Creator," he uttered "many *heavenly* ejaculations."—I have always viewed Dr. Featly as one of those trimmers who reserved themselves for *the most convenient season* to declare with which of the contending parties it was their pleasure to co-alesce.

But though his loyalty to his king, to whom he stood in the relation of chaplain, was as dubious, and his attachment to the Church of England was nearly as slender, as those of Dr. Twisse, yet, feeble as they were, they became substantial accusations against him, and enabled his clamorous and more crafty brethren, White and Nye, to induct themselves into two of the livings out of which he was quickly sequestered. The pious Archbishop Usher, whatever portion of blame he had incurred from some persons on account of certain parts of his conduct on former occasions, amply retrieved his high character for sterling honour and loyalty, by abandoning the Calvinistic brotherhood and their seditious measures; and when Dr. Featly, who had adhered to the faction for sinister purposes and in hopes of having his eloquence duly appreciated, received a feigned message from his aged friend, his heart smote him, and, in the laudable yet awkward attempt to escape out of the snares of the fowler, he became still more wofully entangled. The compunction which he evinced at the very sound of the loyal Archbishop's name, reminds one of that trying period in St. Peter's life when "the cock crew, and the Lord turned and looked upon him: And Peter remembered the word of the Lord," &c.—The disingenuous trick employed by the Parliamentarians to sound the Doctor's views and feelings, is a fair specimen of those artifices in which that party decidedly excelled, and which, on my mind at least, have always operated as strong corroborations of the serious charges preferred against them on account of the vile principles by which they were actuated. For every man who has only a superficial knowledge of *the allowable* stratagems of war, must be aware that one half of them are of such a description as to exclude a CHRISTIAN from engaging in their execution: Yet these, and much worse than these,—arts which had never before been practised in warfare between two belligerent nations, the lowest species of cunning and espionage in private families, &c.—were celebrated among the Parliamentarians as clever achievements, in some of which the Calvinistic pastors boasted of having been the principal performers. This demoralizing system attained its perfection under the regimen of Cromwell, when refinement in hypocrisy seemed to be the chief qualification which entitled its possessors to rewards and preferment. The sad effects upon all religious profession were too visible during the whole of the succeeding century; for when a man conscientiously abstained from *the very appearance* of evil, every mark of his scriptural precision and of his desire to walk uprightly was interpreted into a covert attempt to act the hypocrite from mercenary motives.

But the most remarkable feature in the narrative, is, the employment of the imprisoned Doctor, as the champion of the Protestant Interest, in the name of the reverend Assembly: This circumstance, when thoroughly examined, will not be pleaded, by the admirers of that Calvinistic Synod, as any valid argument in favour of *the profound learning and eminent attainments* of the Assembly of Divines.

* This is not correct, as the author himself intimates, in another part of his narrative, in which he says, "*The great contentions* and warm debates in the Assembly of Divines much disturbed Dr. Twisse's thoughts," &c.

to the Prolocutor. And when they had spoken whatever they pleased upon every proposition and text, and the replies and duplies were heard, the most part called to the question. Upon

No one can be surprised at the grief of mind which the poor old Doctor felt, when brought into contact with a company of men whose principles would not permit them to acknowledge any pastor as their ecclesiastical superior. In allusion to these indecent squabbles, Mr. Reid, their historian says: "In the debates of *the Assembly of Divines*, there was often much heat. —Using the language of one who was a witness of their proceedings, 'This 'was partly owing to their divesting their Prolocutor, or Moderator, of all 'power, as the House of Commons did their speaker, and converting him 'into *a mere chair*.' Mr. Henderson greatly lamented this evil; and, on a Fast-day, after the religious exercises were ended, he embraced the opportunity of bringing the members to a free and brotherly conference on the subject, in which having seen their fault, they resolved to guard against such excesses in time to come."

Dr. Featly also tells us, that when he had in that Assembly tendered his reasons for not imposing the Covenant on the nation, (though those reasons, on inspection, seem to have borne somewhat of an equivocal character,) he was not permitted to produce his sixteen arguments in favour of Episcopacy, but was compelled to be silent.

The subjoined quotation, from Mr. Reid's notice of Philip Nye, will shew, that even his obstreperous lungs were forced to cease their motion; for he was, on more occasions than these, "cried down as impertinent."

"By the favour of the Earl of Manchester, he became minister of Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire. In the year 1643, he was appointed one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, sitting in which he had the rectory of Acton near London conferred upon him. He was one of the dissenting brethren in that Assembly. Mr. Baillie says, speaking of Mr. Nye, 'When it 'came to his turn in the Assembly to oppose the Presbytery, he had, from 'Mat. xviii, drawn in a crooked unformal way, which he never could get in 'a syllogism, the inconsistence of a Presbytery with a civil state. In this he 'was cried down as impertinent. The day following, when he saw the As-'sembly full of the prime nobles and chief members of both Houses, he 'entered on that argument again, and veryboldly offered to demonstrate, 'that our way of drawing a whole kingdom under one national assembly, is 'formidable; yea, thrice pernicious to civil states and kingdoms. All cried 'him down, and some would have had him expelled the Assembly as sedi-'tious. Mr. Henderson shewed, that he spake against the government of 'our's, and of all the reformed churches, as Lucian and the Pagans were wont 'to stir up princes and states against the christian religion. We were all 'highly offended with him. The Assembly voted him to have spoken against 'the order; which was the highest of their censures. Maitland was absent; 'but enraged when he heard of it. We had many consultations what to do: 'at last, we were resolved to pursue it no farther, only we would not meet 'with him, except he acknowledged his fault. The Independents were resolved 'not to meet without him, and he was resolute to recal nothing of the substance 'of what he had said. At last, we were intreated by our friends to shuffle it over 'the best way might be, and to go on in our business. God, who brings good out 'of evil, made that miscarriage of Nye a mean to do him some good; for, 'ever since, we find him, in all things, the most accommodating man in the 'company.'"

Another of Mr. Reid's paragraphs will afford some curious particulars concerning the strange topics on which the Assembly wasted much of their valuable time and mental energies:

"When Mr. Baillie is speaking respecting the Independents having the communion every sabbath, without any preparation before or thanksgiving after, little examination of the people, and the like, he adds: 'Mr. Nye 'told us his private judgment was, that in preaching he thinks the minister 'should be covered, and the people uncovered; but in the sacrament, the 'minister should be uncovered, as a servant, and the guests all covered.' Mr. Baillie also says, 'As for the Assembly, these three weeks. Mr. Nye, and 'his good friend Mr. Herle, have kept us on one point of our Directory alone,

this, the Scribe rose from the table and went to the Prolocutor's chair, who read the proposition from the Scribe's book, and said, 'So many as are of opinion that the question is well stated 'in the proposition, let them say, *Aye.*' When the Ayes were heard, the Prolocutor desired those who thought otherwise to say *No.* When the Ayes and Noes could be readily known, then the question was ordered by the Scribes, and they went on to debate. If the Ayes and Noes were nearly equal, the Prolocutor called upon them separately to stand up, and they were numbered by the Scribes and others. When the weather became cold, the Assembly went to the Jerusalem chamber, a fair room in Westminster Abbey. At the upper end of it there was a chair set on a frame, about one foot above the floor, for Dr. Twisse, the Prolocutor. Before it, on the ground, stood two chairs for the Assessors, Dr. Burgess and Mr. White. Before these two chairs stood a table, where the two scribes did sit, Mr. Byfield and Mr. Roborough. The Scotch Commissioners sat on the Prolocutor's right hand. All warrants from the Parliament to sit in this Assembly were presented to the Prolocutor. He welcomed the Scotch Commissioners into the Assembly, at their arrival, by a long speech. Mr. Baillie, speaking concerning him as Prolocutor of this Assembly, says, 'The man, as the world 'knows, is very learned in the questions he has studied, and 'very good, and beloved of all, and highly esteemed.' And Dr. Calamy says, 'That he was very famous on account of his wit, 'learning and writings.' It hath been said, that he spake little in this Assembly; and some have interpreted this as an argument either of his weakness, or at least of the decline of his intellectual powers at that time. But as Sophocles, when his sons charged him with dotage, is said to have recited a tragedy of Œdipus Coloneus, which he had last written, and had in his hands; and to have asked, *whether that seemed to be the verse of a dotard*: So Dr. Twisse could easily have silenced such bold censurers, by the exhibition of those vigorous masculine pieces which he penned in the different periods of his life. But his disposition to decline verbal conference in matters of disputation,(for reasons already mentioned,) his modesty and humility,*

'the recommending of the communicants coming up to the table to commu-'nicate. Their way of communicating, of some at the table, and some 'about it, without any succession of companies to more tables, is that 'whereon we stick, and are like to stick longer.' "

* In Dr. Twisse, the virtues of modesty and humility were very sparingly exhibited. Before a company of bold Independent and Presbyterian preachers, and members of both Houses of Parliament, all of whom had been long accustomed to extempore speeches, and could consequently deliver their sentiments with ease and freedom, he would feel his inferiority, and might speak with a degree of embarrassment, on account of the inflexible nature of those habits which had been induced by his previous avocations: This sort of diffidence would bear *the semblance* of the virtues here specified. But no traces of this semblance can be discovered in his metaphysical productions, in which he often manifests more of the Rhetorician than

with the place which he occupied in this Assembly, may sufciently account for his speaking little there. Besides, Dr. Baillie informs us, that four parts of five did not speak at all; and that among these were many of the ablest divines, and known by their writings and sermons to be much abler than several of the speakers; that silence was no reproach in that Assembly and did not hinder the work.

"I shall here favour the reader with an anonymous remark, in manuscript, on this subject, which I received from London, in a book of Dr. Twisse's: 'The whole scope and intent of Dr. 'Twisse's writings is to set forth the absolute sovereignty and 'lordship of God over all created beings, both angels and men; 'and to shew, that no man in nature's state, with all his acquired 'abilities, can possibly put forth one act pleasing to God.'* He often affords considerable entertainment to his readers, by the vivacity of his genius and the sharpness and elegance of his wit. He sometimes uses jocose or historical diversions, to animate the spirits of his readers, and to preserve them from weariness. The contentions in church and state broke his heart. He often wished heartily, that the fire of contention might be quenched, though it were with his own blood. 'My soul hath long dwelt 'with him who hateth peace. I am for peace; but when I 'speak, they are for war.'† (Psalm cxx, 6, 7.) He was much

of the logical and accurate divine, and either bespatters with calumny, or tries to overwhelm with irony, all who dissent from his opinions, whether they be found in the long list of his friends or of his enemies. In the self-complaisant estimation which he had formed of himself, of his scholastic attainments, and of the new arguments which he employed, he betrayed insufferable arrogance and vanity.

* Both these propositions, when properly explained, are very just and scriptural; and no objections have been hitherto raised against them by Arminius or any of his orthodox followers. When Dr. Twisse and other unreasonable Calvinists attempt to destroy the harmony of the Divine attributes, by elevating God's sovereignty or power above the other perfections of his nature, the Arminians object to such a course of proceeding, and inform their erring brethren, that God has been pleased to represent himself to us in his blessed word not only as "a Great King," the Sovereign of the Universe, but as a Gracious Father, a Kind and Considerate Master, an Equitable Judge, and a Righteous Dispenser of rewards and punishments "according to the deeds done in the body, whether they be good or whether they be evil." Several of these latter relations seem to be forgotten by the Calvinists when they wish to establish their soul-lulling dogmas, which seek to obtain countenance or support only from the partial consideration of GOD as a dread SOVEREIGN, but which can find none in his equally important character of a Father and a Friend, reconciled to us by the blood of his Son, our Divine Mediator and Advocate.

† One cannot avoid pitying the old man, who in the decline of life uttered this complaint, after he had become a principal member of such a warlike cabal. But if we admit one of his own principles, that "the Almighty overrules one sin in such a manner as to cause it to be the punishment of another," we shall see, in this instance, that he who had formerly, with no great show of justice, lamented his supposed sojourning "in Mesech" as a "woeful" circumstance, was at length compelled to dwell, "in the tents of Kedar," among men of his own spirit, who disregarded the Apostolical caution, "If ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another."

grieved and displeased to see liberty given to heresies and blasphemies.* He constantly kept a monthly fast in his own family, whereby he endeavoured to quicken his prayers, by which,

* This is the phraseology usually employed by the Nonconformists who were members of the Westminster Assembly, when they wrote or spoke about the toleration of any other religious denomination than that of the Presbytery, to which they had been long attached, and which they fondly hoped would soon have become *the only Religion professed in the country*. When it was perceived that these expectations were unfounded, such inconsistent characters as Dr. Twisse had ample reasons for "being much grieved." In their clamours for innovation they had intended only a change of name, (as good Joshua SPRIGGE has shewn, page 442,) without the least change of the persecuting spirit or practice of which they had themselves most bitterly complained under the Episcopal Regimen.

The views of this class of divines are well defined in the following brief extract from a sermon, (on Revel. xx, 1, 2,) preached Aug. 26, 1645, before the House of Commons, at St Margaret's, Westminster, by Dr. Lightfoot, in which he gave full vent to his joyful feelings on beholding their great achievements "in platforming Classes and Presbyteries," and asserted his cordial belief "that what had been done was *according to the pattern in the Mount*." Against LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE he said: "I shall not go about to determine the question, *Whether the conscience may be bound or not:* Though, for mine own satisfaction, I am resolved *it may;* and I do hold it a truer point in Divinity, that *errans conscientia liganda*, than *ligat*. [That is, 'an erring concience does not bind any man, but must itself be bound.'] But certainly the devil in the conscience *may be* bound, nay he *must be*, or else you act not according to that VIGOUR that Christ requireth at your hands, nor according to that EXACTNESS that Christ hath put into your hands. It is true indeed, which is so much talked of, that *Christ alone must reign in the conscience:* But it is as true also, 'that He doth so by the POWER 'that He hath put into the hands of the magistrate,' as well as by his word and Spirit."

This was an invocation of the sword of the Civil Magistrate against their own dear Calvinistic brethren the Independents, and the various sects that sat under their shadow and would not conform to Presbytery! The persecuting principle was still more clearly expressed, in the same church, three months afterwards, in a Sermon preached before the House of Lords, by John WHITE, one of the reverend Assessors of Dr. Twisse in *the Assembly of Divines:* "There are some who boldly assemble in congregations, poisoning the unstable against us. When we crave the help of the magistrate's sword, it is answered, that *there is no established law that warrants them to proceed against them*. Let me therefore humbly beseech you, *by the mercies of Christ and in his name*, to hasten some speedy remedy for these evils, lest the blood of the souls that perish by these seducers be put into your account at the last day."

Hundreds of other extracts from the triumphant Nonconformists, equally intolerant, might be quoted: But these will suffice to exhibit in a true light the men who wished to tyrannize, with increased vengeance, over the unsettled consciences of their brethren. It is amazing to find a man of such an amiable natural disposition, as Dr. Lightfoot was, expressing himself with the violence and asperity which are too apparent in various parts of the sermon which I have transcribed. I here insert part of the beautiful apology for him, which was written by Dr. George BRIGHT, and prefixed to the folio edition of his Works:

"It was no wonder if some good and innocent men,—especially such as he, *who was generally more concerned about what was done in Judea many centuries since*, than what was transacted in his own native country by the intrigues and designs of enthusiastical or hypocritical politicians;—I say, it is no wonder if some such were borne away to some compliances, in some opinions and practices in religious and civil matters, which they themselves, afterwards upon more sedate and serious reflection, did not allow. And yet, it seems, *his innocency from any self-interest or design*, together with his

with great importunity, he sought God in the behalf of his afflicted church, pleading that he would be gracious unto it, and restore it to peace in his own due time. He was particularly mindful of the church of Christ, in his family fasts and prayers. 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its 'cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to 'the roof of my mouth: if I prefer not Jerusalem above my 'chief joy.' (Psalm cxxxvii, 5, 6.) Dr. Twisse maintained, as several eminently orthodox divines have done, 'That God, by 'his absolute power, setting aside his decree or free constitution, 'can forgive sin without any satisfaction.'* He hath a whole digression against Piscator and Lubbertus, on this subject. And Calvin expressly says, on John xv, 13, 'that God might, by 'a word only, or by his command, have redeemed us; but he 'took this way through his Son, that his love might be made 'more manifest.' And Norton, in his *Orthodox Evangelist,* chap. 3, says, 'God, by his absolute power, could have saved man 'without a Mediator: he is omnipotent, and could have done 'what he pleased.' And Mr. Rutherford, *Christ Dying and Drawing Sinners to Himself,* pages 7, 8, says, 'If we speak of 'God's absolute power, without respect to his free decree, he 'could have pardoned sin without a ransom, and gifted all man-'kind and fallen angels with heaven, without any satisfaction 'of either the sinner or his Surety; for he neither punisheth sin 'nor tenders heaven to men or angels by necessity of nature, '(as the fire casteth out heat, and the sun light,) but freely.' But it appears to me both vain and dangerous to dispute what God can do by his absolute power, especially in the case before us, when he has most solemnly and plainly declared, in the strongest terms, that he *will by no means clear the guilty,* (Exod. xxxiv, 6, 7.) that is, He will not suffer guilty persons to go unpunished without a satisfaction. See Numb. xiv, 18; Jer. xxx, 11; Nah. i, 3. Sin is directly contrary to the perfections of God; and, therefore, it cannot go unpunished. Its impunity is incompatible both with the Divine nature and government; *and without shedding of blood there is no remission.* Dr. Owen opposes Dr. Twisse concerning this point, in his *Dissertation on Divine Jus-*

learning, secured him from the extravagancies and follies of the demagogues, the people's oracles, every one of which affected to distinguish and signalize himself by some peculiar doctrine or custom; but, in truth, were no more fit for teachers and governors in religion, than mountebanks [are fit] to compose Dispensatories or to be Presidents of Colleges of Physicians.—For one little proof of which, when, in the University itself [Cambridge] the use of the *Lord's Prayer* was generally laid aside, he did in the University Church, as I remember, both produce and discourse his own opinion concerning the obligations to use the form of it in public; and accordingly, to testify his more than ordinary assurance and zeal, he recited it both before and after his sermon." On this last topic see page 381.

* What a horrid outcry would have been raised, had any famous Arminian divine at that juncture propounded such a sentiment!

tice; where he speaks very honourably and respectfully of him as his most learned antagonist. He says, (chap. xii, sec. 4,) 'But here, first of all the antagonists and who indeed is almost 'equal to them all, the very learned Twisse opposes himself to 'us.' He was allowed to be an excellent casuist. But, notwithstanding all his accomplishments, Mr. Neale says, that he died in very necessitous circumstances, having lost all that he had by the King's soldiers, insomuch that, when some of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster were deputed to visit him in his sickness, they reported, that he was very sick and in great straits.* And Mr. Jeanes, in his preface to his *Riches of God's Love,* complains of his having been shamefully neglected; where he declares against the unnatural vanity of England, in preferring strangers above such of their own countrymen as far surpassed them. And he adds, 'Of this unjust partiality no profession hath 'tasted more than that of divinity; for of our ministers, such 'whom God hath best fitted with parts and learning for discus-'sing controversies, have been so undervalued in comparison of 'some foreign divines, whose learning was little better than sys-'tematic, as that they have languished in their private studies; and 'had died in obscurity, unless the fame of their great abilities 'had been echoed over to us by the general applause of all Chris-'tendom.'

"The great contentions and warm debates in the Assembly of Divines† much disturbed his thoughts; and his disturbed

* Thus it appears, that while such alert and stirring brethren as Stephen Marshall, Hugh Peters, Philip Nye, John White and others, could procure a plentiful provision for themselves out of the sequestered livings of the Episcopal clergy, the aged Twisse, whose temporary rank and brilliant talents elevated him far above all these individuals, was left to perish in comparative poverty, because he neither possessed sufficient sycophancy nor strength of lungs to wheedle or to talk himself into republican notice and preferment. Yet with what craft and partiality does the historian of the Puritans endeavour to transfer this shameful treatment of an aged christian minister, from the ungenerous apathy and neglect of his Calvinistic brethren, to the aggressions of the king's troops at the commencement of hostilities! He must have known, that the soldiers on both sides were not much inclined to respect the property or the persons of their sworn adversaries.—The subsequent complaints of Mr. Jeanes on this subject are very just, applied as they were to the men who were then in power, the precursors in "fine and sentimental feeling" of that celebrated modern author who could weep over the sorrows of a dying ass, and yet refused the means of sustenance to his nearest relative.—It must not be forgotten, however, that the Parliament took the Doctor's case into consideration, and issued an order, Dec. 4, 1645, "for one hundred pounds to be given him out of the public treasury."

† This was not so pacific an Assembly as Mr. Reid, in a preceding part of his narrative, would have persuaded us to consider it. The lay-members, appointed by the two Houses, did not sit in state as silent spectators of the squabbles of the divines, like the States' Commissioners at the Synod of Dort; but they joined in the various debates, and controlled the impetuosity of some of the most ignorant and outrageous of the ecclesiastics. Whitelocke, in his *Memorials,* gives the following account of the treatment which several of them received from SELDEN, one of the four whom I excepted (page 401,) from the general charge of ignorance: "Divers members of

thoughts greatly impaired his bodily health; and his health being impaired, while his private studies and public employments were not abated, he was much reduced. Accordingly,

both Houses, whereof I was one, were members of the Assembly of Divines, to sit and debate, and give their votes in any matter which was in consideration amongst them. In which debates Mr. SELDEN spoke admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own learning. And sometimes, when they had cited a text of scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, 'Perhaps in your little pocket Bibles, with gilt leaves, (which they would 'often pull out and read,) the translation may be thus; but the Greek or 'the Hebrew signifies thus and thus:' And so would totally silence them." Whitelocke, be it remembered, (page 325,) is *an impartial authority*, according to Brook in his *Lives of the Puritans*.

Cleaveland, the famous satyrist, thus expresses himself concerning Selden, in his *Mixed Assembly*,

> And Selden is a Galliard by himself,
> And well may be; there's more divines in him
> Than in all this their Jewish Sanhedrim!

It was a fortunate circumstance for the posthumous yet unfounded reputation of that Assembly, that those four learned individuals whose names I have specified were among its members. They illuminated the too-prevalent darkness of that Calvinistic Synod with occasional bright gleams and coruscations of genius; and threw an imposing air of learning and reputation upon its proceedings, which, in their absence, it would never have possessed. But the imposition is discovered, when once we become acquainted with "the plainness of speech," which these eminent men were sometimes compelled to employ while trying to force an additional *modicum* of reason and common sense into the understandings of the more ignorant and assuming members.—Dr. LIGHTFOOT, who is another of my exceptions, found it necessary to enlighten them on several points: It is well known that the Assembly spent much time concerning *lay-elders*, and their power of ruling. This they laboured to prove from the expressions in 1 Cor. xxii, 28, *helps, governments*, &c. Dr. L. opposed this opinion, by proving, that the Septuagint employ one of the Greek words, there used, as the translation of a Hebrew one, which imports not the *act*, but the *ability* of gifts fit to govern; and that the other word imports *helps* to interpret the language and sense of those who spake with tongues, as is apparent from the 28—30th verses of the same chapter.—In discoursing upon *Church Officers*, one of the Divines asserted, "that Widows were to be esteemed as such officers;" and, for a confirmation of his opinion, he alleged that passage in Timothy which says, "Let not a widow be taken into the number under threescore years old." Dr. L. employed the very argument, respecting the age at which widows were said to be eligible to office, to oppose the divine's position. "Under the old Testament," he said "the officers at the Temple were dismissed at fifty years of age; it is therefore unreasonable to suppose that, in the New, any should be admitted to office who were not under sixty."—On another occasion, when the right of the people to choose their own ministers was attempted to be proved by 1 Tim. iv, 14, in which, it was asserted, the Greek compound did not signify *laying on of the hands* but *election* or *suffrage by holding up the hands*; Dr. L. refuted that opinion by quotations from Zonaras, Balsamon, and from an Apostolical Canon, as well as from the peculiar notation of the Greek word. He added, "that it was not possible for the people, in those early times of Christianity, to elect their ministers, because none were fit in those times to be such, but by the gift of the Holy Ghost; and it was not reasonable to suppose, that the people nominated and chose those who were to receive that heavenly gift."—Upon a consultation, whether the Assembly should add a prohibition against converting the Directory into "a set form," Dr. L. spoke against the proposition, and considered it "dangerous so much as to intimate any thing against *a set form*."

when he spake unto God in the name of the people, and to the people in the name of God, and raised up the hearts of his hearers unto heaven, he fell down in the pulpit. Though his constitution was naturally good, and his disposition cheerful; yet, through age, his body was now become heavy and somewhat burdensome: And therefore, when very warmly employed in

These are a few instances out of many, in which Dr. Lightfoot was compelled to stem the indiscriminate levelling arguments of the many.—Strype, the veritable and correct historian, has given the following additional instances: "Some arguments he made use of against certain city-ministers many years ago, more zealous than wise, and some of them *Assembly-men*, who earnestly advised to lay aside the celebration of Christmas-day: When beside reasons taken from RELIGION,—as, 'that the thing was in itself *lawful*, and that our Saviour preached at the Feast of Dedication which had a 'human original,'—he urged the inconveniences of it in point of PRUDENCE, —as, 'that it would bring an odium upon the Assembly, that it would certainly breed a tumult, and that it would be safer to let such things alone to 'authority than for them to meddle in.' Which bespake him to be a well-advised man, as well as one not affecting novelties.—And another thing shewed his acuteness as well as his prudence: It being moved in the Assembly, *that when any went out of the Assembly before all rose, he should solemnly make his obeisance*, (that the better notice, I suppose, should be taken of such as went out,) this being even ready to pass, our Doctor desired 'that they 'might not leave it upon their records to posterity, *that this Assembly had 'need to take order for common reverence and civility!*' Upon which it was laid by, and the Order reversed.

"Treating of the Thirteenth Article of Religion, *that works done before Justification are not pleasing to God*, one of the places brought to prove this proposition was, 'Unto the pure, all things are pure; but unto them that 'are defiled and unbelieving, nothing is pure.' (Titus i, 15, 16.) This place our Doctor held improper, upon these reasons: '(1.) Because the place 'seems to speak concerning *meats*. (2.) It speaks of *unbelieving Jews*, and 'our Article seems to speak of *men under Christianity*. (3.) That [speaks] 'of *most abominable wretches*, our Article of *men of good morals*.' But it was voted to pass, for all this.

"To that clause in the Second Article of Religion, *who truly suffered*, they added for its illustration, 'that for our sakes he suffered most grievous 'torments in his soul immediately from God.' These words, after much debate, were concluded on, and these proofs allowed for its confirmation, Isai. liii, 10, 11; Mark xiv, 33, 34. But those places gave not the Doctor satisfaction, nor the addition itself any content. For it was his fear, that it would intricate the Article rather than clear it, and that the proofs would not either satisfy the honest conscience or convince and stop the cavils of the captious.—For the proving that clause in the same Article, *to reconcile his Father to us*, they produced Ezek. xvi, 63; which the Doctor opposed, as improper for the thing in hand.

"Among the rules laid down for preachers, it was made one of the qualifications of a doctrine raised from a text, *a doctrine raised ought to be such a truth as is principally intended in that place*. This was gainsaid by our Doctor, alledging these three places in one chapter, viz Matt. ii, *Out of Egypt have I called my Son,—In Rama was a voice heard,—And, He shall be called a* NAZARITE; which the Evangelist quotes besides *the principal intent* of the prophet. Whereupon they altered it thus, 'Such a truth as is 'principally intended, or what is most for edification.'"

But these "great contentions" were not the only circumstances which "much disturbed the thoughts of Dr. Twisse." For, irritable as he naturally was, he must have been vastly chagrined at several of the irregularities enumerated by Lord Hailes, in his *Remarks on the History of Scotland*, who quotes, from the *Wodrow* MSS. one which was composed by George Gillespie, a Scotch Commissioner, and which contains the following statement, by the Assembly, of its own sins, with a view to a solemn fast: "*The sins of the*

spiritual things, his outward strength failed him.*—He was carried home and laid upon his bed, and continued about a year under a lingering indisposition. During this time he was visited by persons of all ranks, who loved either religion or learning. And to his friends who visited him on the day of his distress, he gave remarkable and very comfortable evidences of his faith. (Heb. xi, 13.) And under his affliction, he was a rare example of patience and christian resignation. When the time of his departure was at hand, he seriously uttered these following words, which were almost his last:—'Now, at length, I shall 'have leisure to follow my studies to all eternity.'† He died about the 20th July, 1646, in the seventy-first year of his age. His body was buried with great honour and solemnity, according to his dignity and former friendship with his brethren, at the request of the Assembly, in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, near the upper end of the poor folk's table, next the vestry, on the 24th of July, and was attended by the whole Assembly of Divines in a body. The day after his burial, the Parliament voted a thousand pounds to be given to his children, out of the public treasury; but they were cheated out of that, and whatever their father left.‡ Notwithstanding, God was so pleased to appear for them, in his kind providence, that they obtained a decent support."

The foundation of the fame of Dr. Twisse lies principally in his "VINDICATION OF THE GRACE, POWER, AND PROVIDENCE OF GOD, *that is, A Scholastic Reply to the Examination, instituted by James Arminius, into Perkins's Treatise on the Mode and Order of Predestination.*" After a very interesting Dedication to the Queen of Bohemia, (see page 453,) Dr. William Ames, who was then Professor of Divinity in the University of Franeker, communicates, under the date of Nov. 1, 1631, the following information to the reader: "Although I am not the man who can possibly contribute any additional degree of estimation to writings of this description, yet, the publisher having asked me for the sentiments of my heart on this work, with the leave of the

Assembly in Nine Points. (1.) Neglecting attendance in the Assembly, though the affairs be so important; late coming. (2.) Absence from the prayers. (3.) Reading and talking in time of debates. (4.) Neglect of committees. (5.) Some speak too much, others too little. (6.) Indecent behaviour. (7.) Unseemly language and heats upon it. (8.) Neglect of trying ministers. (9.) Members of Assembly drawing on parties, or being frightened with needless jealousies."

* From this expression it is to be feared, that the good Doctor had at length considered it necessary for his personal interest, at that advanced period of life, to alter his former sedate mode of preaching, and to accommodate his practice to the loud and lengthy pulpit-harangues which were then in fashion. But nature was unequal to the exertion, and the Doctor's strength failed in the attempt.

† See here another instance of "the ruling passion strong in death."

‡ What a picture does this present of the profligacy of those times, and of the public inconveniences and private grievances consequent upon political revolutions!

author and of readers more learned than myself, I will now proceed to declare them in few words. I can pronounce no judgment on every particle and all the *minutiæ*, because I have glanced over various parts of the book with only a hasty eye. But, concerning the sum and substance of the whole disputation I can truly testify, that I have never yet beheld any production of the same kind composed with greater erudition, acumen, judgment, and evidence of truth. This book will be placed as a votive offering to God for deliverance, by those persons of modest dispositions who have until now been tossed about by the waves of Arminius and his followers, and exposed to the peril of shipwreck. It will also prove a stone to those on whom it falls, and will grind them to powder who evince any reluctance to yield to the force of truth. (Mat. xxi, 44.) Our author's high deserts will undoubtedly be acknowledged by the whole Church of God, and particularly by those who retain any affection for the name of PERKINS, which was far too long held captive under the sophistries of Arminius.* The vindication of Perkins had been formerly undertaken by several persons, and, among others, by the very celebrated Baines, who was the successor of Perkins in the office of pastor, and who was destitute of no qualification requisite for its completion except that of good health to endure such a labour. But it was a fortunate circumstance, that after the most reverend Abbot had gained one palm of victory by his defence of Perkins against Bishop, a Papist, who strove to *deform* his [Perkins's] *Reformed Catholic*, this other triumph over Arminius † was

* This is a high commendation of Arminius, by one of the greatest vilifiers of his name and reputation. Even Ames could confess, that "the name of Perkins had then been held too long *captive*" under what he terms "the sophistries of Arminius." From this admission it is evident, that the ponderous labours of the different companies of divines at the Synod of Dort had left the plain and scriptural objections of Arminius without a reply: There was indeed an obvious reluctance on the part of those great men to combat his able reasoning; and in pursuance of that plan, they abandoned the Supralapsarianism of Perkins to its fate. Some of the members of the Dort Synod occasionally engaged in reply to the objections of Grevinchovius, Corvinus, and other defenders of Arminius; but they were exceedingly shy about any encounter with the master himself.

† Stephen De Courcelles devotes a whole chapter, in his treatise *De Jure Dei*, to prove, "that Calvin and the most celebrated of his disciples place the object of Reprobation in man as not created;" and in confirmation of his argument, he states the following particulars respecting the reverend Prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines: "Let Perkins be succeeded by Twisse, who was a very bitter defender of his dogmas against Arminius. He does not imitate most other writers, in cursorily glancing at this argument [of eternal and unconditional Reprobation] while treating upon a different topic; but he explains the dogma in ten or eleven entire tracts. It would be a superfluous labour to extract from them his peculiar opinions. I will quote only the arguments prefixed to a few of his chapters, from which the reader will easily collect the matter which will be found in them; and, if he consider such an object worth the labour, he may consult the passages themselves. The Third Digression in the fifth Chapter, concerning Predestination, is said 'to prove that the object of universal Predestination was

reserved for the reverend Doctor Twisse, who studied Divinity under Professor Abbot, and, beyond all his other scholars, stood almost in the relation of a real son to him. May God long preserve to us this famous divine, and grant him an increase of all grace! May he likewise impart a similar spirit to others, on whom he has bestowed equal endowments!"

This high commendation, though proceeding from a predestinarian friend, is well merited. But the man, who, from this character of the book, expects to find it a mere scholastic performance, will be egregiously disappointed. Mr. Reid has told us, (page 466,) "Dr. Twisse often affords considerable entertainment to his readers, by the vivacity of his genius and the elegance of his wit: He sometimes uses jocose or historical diversions," &c. This is very true: And if any learned man desired to peruse a work which embodies within itself a mass of witticisms and amusement, and in which the hopelessness of Calvinism is most conspicuously displayed, I would direct him to Doctor Twisse's *Vindication*. It contains many excellent scholastic discussions; but before any one has read through half the work, he will perceive it to have been not without evident reason that the good Doctor employed such a fund of ridicule. Without this important auxiliary, he could neither have charged promiscuously through the ranks of half friends and real foes, nor have committed such dreadful havoc on all who opposed, if only in half a shade, his favourite Predestinarian opinions. But the parts in which the Doctor thus acts the Rhetorician, are extremely well-chosen, and prove him to have been a consummate master of the arts of attack and defence: For he pours forth

'*an uncreated mass*;' and yet that no man is reprobated except through a 'consideration of sin,' that is, so far as sin is considered a means subordinate to the execution of that decree.—The Sixth Digression 'proceeds to 'consider and refute Du Moulin's arguments for *a corrupt mass*, as militating against the object of Predestination.'—The Seventh Digression propounds these questions: 'Which of the two opinions agree best with the 'doctrine of the Apostle delivered in the Ninth Chapter of the Epistle to 'the Romans,—that which lays the basis of Predestination in *a corrupt* 'mass,—or that which lays it in *an uncorrupted mass*,—or rather in a 'mass uncreated?' And he holds the affirmative respecting the last of these propositions. Lastly, in the Third Digression concerning Reprobation, it is asked, 'Is sin the cause of Reprobation?' And he contends that *it is not!*

"The testimony of this author [Twisse] ought to be of great weight, for two reasons. (1.) Because he wrote after the Synod of Dort, in which Amyraut thinks the contrary opinion was established; notwithstanding which, two editions of his work [*the Vindication of the Grace, Power, and Providence of God.*] were published at Amsterdam; it was received with applause by all the Calvinists in every part of Europe, and is even at this day [1645] perused by them with the highest admiration of its subtlety.—(2.) Because in him we have the consent of all that part of the Church of England which adheres to Calvin: For he is the President of the Synod [the Westminster Assembly] which has now been sitting a few years in London. To that office he would not have been elected, unless he had been considered *very pure in the faith*: Indeed, he seems to have attained to that dignity by the merit of his laborious performances in the controversy of Predestination against Arminius."

torrents of wit whenever valid arguments are rare, or syllogistic difficulties appear iusurmountable. The Doctor's *Vindication* exhibits most decisive proofs of the deadly wound which Arminius had inflicted on the unhallowing system of Supralapsarian Calvinism; and it must have been exceedingly galling to the men of that high party, to produce no plausible defence of the rigid scheme of Perkins till thirty years after it had been dissected and exposed by Arminius: And if, according to Professor Ames, the *Modest Examination* of Arminius continued such a length of time without reply, after all the labours of Dr. Twisse, to this day it remains unanswered. During that interesting period "the subtle poison," as it was then called, "of Arminianism," was suffered to work without much molestation, and its disorganizing effects upon the body ecclesiastic were soon apparent: Tilenus, one of the greatest divines in France, became a convert to the scriptural doctrines of General Redemption; Camero, Amyraut, Testard, and Cappel made considerable advances towards the same system; the English divines, who adhered to a Confession that was evidently Lutheran in its origin, began to advert to the first principles of their Church; and Du Moulin himself had found it necessary to abate that nuisance in Calvinism which rendered Unconditional Reprobation doubly revolting to the common sense of mankind by making it altogether independent of actual transgression. Other important changes and modifications had been effected in "the received doctrine" of Calvin, when Dr. Twisse arose in defence of the ancient rigid belief of the Supralapsarians; and his production is an amazing treasury of almost all that can be said against the preceding modifiers of Absolute Predestination, though he was himself among the most daring of those "unskilful innovators."

His "Preface to the Reader" details the course of his metaphysical studies after he left the University and hid himself in the privacy of a country parsonage. He made his approaches to the citadel of Arminianism, with all the caution of an experienced general, by overturning some of the arguments of Alvarez. This achievement he viewed as a good preliminary experiment, and thus relates its success: "I congratulated myself and my good fortune on finding, that neither my mind nor my genius was yet exhausted in exploring the truth, but that I was much furthered in my studies by their more successful issue. After this prosperity in my first enterprize, I was excited to attempt other subjects which appeared to be involved in greater difficulty, and applied my mind to the contemplation of the doctrine of ideas. But on this topic all things rose in opposition to my progress: For I failed in the endeavour, and was quite disappointed in my wishes. On this account I considered it too painful to labour any longer in a subject which was arduous in itself, and which, as far as I could prognosticate,

would prove totally fruitless. For the sake therefore of a little mental recreation, I thought I would turn aside to search out the sentiments of the Arminians on efficacious grace and the mode of its operation: I had previously heard only by rumours, that on this subject a marvellous congruity existed between their doctrine and that of the Jesuits. I first looked into Corvinus, and cursorily examined him, &c. I confess that his arguments appeared very specious; but, when subjected to the test of a scholastic examination, they were found to have dissolved into airy nothings."—He then narrates various other encounters with the reasonings of Corvinus and the men of his persuasion; and, as a necessary consequence, his victory over them is minutely recorded. "At length," he says, "my spirit incited me to commence an examination of Arminius himself, and diligently to peruse his doctrine of *Permission*, because that topic seemed to me encompassed with great, if not with insuperable, difficulties. I approached to Arminius therefore on this point for the purpose of informing myself. Whatever might be the issue of this attempt, I augured that far more profit would arise from investigating the truth in that quarter; and, in the execution of my purpose, I digested the subject into certain sections, and sedulously pried into every thing. While I was engaged in the discussion of that article, I first discovered that this Hannibal [Arminius] is not only vincible, but an adversary of whom one need not be greatly afraid. The results of that discussion drew me into some scholastic studies, in which I had not previously been much exercised; they related to the distinction of an act with regard to its substance and with regard to its malice," &c.

Dr. Twisse then narrates in the same bragging style, several more reputed victories (in his own study) over the famous Dutch Professor. But the most amusing part of his "Preface,"

* The Doctor informs his readers, that, in all these argumentative combats, he had followed the more rigid or Supralapsarian opinion, "which, with great appearance of probability, places the decree of *bestowing salvation* before the decree of *conferring efficacious grace to believe and repent, and finally to persevere*. Nay, my judgment was, that the decree of *predestinating both to salvation and to damnation* was prior even to the decree of creating. For I had previously used my utmost endeavours in favour of a decree that was co-eval with, or at least not later than, the commencement of the creation; and I had tried to obtain support for such a decree, by means of all the arguments which I could possibly find in any direction: I was the more strongly animated to engage in the search, by sanguine hopes of success, which I had derived from certain meditations on this subject by the Jesuit Vasquez. But these my anticipations were completely premature: For I found the arguments which inclined to this point [the Sublapsarian opinion] were more specious than solid; and all those which favoured its opposite [Supralapsarianism] had their foundations in sound reason. But I perceived that Arminius was upbraiding Perkins with the more rigid opinion at every opportunity, and, through the aversion thus excited against it, had fortified for himself a most compendious way to gain credence to his own sentiments. If therefore such a thing were possible, I

is that in which he describes the attainments of his adversary. "Nothing now remains," he says, "but for me to give my reader a brief warning concerning Arminius and his school. When the name of Arminius first attained to some celebrity among us through the publication of his Lectures, the very mountains seemed to be in labour, especially through the laudatory effusion of Bertius, in that Oration which he composed on the death of Arminius, and prefixed to his Theological Disputations. And truly, in these times, it is nothing uncommon for the devil to have no small number of emissaries who are skilled in varied erudition and learning, and who, when thus armed, go forth to attack the truth. An indication of this may be perceived at present, in the eager studies of the Papists, and particularly of the Jesuits;* concerning whom we may repeat the saying once applied to the Greeks by an Orator, 'I grant that they 'are possessed of erudition and learning; but they have never 'attended to the cultivation of faith and religion.' Yet the people of God have nothing to fear from the sons of Anak, as often as they rise up, exert all their strength, and make great attempts, as though they would close up every avenue, and hinder our approaches when with the spiritual arms of the Lord we endeavour to seize upon and possess the land: *For they are bread for us. Their defence is departed from them; and the Lord is with us: Fear them not.* (Num. xiv, 10.) The sword of

wished to obtain at any price some clear refutation of such damnable sentiments [as those of Arminius]. Wherefore, laying aside all other matters, I again applied my mind to subject the order of the Divine decrees to more accurate studies."

This extract illustrates the motives of Dr. Twisse in devising the sundry novel and untenable arguments which he has introduced into his work in favour of high Calvinism; and, at the same time affords the true reason of the unmanly rage and impotent animosity against the ashes of Arminius, which disfigure various parts of his performance. The defence of the Supralapsarianism of Perkins seems to have been, with him, an object of greater importance, than the discovery of the grand and obvious truths of the gospel; and, acknowledging the incompetency of all previous arguments to overturn the solid objections of the amiable Dutch Professor, he began to rack his inventive brain for new modes of support to the ancient tottering system.

It is likewise important, on account of the aid, which, he candidly acknowledges, he had hoped to derive from the lucubrations of Vasquez the Jesuit. Some persons might suppose, from the manner in which the name of the Jesuit is introduced, that Dr. Twisse intended indirectly to charge the Sublapsarians with the crime of deriving from that impure source some props to their system. But such a supposition would be erroneous: For that is not the only occasion on which the Doctor owns his vast obligations to the Jesuits, as well as to other Papists. On this subject, see page 267. Yet it certainly was his intention to state in that oblique manner the indefensible nature of Sublapsarian Calvinism.

* To understand the point of this violent Diatribe, and the reason why the name of the author of the Funeral Oration pronounced on the death of Arminius is united with that of Papists, the reader should be reminded of Bertius' defection to Popery on account of the bad treatment which he received from the Dutch Predestinarians. Many instances occur in this volume of a similar artful association of Popery and Arminianism, the intention of which may be easily decyphered.

the Lord will always be sufficient for arming his Joshuas and his Gideons,* enabling them to remove all obstructions, and to smooth the way for his people, that they make a great proficiency in all truth.—Far less cause therefore have we to be afraid of the Arminians. Yet I would not go to deprive them of any part of that due praise for genius or erudition, to which they may be justly entitled. They will be permitted by me to receive from the christian reader, and to enjoy any degree of esteem on account of their studies, provided they apply themselves to the study of truth But if, instead of extending their studies to the *defence* of the truth, they confine them to its *corruption* and to the patronizing of errors,—and if, elated with confidence in their powers, they impose upon their readers by a certain semblance of learning and erudition,—it will be equitable for us, not only to devote our labours to the confirmation of the truth, but to the unmasking of the arts and impostures of our adversaries, who have grown insolent under this specious kind of erudition, and diligently to engage in exposing to all men how inconsistent is the reasoning of the Arminians with the proper method of discussion, though their proceedings bear sufficient marks of pomposity. Since therefore Arminius makes pretensions to a singular degree of exactness, and strives hard to persuade his readers that he is desirous of recalling students, from an over lax mode of treating theological subjects, to a more accurate method of discussion,† I may be permitted here

* In a preceding sentence the Doctor has alluded to "the spiritual arms of the Lord," with which his predestinarian friends "endeavoured to seize upon and possess the land." He afterwards calls this co-ercive power "the sword of the Lord," and declares it to be "always sufficient for arming his Joshuas and his Gideons, enabling them to remove all obstructions," &c. Now, in Dr. Twisse's vocabulary, these Joshuas and Gideons were the Earl of Essex, Lord Fairfax, and other successful Parliamentary Generals, who "smoothed the way for God's people," and waged war against "Antichrist in the Church of England."

† Bertius adduces this very properly as a singular excellence in the character of Arminius. His words are: "Scarcely had he entered the University, when he discovered that the Divinity Students involved themselves in the intricacies of disputations and controversies, and that they had become the sectaries of certain knotty theorems and difficult problems, to the neglect of the sacred scriptures. After conferring with his colleagues, he endeavoured to correct this evil; and succeeded in a great degree. For he recalled that ancient, masculine, and hardy method of study; and, as far as possible, he withdrew these erratic candidates for holy orders from their wanderings, and brought them back to the fountains of salvation,—those pure fountains whose pellucid streams refuse to flow in muddy channels. He therefore exhorted all men to the exercise of piety; and it was a more peculiar object of his care and study, *first*, to cut off those intricate questions and to break in pieces that immense mass of vague and useless assertions with which THE SCHOOLS resound; and, *then*, to excite men to search out, in the scriptures alone, those things which might contribute to the necessity of faith, and which might teach them how to pass their lives in a state of holiness and happiness in Christ Jesus."

These were the godlike designs of that great divine. How impertinent therefore will the remarks of Dr. Twisse appear, when they do not apply to this wise plan of Arminius, but to his supposed deficiency in scholastic

to profess that I have made the experiment, and can deliver it as a fact fully proved by particular evidence that *this divine is by no means qualified to adorn the province to which he has aspired, being a man who employs logic and scholastic theology in a manner the most puerile.*—He accuses our divines [on a certain occasion] of *reasoning in a circle,* which he accommodates to the statement of their sentiments thus, 'The death of Christ was 'fore-ordained by God, for the expiation of Adam's sin: The 'fall of Adam was fore-ordained by God, that it might receive 'expiation through the death of Christ.' But, I assert these expressions contain nothing like a circle; which it will be possible easily to demonstrate to any man of learning, who is only moderately skilled in logical matters. For *the circle* [in Logic] never obtains, except when the same things are employed as mutual causes the one to the other, and when they are of the same genus.—From these specimens the reader may perceive how ill-instructed Arminius was in Logic, and what an unfit Theologian he has proved himself to be, and unqualified to rule in the schools, [to preside as Moderator in a scholastic disputation,] when he has never yet learnt to frame the bare analysis of a Logical proposition.—I have been treating about the logical talents of Arminius; it now remains for me to propound some of my animadversions on his *scholastic* Divinity. Arminius is accustomed entirely to confound the order of things in *intention* and *execution,* in opposition to all philosophy and to the experience of common sense.* In order to restrain

attainments! Those who have perused with attention the productions of these two learned men, will find no difficulty in awarding the palm of scholastic proficiency to Arminius: All other persons must form their judgments on different and more uncertain *data,* among which the passions generally claim a considerable portion of influence.

* The Doctor alludes in this passage to his celebrated sophism, as applied to the operations of the Divine Mind, *That which is last in Intention is first in Execution.* Notwithstanding the admiration which the Calvinists bestow on this fallacious postulate, I never yet could find one of them that understood it, or could explain its meaning: It was enough for them, that it had been asserted by Dr. Twisse, consequently, by a man of less name it might not be controverted. This undistinguishing admiration reminds one of the wonderment expressed by an old lady on hearing a grand and florid sermon delivered by a fine preacher. She told her friends that he was *a very far learned man:* When questioned respecting the foundations of this opinion, she adduced this lucid proof of the minister's erudition, that "he had made frequent use of that beautiful word *Mesopotamia!*"

Dr. Twisse here charges it as a grievous defect in the scholastic attainments of Arminius, that he did not understand *the right order* of things in Intention and Execution. Bishop Sanderson, one of the greatest masters of Scholastic Theology that ever lived, has shewn in a succeeding page, (489) that *the inverse order* adopted by Dr. Twisse, and which is indeed the main foundation of the reasoning contained in his book, is erroneous. Its defects will be instantly perceived by every one capable of appreciating the argument. For Dr. Twisse has employed *the inverse order of things* with respect to Intention and Execution, as a principle to account for the actings of the Divine Mind upon itself,—all of which, being the results of Infinite Wisdom, are, (speaking after the manner of men,) produced solely by INTUI-

his readers, and to close their lips from even whispering any thing contradictory, he considers that he has made abundant provision for himself by frequently professing, *God executes in no other manner than as he has decreed;* which proposition, I own, has astonished and confounded not a few individuals. But, by a similar mode of reasoning, it would have been possible for him completely to overturn the axiom of *the inverse order of things in intention and execution,* and to state the contrary doctrine, since it is sufficiently evident that God, angels, and men execute any thing in no other manner than as they have decreed, in case the thing have been prudently decreed by them.† Indeed, Arminius very seldom

TION: Yet the principle thus applied to God is strictly applicable to the results of the actings of a finite human mind alone, which are produced by the more tedious process of INDUCTION, and in which *first* and *final* causes, considered metaphysically as consecutive propelling motives, under due restrictions may be allowed to have a place, in the very order which the Doctor has described.

The grand postulate of Dr. Twisse had not its origin in mistake: It was purely a matter of *choice*, or rather of *necessity*. He acquaints us, in his Preface, with his unsuccessful attempt on *the doctrine of Ideas;* "in which," he says, "all things gave sufficient tokens of obscurity, although they are almost constantly in the mouth of every person: Just as if a full discovery had been made of the sentiments which ought to be held respecting *ideas in the Divine Mind* as the exemplars of all things. I indulged hopes of finding the investigation of this part of truth more easy, on account of the studies which modern Jesuits have bestowed on that subject, and which are now producing something new." This novelty produced by the Jesuits seems, from a subsequent part of the Doctor's work, to be *Scientia Media*. To defend and support the absurdities of Supralapsarian Calvinism against the new mode of attack employed by Arminius and his admirers, it was necessary to call into action either the doctrine of *Scientia Media*, or that of *the inverse order of things with regard to their Intention and Execution*.—The former doctrine was employed by Gomarus, who shewed himself as high a Supralapsarian or Creabilitarian as Dr. Twisse, and was one of the earliest and most rancorous of the enemies of Arminius: Though the *unbending tenacity* of his mind in adhering to his favourite opinions was celebrated by Daniel Heinsius, in an elegant Latin Poem which he wrote in his praise; yet, on this point, and on another recorded by Bishop Womack in a preceding page, (20,) Gomarus proved that "he knew how to yield" even in old age to the force of conviction.—The latter doctrine was embraced by Dr. Twisse, who ascribed such an absurdity to the Divine Being, rather than permit high Calvinism to lie open to the successful attacks of its enemies. Bishop Sanderson "wonders, how a person of such acuteness and subtility of wit could possibly be *deceived* with it." From the variety of argumentative postures in which Dr. Twisse places this doctrine, and from the numerous reasons adduced for it in different parts of his massy volume, it is evident that he was perfectly aware of its fallacy and weakness, and wished to force it down the understandings of his readers by means of re-iterated assertions concerning its potency.

† In this part of the Doctor's performance, among other allegations against Arminius, he adduces the following: "It has long been received in the Schools, as a matter so well verified as scarcely any thing can admit of better proof, *that some small degree of* NECESSITY, *and that of the antecedent kind, may consist with* LIBERTY. For, what sober person would deny, that God can decree and efficaciously procure something to be done freely? But this is not admitted by Arminius. Yet he does not approach to attack and overturn that dogma, as a man furnished with arguments; but, according to his usual audacity, he lays down this postulate, as one which is con-

employs arguments in combat; but assuming the airs of a dogmatical divine, he propounds his dictates with sufficient magisterialness; as though they were oracles, and worthy of receiving implicit credence. Sometimes he seems to be a subtle disputer, especially in two places: (1) For instance, when he disputes, that *the object of predestination cannot possibly be a mass not-yet-created*. The argumentation which he used on this topic deceived that famous divine Peter Du Moulin,* who yet

ceded on I-know-not what authority, or which must be conceded by all men, —'No necessity of this kind [that is, *antecedent*] can possibly comport 'with liberty.' But we willingly acknowledge, Great is the mystery of God's secret Providence. We do not take away freedom from angels or men; but we command both of them to be content with their condition, that they may be satisfied with the liberty which is suitable to creatures, which neither is nor ever can be so great as that which appertains to God. For it is equitable, that all second causes should in their operation be subjected to the motion or operation of the First Cause; and it is unjust and unreasonable, that the First Cause should be subjected to the motion or operation of a second cause."

Every one who knows the sentiments of Arminius on Necessity, will at once perceive that the Doctor's remarks contain nothing more than special pleading. The subjoined extract from the *Works of Arminius*, (vol. i, p. 695,) will be a sufficient developement of the reasons which induced that great man to oppose the *fatal necessity* of the Calvinists, and to propound in all meekness his own more correct and scriptual views on that subject: "I am desirous, that we should in preference contend for the NECESSITY OF GOD ALONE,—that is, for his necessary existence and for the necessary production of his *ad intra* [internal] acts,—and that we should contend for the CONTINGENCY OF ALL OTHER THINGS AND EFFECTS. Such a procedure on our part would conduce far more to the glory of God; to whom by this method would be attributed both the GLORY *of his necessary existence*, that is, *of his eternity*, according to which it is a pure act without [the exercise of] power, —and the GLORY *of his free creation of all other things*, by which also his Goodness becomes a supreme object of our commendation."

* This is another proof of the change of argumentative tactics which the system of Arminius compelled the Calvinists to adopt. It was most unfortunate for them, that they could not fix on one common plan of defence, but every man pursued that course which seemed best to himself. The consequence of this was, that the principles of some of these new leaders, when applied to those of others, effected their subversion as completely as could have been done by Arminianism itself. This is sufficiently apparent in Appendix C, and will be more amply illustrated in Appendix M.

A curious kind of compact seems to have existed among the Calvinists, by which it was understood, that, with what virulence soever they might attack each other, they were to be severally exonerated from all harsh reprehension, as long as they continued to be links in *the golden chain* of Calvin. Of this a curious instance is related, page 284; and concerning the same person, the elder Du Moulin, the following judicious remarks occur in one of Professor Poelenburgh's Letters, written in 1660. In allusion to Leonard a Ryssen, who had composed a pamphlet against him and the Arminians, he says: "If he be unwilling to go to them, [the Heathen authors] whom he is not afraid of consigning in a body to the flames of hell, and if he be desirous of directing the whole of his attention to the Fathers, let him read, in the first place, St. Jerome and Lactantius, both for the sake of their Latin style and of learning from them, that these his crude dogmatical effusions are matters that were exceedingly displeasing to the Ancient Church. He must likewise be exhorted to read St. Augustine and Prosper, because from them he will derive an opportunity of mitigating many of his asperities. But I refer again to the *obscurity* in which he appears sometimes purposely to indulge, that *it* may bear the semblance of subtlety. He has, I confess, occasionally

was really entitled to celebrity for his scholastic erudition: But, when it is brought to the test of scholastic examination, it vanishes into smoke, and though specious in appearance, yet, vain and delusive in fact, it is found to contain none of the indications either of genius or learning. (2.) The other pas-

drawn some things from the pools of the School Divines with sufficient subtlety; with so much indeed, as to account it necessary to allow no one to remain in ignorance of his 'having wandered too long among the schoolmen.' In order, therefore, that no one may suppose this *great* person to be a *little* school-man, he offers to our notice THOMAS, whom he calls 'the angelical Doctor;' BONAVENTURE, 'the seraphical;' John Scotus, 'the subtle;' BRADWARDINE, 'the profound doctor;' and various epithets with which he dignifies Suarez, Alvarez, Cumel, and I know not how many more School Divines, whom he produces in clusters, that no one may entertain a suspicion concerning his want of skill in School Divinity. But, when he compares me with himself, I become the peculiar object of his scorn, because, according to his own words, he feels a strong persuasion that I have never read a single school-man. What reception could this class of men be expected to give to the Apostles, if they were now to rise from the dead? Those ancient fisher men would be treated with contempt, because, not having been educated among the dust of School-men, they employ a mode of speech that is so perspicuous and plain, as at once to convince us of their complete ignorance of School Divinity. Would not the Apostle Paul be derided by these men, as much as he was by the Stoics of old? Would not this our opponent march forth into the *arena* and say, 'Dost thou, who, I am 'fully persuaded, hast never read a single School Divine,— dost thou attempt to write against the great TWISSE who is within himself a host?' Such would be his address to St. Paul, because that Apostle also rises up in opposition to Twisse, when he so frequently inculcates the doctrine of *God willing the salvation of all men, of Christ having died for every individual*, &c. For it seems wonderful to our opponent, how I, who in his estimation am rude in Scholastic Lore, have had the hardihood to attack Twisse, and to undertake the subversion of *such an impregnable argument, as* that magnanimous hero [Twisse] boasted *could never be solved, even by the devil himself and the whole retinue of his angels!*

"But I can easily comprehend why he does not account me a Scholastic: For he perceives that I am not delighted with these little refined sophisms and subtle displays of wit, and that I do not defend any dogma which is propped up by such supports. For if any writer appears in vindication of Calvin's sentiments, or makes a near approach to them, he is soon greeted with the title of 'AN EMINENT SCHOLASTIC,' as Du Moulin was by Twisse. But if another writer approximates more closely to our [the Arminian] opinions, he will probably be suffered to remain A SCHOLASTIC, but he will obtain no portion of praise for his acuteness or subtlety in that species of learning.—Yet, I own, such is the small esteem in which I hold these scholastic trifles, that I think our leisure may be much more profitably occupied in investigating and forming an acquaintance with sacred literature. On the contrary, I freely acknowledge, I have bestowed some attention on School Divinity, for the sole purpose of understanding the sophistries of our adversaries which seize upon words and expressions, and that I may be enabled with the greater advantage to refute them, when I feel any fear about their producing false security."

In a subsequent part of his letter it is said: "But that we are not the only individuals who place little value on the boastful and vain-glorious judgment of TWISSE, is evident from one of the productions of Samuel Marets against the very celebrated Daillée, in which he replies to the charge of Twisse against Du Moulin: 'It is certain that the judgment of Twisse is 'contrary to all rule, that it is unjust, and proceeds from a man who is 'beyond measure self-complaisant, and who is violently bent on willing 'whatever he pleases; and, what is more, his judgment is directly opposed 'to the determination of the Synod of Dort.'"

sage is that in which, having conceded that *God may* ANNIHILATE *the most holy man upon earth,* he denies the possibility of God inflicting hellish torments on *an innocent man:* In which, I confess, he proceeds with great plausibility and speciousness, while he philosophizes on *the right or jurisdiction of God over his creatures and the foundations on which it is erected.* But all his arguments are completely useless, vapid, and corrupt,—&c. * * * The sum of all is this: According to my judgment, Arminius is a man fashioned and formed for promoting [or increasing] the judgments of God against those who have not received the love of the truth; which judgments are, that such persons are *delivered up to strong delusion, that they should believe a lie.*† (2 Thess. ii, 10.) * * * I am fully persuaded, that there is scarcely one individual who is drawn aside by these Arminian errors, except it be through his attachment to a party, or through his superficial learning, at least on these points of Divinity."

These extracts are among the less exceptionable specimens of the arrogant and vain-glorious manner of the redoubtable Dr. Twisse,

† Dr. Twisse immediately adds: "With regard to Perkins, his adversary generally desires to find greater accuracy in him; sometimes he disparages his arguments, at other times he censures their solutions as inefficient and ludicrous. Yet I do not see what there is in Perkins that could possibly excite the contempt of Arminius. Were any one to bring to the touch-stone of a scholastic examination the Theses which Arminius has composed on any topic, how slight soever may be its liability to be controverted, and were he to be as careful in the examination of them as Arminius has been in discussing those of Perkins, it is probable the result would be, that more and wider chasms might be found yawning in the productions of Arminius, and that they would on no account escape scholastic censure. There is no human writer, who can on all points give entire satisfaction to his reader, how indulgent soever he may prove; much less is it possible for him to avoid the accusations of an adversary, who is eagerly intent upon discovering faults where they do not exist: Notwithstanding, unless my mind greatly deceives me, the reader will find those matters to be exceedingly rare of occurrence in which Perkins has exposed himself to deserved censure."

The last clause was dictated in a tone somewhat subdued; and had Dr. Twisse applied to the productions of his antagonist one half of the amenity which it breathes, he would never have written a single paragraph against Arminius, who is entitled to no part of the animadversions contained in the first of the preceding sentences, except that which ascribes to him the expression of a "desire to find greater accuracy in Perkins" In every part of his *Modest Examination,* he treats his opponent with all the courtesy and respect due to a gentleman, a scholar, a christian, and a minister. Indeed, for his exemplary conduct in this particular, Arminius elicited from Sir Henry Wotton, who "differed from him in some points," the unbiassed encomium of being "a man of most rare learning," whom, says this celebrated Ambassador, "I knew to be of a most strict life and of a most meek spirit: And that he was so mild, appears by his proposals to our Master Perkins of Cambridge."

With regard to the result which Dr. Twisse here triumphantly anticipates from a scholastic examination of other Theses of Arminius, a reference to the effects produced by the Doctor, in his virulictive and scurrilous *Vindication,* will demonstrate that Arminianism is founded on the rock of truth, from which, after all the sophistry, ridicule and arguments of Dr. Twisse, it cannot be displaced.

who is styled, by the men of his party,* "a person of great and unaffected MODESTY!" Of the slender claims which he has to this title, the most inattentive reader may now form some conception.† To me it would be a considerable satisfaction to

* Far more exceptionable sentences may be found in his critical remarks on the *Dedication* prefixed by *the nine orphan children* of Arminius to the *Modest Examination* of their deceased parent.—If Dr. Twisse wrote thus like a fury against a dead adversary, with whom he had no other quarrel than the *doctrinal one* of Predestination, we may form some faint idea of the malignity of disposition and asperity of language which characterized his written productions and extempore speeches against those persons who differed from him on *rites and ceremonies*, in addition to Predestination.

† Though he and Dr. Lightfoot were members of the same Assembly, they were exceedingly dissimilar both in their tempers and their attainments. Dr. Twisse's chief and almost exclusive excellence lay in Metaphysical and Scholastic Lore, in which several of his Arminian cotemporaries were vastly his superiors: His disposition also was exceedingly hasty and crooked, and he had too many opportunities of exposing its obliquities during the discussions which arose in the Assembly, particularly in those concerning discipline. Dr. Lightfoot's attainments were of a higher character: They embraced an immense variety of oriental learning, which was applied with most admirable effect to the elucidation of the Sacred Records, and of several matters connected with the practice of the earliest Christian Antiquity. His confessed superiority to Dr. Twisse would have entitled him to the honour of the Chair, had he not been deficient in one essential requisite for such an appointment in a Calvinistic Synod, and that was *a bad temper*, with its concomitant of *a senseless and irreconcilable hatred to the scriptural doctrines of General Redemption*, both of which were possessed in great perfection by Dr. Twisse, and are understood to have been the principal qualifications that recommended him to the Prolocutorship. See note page 474.

Dr. Lightfoot was both a modest and a good-tempered man; and some plausible reasons have been rendered, (page 467) why a man of his mild and easy disposition might be led astray, as he undoubtedly was, by bad and designing individuals. I greatly admire the character of him which was drawn by the venerable Strype; and as it is highly illustrative of the spirit of the times in which he lived, I here subjoin it:

"The other thing which some will be apt to charge upon him is, *that he seemed to be too much carried away with the late evil times.* Consider, then, that he was but a man; and, so, subject to human slips and frailties, as well as others; and that even such who have enjoyed the greatest fame either for learning or goodness have, for the most part, had some abatement in their coat of arms. *Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura.* And those great endowments that were in him, and that eminent service he did the church and the commonwealth of learning, may justly merit his pardon for any faults into which either his ignorance or infirmity betrayed him.

"He was indeed a member of *the Assembly of Divines*; and, long after that, (I think,) one of those who, at the beginning of the king's joyful return, were appointed to confer with the Episcopal Divines at the Savoy: Whereby it appears, that he bended sometime towards Puritanism. It was indeed his unhappiness, as well as of many other pious well-meaning men, to live in those times of temptation; whereinto if they fell, it was because they were not politicians enough to see the bad consequences of those smooth and fair pretences. I may plead for him, that it was his credulity, not his malice or any evil design, that made him err. He was carried away with their dissimulation, (and an Apostle once was so,) and that the more easily, being a man of an innocent and unsuspicious nature, especially when such goodly things as *religion* and *reformation* were so much boasted. And I make no doubt, he was afterwards convinced how he had been trepanned, and saw his error, as appeared sufficiently by his ready compliance with the laws and orders of the Established Church upon the happy Restoration, and encouraging his sons also to the same, who were both conformable men of the Clergy. He never was a bigot, or a busy officious man; always rather

learn the result of a comparison instituted, by any unbiassed and duly qualified man, between the (truly) *Modest Examination* of Arminius and this boastful *Vindication* by Dr. Twisse: Respecting the issue I could entertain no fearful apprehensions. For if unhappily he should imbibe the recondite idea avouched by Dr. Twisse, that "Arminius very seldom employs arguments in combat," he would I am persuaded discover a fact, which is far more obvious, that while Arminius does not con-

passive than active, unless in the Assembly: And then generally those matters wherein he stirred, were such points as in which the very locks of the Presbyterians' strength lay, which he for the most part opposed. And certainly when we consider how he thwarted their chief principles; arguing against *Lay Elders*, standing for *general admittance to the Sacrament*, for *Forms of Prayer*, and many such like; the Presbyterians could never reckon him truly theirs; and I am apt to think, they wished him, more than once, out of their Assembly. Indeed, he was then rather *a man at large by himself* that followed his own studies, than followed any party of men; and [that] promoted true goodness as far as in him lay. In those times he particularly made these three or four things his main drift, viz. To beat down enthusiasm, which, he plainly saw, tended to the enervating the authority of the holy scriptures; to maintain the honour of learning and a regular clergy; and to shew the necessity of keeping up public communion with the National Church: Whereby unquestionably he did excellent service to the Church in those evil days. He had an excellent faculty in wresting out of the hands of schismatics those weapons that they most confided in. For this, I might shew his way of dealing with Enthusiasts, Anabaptists, &c. But I will instance only in those who would justify their separation, from the word *Saints* in scripture, supposing that thereby were meant *persons truly and inwardly holy*. The ignorance of the latitude of this word was then the cause of many bitter contentions and wild opinions, nay, and of no small danger to all that were not *Saints* in their account. To this purpose he speaks, in a Latin sermon preached at Ely, at an Episcopal Visitation, 'that *the Shibboleth* of the Gileadites anciently sounded not 'more dangerously than the title of *Saints* of late.' Whereas, as he shews in that sermon, and used to urge in the late times, 'that by *Saints* is meant 'nothing but *Christians*, in opposition to Heathens or unbelievers.'—He could not patiently hear the ancient records of the Rabbins too much aspersed, as proceeding most commonly from ignorance of their admirable use in explaining the holy scripture. When Rutherford, in *the Assembly of Divines*, had said, 'that there was no news of somewhat in controversy *but in the* '*Rabbins*,' (it was of a cup in the institution of the Passover,) seeming to speak contemptibly of them, Dr. Lightfoot replied, 'That there are divers 'things in the New Testament, which we must be beholden to the Rabbins 'for the understanding of, or else we know not what to make of them.'"

Dr. George Bright also speaks thus of him: "He was for his temper, as far as I know or have heard from those that knew him better, of as great modesty as learning; humble and mean in his own opinion, perhaps to an excess: Where the greatness of that amiable virtue seems to have betrayed him to an error in judgment concerning himself and his own value, and too long commendations and eulogiums of others.—He was educated in that age when the strain of opinions in Divinity ran generally *another way, after the first Foreign Reformers*, before things were so calmly, impartially, and perhaps judiciously examined. He lived, and publicly appeared, principally when factions grew high and were in great ferment; when the populacy, the worst of masters, all being done, the most ignorant, selfish, and ungenerous were courted; when public accusation was the fashion, and all things found fault with, *right or wrong*; when affairs were carried with clamour, confidence and violence, with pretences and appearances of religion and reformation, backed with a present success." Then follows the paragraph quoted in page 467.

sider it necessary to present Truth to the view of his readers in any other garb than her own chaste and attractive simplicity, the doctor bedecks that which he terms "truth" in meretricious ornaments, and offers her supposed likeness in that illusive guise, and in those borrowed charms, in which it is usual for men of perverse minds to array error. Though a passionate admirer of Arminius and his scriptural system, I would be not merely *content*, but *well pleased* to abide by the result of such a comparison between the two books, as is here proposed,—being confident that the award would be in favour of the modest, manly, and cogent arguments of the Dutch Professor.

But some learned and competent men, in endeavouring to account for this studied depreciation of his opponent's talents, which runs through the whole of his performance, have resolved it into *a real dread* which Dr. Twisse entertained of the mental prowess and superiority of Arminius. In this view of the case, the Doctor had good and sufficient reasons for adopting his mystifying yet humorous expedient, for the purpose thus described by Mr. Read, "He sometimes uses jocose or historical diversions, *to animate the spirits of his readers.*" If in this way he accounted it *necessary* to "animate the spirits" of others, the sense of *that necessity* must have arisen from a personal consciousness of the want of such consolation for himself. Indeed it can scarcely be supposed, that any person of common sense would have wasted several years of his life in compiling a reply to a performance which "contained no indications either of genius or learning," the author of which was a "Hannibal, not only vincible, but an adversary of whom no one need be greatly afraid," "who very seldom employed arguments," though "sometimes he appeared to be a subtle disputant," &c. Seven hundred closely-printed folio pages in Latin must have been needlessly expended upon such a contemptible adversary as the old Doctor has here described; but, unfortunately, after all this waste of labour, the Calvinists could not be induced to march in one line as an undivided phalanx, but busied themselves in contriving still more plausible expedients for evading the frightful consequences with which the rigid scheme of Unconditional Predestination was found to be justly chargeable. The Doctor's elaborate performance communicated a vast impulse to the hopes of the Calvinists, respecting the establishment of an uniform standard, to the apex of which every man was expected to elevate and stretch his Predestinarian notions. But these expectations were not realized, even after the Assembly over which the Doctor was appointed to preside had fashioned its new Confession and Catechisms, and after the Independents had, more insidiously, directed all their energies to enforce a Calvinistic Uniformity by means of their unfair proceedings in the novel character of "TRIERS and EJECTORS."

I have given some further notices of the Doctor's varied production in a preceding page (223,) and in the *Works of Arminius,* (vol. i, p. 587,) and have in both those passages alluded to the old man's testy humour which was frequently excited, because he found that "men generally desire to regulate and temper the will of God to their own dispositions." On this subject no Calvinist has spoken with less disguise than Dr. Twisse: He ascribes the formation of the milder and more merciful scheme of the Sublapsarians to the greater urbanity of their dispositions; and frequently scolds them for not "restraining their obstreperous affections." This is a real though undesigned compliment to Arminians, who, in their scriptural displays of the benevolence of the Deity and of the grace which he mercifully extends to his offending creatures, are certainly under the influence of feelings and affections far more benignant and Divine,* than those which actuate either the *supra* or the *sub*-lapsarian Calvinists. While the followers of Arminius regard God, as he has been pleased to reveal himself, a Father who pitieth his children, who "is LOVING *to every man,* and whose TENDER MERCIES are over *all his works;*" they by no means neglect to "set forth his sovereignty over all created beings:" But they describe the exercise of this sovereignty in harmony with all the other Divine Attributes, and know of none of them that is represented in scripture as effecting a triumph over the rest, except that passage be so interpreted in which MERCY is said to "rejoice against JUDGMENT." (James ii, 13.)

* Such was the opinion of two of the greatest and most amiable men of that age; as the following extract will testify: "When that unhappy difference about the point of Predestination and its appendants was blown to so high a flame in the Low Countries, and began to kindle strifes here at home, he [the Rev. Joseph Mede] would often say, 'he wondered that men 'would with so great animosity contend about those obscure speculations, 'and condemn one another with such severity, considering that, as the wise 'man saith, *We hardly guess aright at things that are upon earth, and 'with labour do we find the things that are before us: But the things that 'are in Heaven who hath searched out?*' (Wisdom ix.) But if at any time *his spirit was turned within him,* (Acts xv,) it was when he observed some to contend with an unmeasurable confidence and bitter zeal for that black doctrine of ABSOLUTE REPROBATION: Upon which occasion he could not forbear to tell some of his friends, 'that it was an opinion he could never digest!' Being herein much of Dr. JACKSON'S mind, 'that generally the propugners 'of such tenets were men resolved in their affections of *love* and *hatred,* both 'of which they exercised constantly and violently, and, ACCORDING TO 'THEIR OWN TEMPERS, made a judgment of God and his decrees.'—To the like purpose he expressed himself, about two years before his death, in a letter to an ancient friend of his formerly of the same college: 'It seems 'harsh that of those whom God hath elected *ad media salutis,* and calls by 'the preaching of his gospel, any should be absolutely and peremptorily 'ordained to damnation.' And afterwards, by way of reply to the objected authority of Saint Austin as to some part of the predestinarian controversy, he added: 'If those were heretics which followed not Saint Austin, *the 'most part of the Fathers before him* were in heresy, and a part of the Church 'after him. Zealots are wont to be over liberal in such charges.' Thus would he sometimes *in private* reveal his judgment. But in his public performances he was reserved, and did purposely abstain from meddling with these matters."—*Life of the pious and profoundly-learned* JOSEPH MEDE, A. B.

I now present the reader with a brief character of Dr. Twisse's performance, depicted by the able hand of the greatest master of Casuistic Theology then in Europe.* It is a testimony that will be viewed as most impartial because it was written by Bishop Sanderson before he became a convert to the system of Arminius, and prior to that ultimate change of sentiment which is described in page 305.†

"In 1632, out cometh Dr. Twisse his *Vindiciæ Gratiæ*, a large volume purposely writ against Arminius. And then notwithstanding my former resolution, I must needs be meddling again. The respect I bore to his person and great learning, and the long acquaintance I had had with him in Oxford, drew me to the reading of that whole book. But from the reading

* "Another little story I must not pass in silence, being an argument of Dr. Sanderson's piety, great ability and judgment as a casuist. Discoursing with an honourable person, [Robert Boyle, Esquire,] (whose piety I value more than his nobility and learning, though both be great,) about a case of conscience concerning oaths and vows, their nature and obligation, in which (for some particular reasons) he then desired more fully to be informed: I commended to him Dr. Sanderson's book, *De Juramento*, which having read, with great satisfaction, he asked me, if I thought the doctor could be induced to write cases of conscience, if he might have an honorary pension allowed him, to furnish him with books for that purpose? I told him I believed he would: and, in a letter to the doctor, told him what great satisfaction that honourable person (and many more) had reaped by reading his book *De Juramento*, and asked him, whether he would be pleased, for the benefit of the church, to write some tract of cases of conscience? He replied, that he was glad that any had received any benefit by his books; and added further, that if any future tract of his could bring such benefit to any, as we seemed to say his former had done, he would willingly (though without any pension,) set about that work. Having received this answer, that honourable person (before-mentioned,) did, by my hands, return fifty pounds to the good doctor (whose condition then, as most good men's at that time were, was but low,) and he presently revised, finished, and published that excellent book, *De Conscientia*. A book little in bulk; but not so, if we consider the benefit an intelligent reader may receive by it. For there are so many general propositions concerning conscience, the nature and obligation of it explained and proved with such firm consequence and evidence of reason, that he who reads, remembers, and can (with prudence) pertinently apply them *hic et nunc* to particular cases, may, by their light and help, rationally resolve a thousand particular doubts and scruples of conscience. Here you may see the charity of that honourable person in promoting, and the piety and industry of the good doctor in performing that excellent work."—Bishop MORLEY's *Letter to I. Walton.*

† In a paragraph immediately preceding the one which is quoted, Dr. Sanderson speaks thus in allusion to Arriba's treatise *De Concordia Gratiæ et Liberi Arbitrii*: "From the result of his whole performance I was confirmed in this opinion, that we must acknowledge the work of both grace and free-will in the conversion of a sinner. And so likewise in all other events, the consistency of the infallibility of God's fore-knowledge at least, (though not with any absolute but conditional predestination,) with the liberty of man's will, and the contingency of inferior causes and effects. These, I say, we must acknowledge for the *οτι*; but for the *το πως*, I thought it bootless for me to think of comprehending it. And so came the two *Acta Synodalia Dordrectana* to stand in my study, only to fill up a room to this day."—In the last sentence he intimates, that neither the Dort Acts of the Contra-Remonstrants, nor those of their opponents, gave him at that period the satisfaction which he desired.

of it, (for I read it through to a syllable,) I went away with many and great dissatisfactions. Sundry things in that book I took notice of, which brought me into a greater dislike of his opinion than I had before. But especially these three: FIRST. That he bottometh very much of his discourse upon a very erroneous principle, which yet he seemeth to be so deeply in love with, that he hath repeated it (I verily believe) some hundreds of times in that work: to wit this, *that whatsoever is first in the intention, is last in execution, and* E CONVERSO. Which is an error of that magnitude, that I cannot but wonder, how a person of such acuteness and subtilty of wit could possibly be deceived with it.* All logicians know, there is no such universal maxim as he buildeth upon. The true maxim is but this, *Finis qui primus est in intentione, est ultimus in executione:* In the order of final causes, and the means used for that end, the rule holdeth perpetually: But in other things it holdeth not at all, or but by chance; or not as a rule, and necessarily.—SECONDLY. That, foreseeing such consequences would naturally and necessarily follow from his opinion, as would offend the ear of a sober christian at the very first sound, he would yet rather choose not only to admit the said harsh consequences, but professedly endeavour also to maintain them, and plead hard for them in large digressions, than to recede in the least from that opinion which he had undertaken to defend.—THIRDLY. That seeing (out of the sharpness of his wit) a necessity of forsaking the ordinary Sublapsarian way, and the Supralapsarian too, as it had diversly been declared by all that had gone before him, (for the shunning of those rocks, which either of those ways must unavoidably cast him upon,) he was forced to seek out an untrodden path and to frame out of his own brain a new way, (like a spider's web wrought out of her own bowels,) hoping by that device to salve all absurdities which could be objected; to wit, by making *the glory of God* (as it is indeed the chiefest,) so *the only end of all other his decrees*, and then making all those

* "I ought to be a little longer, that I may tell my reader the pretty jest of Dr. Twisse his arguing, against all his friends and admirers without exception; and though he builds upon a fallacy, yet his friends are so far from having seen where it lies, that they have swallowed it down as a *postulatum;* and because they use it as a medium against the doctrine of the Remonstrants, Doctor Twisse hath ruined their cause for ever. 'If Repro-'bation presupposeth *a mass corrupted*, it must needs presuppose *man-'kind created*. But if the *creation* was sooner in God's intention than *dam-'nation*, then damnation shall be sooner in execution than creation. In the 'same manner, If God did sooner intend to permit original sin than to 'damn, it would follow that man should be damned before original sin is 'permitted to enter into the world; (for what is first in intention must be 'last in execution,) all which things are so foolish, as not to enter into a 'man who is in his wits.' Here we see it is evident, that Dr. Twisse doth heap the greatest disgraces upon the Calvinistical opinion in the Synod at Dort, that can be possibly imagined. For he affirmeth it to infer the grossest absurdities in the world." PIERCE'S *Divine Purity Defended.*

other decrees to be but one entire co-ordinate medium conducing to that one end, and so the whole subordinate to it, but not any one part thereof subordinate to any other of the same. Dr. Twisse should have done well to have been more sparing in imputing the *studium Partium* to others, wherewith his own eyes (though of eminent perspicacity) were so strangely blindfolded, that he could not discern, how this his new device, and his old dearly beloved principle, (like the Cadmean Sparti,) do mutually destroy the one the other."*

* This is a very shrewd remark by the Bishop, and proves him worthy of the applause which he has received for his profound knowledge of Scholastic Divinity. For it is evident, that if Dr. Twisse's principle of *the inverse order of intention and execution* be adopted in this case, it must necessarily be destructive of "the new way framed out of his own brain"—*making the glory of God the only end of all other his decrees, and then making all those other decrees to be but one entire co-ordinate medium, &c.*

But the most amusing part of this affair is to see Dr. Twisse not only employing this subterfuge for the support of his own novel scheme, but wishing his readers to believe, *that other eminent Predestinarians really intended to convey the same meaning, though they have not expressed themselves so accurately as himself.* Thus, when speaking of Piscator's plan for the execution of the Divine Decrees, which, to secure his sinking system, that great man afterwards altered, the Doctor says: "Piscator lays down eight subordinate decrees of God, according to their execution which succeeds gradually in spaces of time. The *First* of those decrees he wishes to be that of manifesting the glory of God by means of mercy towards the elect, and of justice towards the reprobate.—The *Second*, that of saving the elect and damning the reprobate.—The *Third*, that of justifying and sanctifying the elect, but not the reprobate.—The *Fourth*, that of calling the elect, but not the reprobate.—The *Fifth*, that of reconciling the elect through Christ the Mediator, but not the reprobate.—The *Sixth*, that of electing certain men from the fall, and of reprobating the rest.—The *Seventh*, that of the permission of sin in Adam.—The *Eighth* and last, that of creation. But, in this series of the Divine decrees, which was framed by Piscator, there are many things abhorrent to all Scholastic method, as well as to that of Theology and Philosophy. When any opinion, how true soever it may be, is improperly explained, or when it is stated in a manner that is unscholastical, or, rather, contrary to the practice of the Schools, we must not be surprised if it have a greater tendency to create hatred and aversion, than to procure due credence. For who is it that does not instantly perceive, how the salvation of the *elect* possesses nothing which agrees with the manifestation of God's mercy? For the angels are also elect, and have obtained salvation, yet not through mercy. Again, the damnation of the *reprobate* has no greater congruity with the manifestation of God's justice. For damnation is the act of a Judge, and ought to proceed according to vindicative justice. But not the least trace of justice appears in the damnation of the reprobate. For justice condemns no man except him that has merited condemnation: But *to be a reprobate* does not by any means imply *to be deserving of damnation.* It is only the damnation of *a sinner* which resplendently displays God's justice; and it is only the salvation of *an unhappy being* that makes God's mercy conspicuous, &c. But the decree which he appropriates to the Sixth place, concerning electing certain individuals and reprobating others, is completely untheological, for two reasons: First. Because it places the decree of electing and reprobating between decrees that are quite heterogeneous, whether we regard those which precede it or those which follow. For they are all described and enunciated by their objects, which objects of the Divine decrees are in reality temporal acts of God; for instance, creation, the permission of sin, reconciliation, vocation, justification and sanctification, and lastly, the manifestation of Divine mercy and justice. But election and reprobation are not the temporal acts of God, and therefore are not to be forced into the same ranks with

Dr. Thomas Pierce has also made the following remarks upon the treatment which some eminent men received from Dr. Twisse, on account of the reputed moderation of their Predestinarian sentiments:

God's temporal acts. Yet I do not deny, that it appeared to Piscator as if some temporal act was granted, which was distinguished from vocation and called *election;* and as if another temporal act was distinguished from induration and called *reprobation.* But on this point he is singular, having no one, as far as I know, either as his leader or his companion.—SECONDLY. But Piscator's decree is untheological on another account. For, while he states no decree, except in the Sixth place, *concerning electing particular men and reprobating others*, he grants, by this very circumstance, that the first decree *concerning the manifestation of God's mercy and justice* is an indefinite decree, and is not applied to particular persons, except in the sixth place. But the ascription of indefinite decrees to God, is contrary to every scholastic usage, and against all christian sobriety. The Jesuits abhor this, as something by far too dishonourable to the Divine Majesty.—LASTLY. He multiplies God's decrees beyond all the bounds of propriety, since the whole intention respecting things that are to be done is completed solely by two formal decrees, of which one concerns *the end*, and the other *the means conducing to that end.* Besides, there is great weakness in the foundation of this order of Piscator, which is derived from the administration of things gradually succeeding each other in the execution of the Divine decrees. For by no reason in the world does it follow, because creation precedes the permission of sin, and because both of them precede the salvation and damnation of men, that therefore the permission of sin in the Divine intention preceded the creation, or that both of them were in the Divine intention posterior to the salvation of some or the damnation of others. When these remarks are duly considered, that accusation vanishes away at once which states it as an objection and reproach, against those who place the origin of Predestination in a mass uncreated, *as though they were attempting to introduce and establish certain tyrannical counsels and decrees.* For that accusation rests on no other foundation than this—according to the assertions of those who hold the first opinion, the decree of damning is stated to have been prior to that of creation, and to that of permitting sin."—In a succeeding paragraph, he again utters "the burden of his song" against his old friend Peter Du Moulin, thus, "But by *a corrupt mass* they undoubtedly understand a mass vitiated likewise by actual transgressions, and thus contend *that no men, except such as are finally unbelieving and impenitent, are the objects of reprobation.* Of this description was the patronage which Peter Du Moulin afforded to the orthodox cause, but which was not so much a defence of that cause as a prevarication. This was the reason why this otherwise famous divine not only assisted the cause of the Arminians beyond all reason, but likewise entirely overturned whatever arguments he had formerly advanced with sufficient orthodoxy."

In the second Chapter of his third Digression, Dr. Twisse alludes again to the preceding order, the invention of Piscator, and thus relates the alterations which were ultimately made in it: "In his last answers to Conrad Vorstius, Piscator retracted this method, and came at length to distribute the Divine decrees in the following order: To the *First* place he assigned the decree of creation: To the *Second*, the permission of sin: To the *Third*, election and reprobation; To the *Fourth*, the reconciliation of the *elect* through Christ, but not the *reprobate*: To the *Fifth*, the effectual calling of the elect, but not of the reprobate: To the *Sixth*, the justification and sanctification of the elect, but not of the reprobate: To the *Seventh* and last place, that of blessing the elect with life eternal, but of damning the reprobate with everlasting destruction. From these particulars it is manifest, that, according to Piscator and his last and more reformed opinion, the Divine decrees concerning *the creation of men and the permission to sin* are prior to the decree respecting *their glorification.* I by no means deny, that the series of the Divine decrees has been recently placed in this order by

"Dr. Twisse himself hath said the same thing not only of Mr. Calvin, but of all the rest of his own party, as he himself calls them *the professed Enemies of Arminius,* who place the object of

that reverend theologian. But it is impossible for me either to divine how that celebrated professor was brought to adopt this opinion, or adequately to express my wonder at his having embraced it; because it is found to disagree so materially with the doctrine which he always held on Predestination. But I suspect that it was produced rather by the influence of other persons, than by the exercise of his own judgment: Or it arose at least from the circumstance of that famous divine being confounded at that vulgar argument which has imposed on many persons, which, as we have already said, [page 479,] has been recommended with vast pomposity by Arminius, and which has been repeated by Vorstius without so much parade." He then applies his "old principle" of the *inverse order of the Divine intention and execution*, and, in his summary way, proves Piscator's order to be incorrect. The metaphysical doctor commences the next chapter by saying, "But it is to me a matter which admits of no controversy, that Piscator has in this passage propounded right sentiments; and the only fault is, that he has expressed the meaning of his mind in an improper manner. For it was his wish to say, 'that, by what method soever God might first intend the end, then the means 'and after that the means of the means, &c., he at the same time decreed 'those means to be committed to execution in the order following, that is, 'the *creation* should first take place, then *the permission of the fall*, after-'wards *the calling to faith and repentance*, and, as consequences, *justifica-'tion and vocation*, and lastly, *glorification*.' That this was the real meaning of Piscator's sentiments, I gather from these circumstances: He professes his desire to make this the order of the Divine decrees concerning *the means*, therefore he supposes the existence of a previous Divine decree concerning *the ends*, which are, according to Piscator, the manifestation of the glory of his mercy in the salvation of some men, and that of his justice in the destruction of others: God therefore previously decreed to exercise his mercy in bringing some to glory, &c. What is this but the decree of glorification? Therefore the decree of glorification does not occupy the last place but the first, though glorification itself be the last in the execution of those means which appertain to the manifestation of the glory of the Divine mercy. Wherefore I persuade myself that Piscator wished to say nothing more than, 'that God had so ordained the execution of all the means, as to cause the 'creation first to take place, then the permission of the fall, and in like order, 'until glorification should at last take place.' Amandus Polanus, in his *Syntagma Theologiæ*, (lib. iv, c. 9,) has stumbled against the same stone of an inaccurate proposition." After quoting the proposition, Dr. Twisse thus proceeds: "Pardon me, ye sacred ashes of this erudite doctor, or, as a preferable expression, the reverence due to the name of a most pious and at the same time a most learned divine who is now in his grave,—i.e., I pray that no one will consider me offending, in want of the reverence which such a great man has deserved, while I profess that I desire greatly to behold in his words an accurate method of philosophizing. For the enunciation of them appears to me so inelegant and disorderly, as to render it nearly impossible to affix any tolerable sense to them."—In the same chapter, the famous Keckerman receives similar treatment at the doctor's hands: and this is a fair specimen of his conduct towards his friends, who, if they differed in the least from him, were immediately charged with "inaccuracy, disorder, inconsequent argumentation," and other grievous defects. But he generally tenders them a profusion of compliments, and styles them "learned, celebrated, great scholastics, of vast attainments," &c; while the offending Arminians, several of whom were in every respect superior to any of his Calvinistic heroes, are abused without mercy, and not allowed to possess the common qualifications of rational beings. See notes, pages 482 and 492.

In the extracts produced in this note, the reader who is skilled in Metaphysics will discover "the mutually destructive" operation of the doctor's two inventions; and cannot fail of being amused with his laboured attempts to put such a construction on the words of Piscator, Polanus, Keckerman, and

Predestination *in massâ corruptâ*, whom he elaborately confuteth, and speaks of very hardly, as I shall faithfully manifest in this following account: *First*, What the reason should be, why almost all the Anti-Remonstrants should place the object of Predestination after Adam's fall, rather then before it, the Doctor sets down in these very words: That is to say, *that God might not be inferred to be the* AUTHOR OF SIN.—Hence is my *first Observation*, (though only in the way to what I principally intend,) that all the Supralapsarians do infer God Almighty to be the Author of Sin, in the unanimous judgment of the Sublapsarians; or Dr. Twisse hath lost his aim.—'But,' as the Doctor goes on, 'their very refuge is as liable to that 'inconvenience. They unhappily stumble at the very same 'stone. Flying from Scylla, they fall upon Charybdis. What 'have we profited,'—saith the Doctor in the first person plural, thereby owning the party, though confuting their opinion in that particular,—'by our anxious endeavour to decline that rock?' And then he shews that they incur the very same absurd sequel which they would avoid, in the following parts of that fourth chapter, concluding sharply, 'These are the monsters of 'opinions which that opinion hath brought forth, worthier of 'the Jesuitical and Arminian Schools than of our own.' And hence is my

"*Second Observation.* That Dr. Twisse, as a Supralapsarian, (placing the Object of the Decree in *Massâ nondum conditâ*,) however differing from the rest of the very Supralapsarians also, (by denying Reprobation to be *without the consideration of sin*,) doth argue against the Sublapsarians, (though Anti-Arminian, as well as He, and owned by him as his party in other matters,) as inferring God, by their way, to be *of necessity* the Author of sin. And they whom he accuseth of so intolerable an absurdity, are no fewer and no less men (by his own confession) than all the brethren in the Low Countries who subscribed the *Contra-Remonstrantia;* besides Tilenus in France, Sibrandus Lubbertus in Friezland, Kimedontius in High Germany, Zanchy, Ursin, Paræus, Polanus, Bucanus, Bucarius, Peter Martyr, Vermilius Florentinus, Bishop Hutton, Bishop Abbot. Yea, even Calvin, Beza, Piscator, Perkins, are brought by him into the list of *such as make God to be the* AUTHOR OF SIN. Whom he doth not confute only, but he doth it with bitterness; seeming to *love* them for their common hatred of a common enemy, but withal to *despise* them, because many of

others, as those authors never intended. And if *offices of this description* were thus *kindly* executed for his predestinarian friends, no one will be surprised to find in his massy folio numerous and gross perversions of the meaning of his enemies.—But those enemies were not Popish authors; for, in the midst of his animadversions upon these reputed errors of his friends, he makes large digressions in appealing to the authority even of the Jesuits, whom he uniformly regards as the great masters of scholastic lore.

them, before he was born, did not jump with him in judgment concerning the object of universal Prædestination. Farther yet, that Doctor proves at large against Piscator, that his 'later opinion was worse than that which he retracted.' Then he disputes against Moulin himself, (one of the ablest of that Party,) in no less than eight large chapters, affirming him 'to have 'filthily erred, and to have brought flat Arminianism into the 'Reformed Churches, and professedly to conspire with the Ar-'minians, even in that very book which he painfully composed 'against Arminius.'* And all for no other crime, than for his [Moulin's] being so much quicker-sighted than the vulgar asserters of that cause, as to discern the necessity of granting thus much, 'That the Decree of Reprobation was not made but 'upon a foresight of actual sins, and of Perseverance in the 'same unto the end."

But the best view of the Doctor's character, and of his sanguine views respecting the ultimate triumph of Calvinism, is afforded by his correspondence with "the pious and profoundly learned Joseph Mede," whose judicious labours on the prophetical scriptures, especially those on the *Revelation*, excited very great attention at that period. He was a man whose delight it was

> ——— "to spend his whole age
> Within the precincts of a college;"

and on becoming Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, he was enabled to indulge his inclination. He applied his vast attainments to the elucidation of difficult passages of scripture, and in many of his conjectures he must be acknowledged to have been eminently successful. His superiority to the visionary prophets and the vulgar enthusiasts of that age is thus recorded by his erudite biographer:

* "So that the utmost which I learn from the long catalogue of writers, is this: That my reverend antagonist is the possessor of many books, whose authors being of his party do write in favour of *his* opinions, that is, of *their own;* and, being naturally willing to be well enough thought on, they have done their brotherly endeavours to make the best of a bad matter, that the enormities of the party may be abhorred so much the less. It is one thing to *excuse* or *alleviate* a fact, but quite another to *plead its innocence*. Bishop Abbot did his endeavour to *excuse* the doctrine of Mr. Perkins, although he called it 'the seminary of dire contention, which, like some Trojan horse, 'was brought within the walls of faith;' and also blamed 'those men, (of 'whom Dr. Twisse must be the chief,) who undertook the defence of *so* 'great an error, as that which was not only troublesome, but dangerous 'and scandalous to the Church of God.' In like manner Dr. Twisse doth sometimes labour to *excuse* the Synod at Dort, although he labours to *confute* it with all his might; and again doth bitterly inveigh against learned Moulin for his opinion of Reprobation, for which the Synod at Dort thought fit to thank him. I say they thanked him for all his letter without exception of any period, although they could not but know, that he was perfectly Arminian in what he said of Reprobation. It seems Du-Moulin was a favorite, and (for his other opinions' sake) to be commended even for that for which a Remonstrant had had their correptory correption." PIERCE'S *Divine Purity Defended.*

" By all which it is manifest how necessary it is for the full understanding of several parts of scripture to be acquainted with the Original Languages, Ancient Versions, the Genius and Idioms of the scripture style, and also with History, and the Ancient Customs both of the Jews and others;* without which it would be a fruitless attempt, even for such as otherwise are of good abilities, to undertake to give a pertinent and satisfying account of the forementioned (and other the like) passages of scripture. And as for those who, though they are *sensual, not having the Spirit,* (Jude 19,) and bring not forth *the fruits of the Spirit,* would engross the Spirit wholly to themselves, (as the Jews did the Messias to their nation, to the excluding of

* In passing, it may be necessary to shew one instance of his profound knowledge of Antiquity and History. In the following extract of a letter to Mr. Estwick in 1636, he applied the custom of praying for the dead to account for the notion of the Millennium, thus: " The Gothic Missal is that which the Goths in Spain used till they received the Roman; which, though, as all other Liturgies, it be to be supposed to have received many alterations and additions in time, yet no doubt may retain some ancient passages, whereof these prayers *pro defunctis* may be some, either received from the Spanish or African christians, or from the beginning of their Christianity, which was before Chiliasm was condemned by Damascus, or they plundered the Roman empire. The body of the Gothish nation, or of one part thereof, had received the christian faith before they plundered the Roman empire; as appeared by Alaricus himself, who with his army solemnly observed the christian rites. Yet seems this to have been between the days of Constantine and Julian, and not elder. Howsoever, there is no question but there were many churches among them before, as was in other nations long before the faith was publicly received by them. If so, then without doubt when the nation publicly received the faith, they received likewise that form of Liturgy which had formerly been used in their country by those of the christian rite among them: And thence might remain those passages of praying for the dead to have part *in resurrectione prima.*—As for that *form of prayer* for the dead, *ut partem haberent in resurrectione prima,* [that they might have part in the First Resurrection,] I believe it was usual in those *formulæ* for the dead, till Chiliasm was cried down and then expunged: Namely, that it followed those words, (which appear yet in most of those forms, *ut collocet eorum animas Deus in sinu Abrahæ, unde abest dolor et suspirium,* [that God would be pleased to bring their souls into Abraham's bosom, where there is neither sorrow nor sighing,] as it does in this Gothish Missal. Whence it is that now in those forms there appears no prayer at all for their resurrection or consummation then; notwithstanding that in the *Protasis* they compellate God with *qui hominem mundi civem mortalem in constitutione sua fecisti, et promisisti ei resurrectionem,* [who hast made man a citizen of this world and mortal in his constitution, and hast given him the promise of a resurrection]. Who can believe that in such prayers they should not at all pray for the resurrection? But that passage being, it seems, anciently specificated to *resurrectio prima,* they thought it sufficient in after-times to omit it, without substitution of any other for it: And hence comes that silence of the resurrection."

This is exceedingly ingenious, and accounts satisfactorily for the corrupt practice which afterwards obtained. In praying that *their deceased friends might have a part in the first resurrection,* the ancient christians meant " a part in the reign of Christ on earth a thousand years with his saints," which, even in St. Peter's days, they apprehended to be near. But when that doctrine was abused by some of the Ancients, nearly in the same manner as by the English Calvinists under the Usurpation, to correct such abuse the phrase was omitted, and a door opened for praying in behalf of the dead generally without restriction.

the Gentiles,) and ignorantly despise all human learning and means of knowledge,—what has been said may abundantly check their vain confidence: Such scriptures being not to be explained without skill in the learned Languages, History and Antiquity, which is not to be had but by a studious converse with the best authors: Except they will say, that 'such skill 'and knowledge is *infused,* and that the particular events and 'res gestæ, at large treated of in books, are made known to 'them by extraordinary *revelation*;' which yet they are so wary as not to pretend to, as they are also so wise as not to pretend to the gifts of tongues or interpretation of tongues, those gifts of the Spirit not unusual in the Apostle's age."

The following account of him, by the same able pen, will shew, that he was deficient in several of those qualifications which were then the great passports to favour among the Calvinists, "into the secrets of which his soul disdained to enter." (See note, page 487.) Among the most ingenious and generally-adopted expedients, was one which had been practised by the Dutch Calvinists against the Arminians,—to call the doctrine of Unconditional Election and Reprobation *fundamental,* the belief of which was absolutely necessary to salvation. The influence of this decidedly Popish principle was uncommonly great in

* The reason of its being called *a Popish principle* may be discerned by an extract of a letter which Mr. Mede addressed to Mr. Hartlib in 1634, who had transcribed, for Mr. Mede's information, the following passage of a letter which he had received from Streso: "I waited upon Dr. Altingius, who wishes very much that I had not prefixed to my exercise against Bodsac that extract from Dr. Field; 'because those things are false which he relates 'concerning the modern religion of the Eastern churches, and that of the 'Western prior to the days of Luther; and because the Lutherans will take 'occasion from this to calumniate us, as if we were attempting to effect some 'universal reconciliation of religions.' Among other arguments for his rejection of Dr. Field's opinion, is this: 'Because certain of the Wurtem-'burgh divines formerly transmitted to the Greek Patriarch the Augsburgh 'Confession for his approval, but he rejected it as heterodox. That the pre-'sent Patriarch is of a different mind, is entirely a personal matter, and it 'will easily appear from what kind of writings he derives his sentiments.'" In answer to this, Mr. Mede says: "Concerning that of Dr. Field, I have hitherto subscribed to it, according as I conceived to be his meaning: Though whether the particulars of his narration be every one of them true, I cannot affirm; the most, I believe, are. But it is no marvel, though such a tenet make your foreign divines to startle: That notion is almost proper to our English, to maintain 'that the Roman Church, much more the Greek, 'erreth not *in primariis et fundamentalibus fidei articulis,* because explicitly 'they profess them, howsoever by their *assumenta* implicitly and by conse-'quent they subvert them.' This your foreign divines, and some too of our own, think to be an harsh assertion; because they rightly conceive not our meaning: whereof you may be more fully informed by Dr. Crackenthorp against Spalato, cap. 47, and by Dr. Potter in his *Charity Mistaken.* You may remember also, that Bishop Davenant, (in the Discourse you shewed me at London,) by the name of *fundamental articles,* understands the articles of the creed of all christians, and no other. Take notice likewise, that we say, The Roman Church and ours differ not in the articles WE account to be fundamental: Not that we differ not, and mainly too, in those which THEY account fundamental. Nor do we say, *but by consequent* they ruin too even those articles WE account fundamental, though *explicitly* they profess them.

the national troubles which ensued in England; and its operation was constantly directed against the hallowing and scriptural doctrines of Arminianism. In reference to this, the biographer of Mede says:

"He was always so generously honest, so apert and single-hearted, as not to speak wickedly for God or talk deceitfully for him; (Job xiii, 7;) nor would he apply himself to any unwarrantable policies for the promoting or commending of truth to others. Such little crafts and undue practices were below the nobleness and integrity of his spirit. To this purpose we may fitly take occasion here to remember a serious and excellent passage of his: 'I cannot believe that truth can be pre-'judiced by the discovery of truth: but I fear that the main-'tenance thereof by fallacy or falsehood may not end with a 'blessing.'* Thus did he upon occasion express himself, with a just reflexion upon some, who, pretending to policy, did advise, 'that for the better securing and advancing some doctrines, 'men should be borne in hand *that they were fundamental*, and 'accordingly were to receive them as such.' But our author,—

"In a word," continues Mr. Mede, "we hold, that all the Roman errors consist in the *assumenta* they have added to the foundation, and not in the foundation itself, which they profess notwithstanding. Besides that in the main points of controversy between them and us, the truths we affirm against them were heretofore freely maintained in their Church, as for the substance, from time to time. And though, for the most part, the opposite faction overtopped them, yet were not the tenets of that faction made the tenets of their church till the Council of Trent decreed them and condemned the other. This is the sum of that tenet of ours.—What though the Patriarch Jeremy rejected the Augustan Confession for heterodox when it was sent him! It is true, that often one sect of religion condemns that in another which itself affirms; because it understands not its own in another's terms and after another way. Besides, though the Patriarch rejected the Confession in gross, yet it follows not he rejected it for those points, whereof Dr. Field affirms; but because it condemned likewise their *assumenta*. For it is certain, that in the *assumentis* we differ mainly from them, and they from us."

In a subsequent part of this Appendix, the reader will find a longer account of Fundamentals.

* This is a quotation from a letter which Mr. Mede wrote to Mr. Hartlib in 1638, in answer to an anonymous paper against Fundamentals, which seems, by the contents of a preceding letter, to have been the production of Dr. Twisse's pen. I quote the paragraph which immediately precedes the extract in the text: "Concerning the paper you now send, what judgment should I give but that *I like it not?* It savours methinks of too much averseness from that business: I believe you think so. The gentleman (whosoever he be) seems himself to be one of those he speaks of, *that hath in his eyes to preserve his own opinions from indemnity:* But if every man do so, what hope of conciliation? Besides, the matter aimed at in this business, is *not that either side should presently relinquish their opinions of difference*, but only take notice that, notwithstanding these differences, both sides do so far agree in other points, that they may and ought to acknowledge each other as brethren; that so, their affections being united and exasperation abolished, they might be the better disposed and fitted to judge of the points of difference between them. And whereas he objects, 'that such 'points being declared not fundamental would lose part of their strength 'and be shaken,' this inconvenience would be recompensed in that the opinions of the opposite party will suffer as much; and so what we lose at home, we should gain abroad."

who was a great lover of truth and always valued the Jacob-like plainness and simplicity of spirit in any faithful christian as a high perfection,—looked upon all such practices with the greatest disgust and abhorrence: And so will every one who *is an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile.* Though it be a most unworthy, it has been nevertheless a too common and usual, artifice among some of the divided Churches in Christendom, to heighten speculative doctrines, and such as are less weighty, into Fundamental Articles, especially when it is for the advantage of the party that they should be deemed such. But it had been infinitely better if the moderation of the Church of England as to *Articles of Religion* had been imitated in other Churches."

It is further said of him: "With his zeal for God's honour and church-decorum we may, not unfitly, join his mindful observances of the apostles' precepts, 'Honour the king,' (1 Pet. ii,) and, 'Obey them that have the rule over you, and 'submit yourselves: For they watch for your souls, as they 'that must give account.' (Heb. xiii.) He had so hearty an affection for the peace of our Jerusalem, and, in order thereunto, for 'submitting to every ordinance of man for the Lord's 'sake, whether to the king as supreme, or unto governors as 'those that were set by him,' (1 Pet. ii,) that when he received notice of *the evil that was then breaking forth out of the North,* upon this intelligence of wars and rumours of wars, his righteous and meek soul was grieved within him; and in a letter of his, written to a friend within less than three months before his death, [1638,] he thus expressed his resentments, concluding in a strain almost prophetical: 'If the Scottish business be no 'better than you write, I pray God both they and others have 'not cause to curse the time at length when such courses were 'first resolved upon; and that, in the event, the cause of reli-'gion pretended be not advanced thereby as it is in Germany, '[page 248] and no better. I am firmly persuaded, there 'will never come good of it. God avert his judgments, and 'make them wiser!'

"His writings testify how great a lover he was of unity, peace, all good and decent order, and whatsoever might make for the beauty and strength, the honour and safety of the Protestant Reformation both here and abroad; as considering, that confusion and envying, strife and divisions, would at once both weaken and dishonour the Protestant cause, and occasion the grand enemy to triumph, who, seeing much of his work done for him by those who would seem to be most averse from him, while they bite and devour one another, claps his hand, saying, *Aha! Aha! Our eye hath seen it: So would we have it!* But our author thought it his becoming duty to study obedience for peace and good order's sake, and not to expose the Protestant interest to danger and ruin.

"He was taken away from the evils that were then ready to come upon this island,—a favour which God vouchsafes to many of the righteous. It is true, he beheld them at a distance; and, by the presage of his own divining spirit, he guessed at what afterwards came to pass. For about a year or two before he died, he would sometimes mention an observation of his upon that in Judges, (iii, 30,) *The land had rest fourscore years;* the longest period of time, as he noted, that the people of Israel ever enjoyed it, and than which scarcely any other nation ever enjoyed a longer. 'Such a rest,' would he say, 'from 'the begining of blessed Queen Elizabeth's reign we of Eng-'land have enjoyed, and who knows whether our period be not 'near at hand? And whether it be so or not, whosoever shall 'live but a year or two may know it certainly.' It happened accordingly; and what havoc the devouring sword made amongst us after God had sent it to revenge our abuse of his mercies, is well known, and can never be remembered without horror."

In a marginal note it is added, "The preface to *Mr. Herbert's* "*Remains* observes of those three pious persons,—Dr. Jack-"son, Mr. Herbert and Mr. Ferrar,—that they spake prophe-"tically of the like events."

By the knowledge which my readers have already gained of Dr. Twisse through the preceding extracts from his writings, it is evident that Mr. Mede was not a suitable companion for him either in disposition or studies. But the Doctor had imbibed a large portion of that enthusiastic spirit which has been described in a former part of the narrative, (page 264) and which was kept alive by the prophets who prophesied smooth things to the Calvinistic brotherhood, which Joseph Mede would not consent to do on any account whatever. It must have been something very extraordinary that could induce Dr. Twisse "to lay aside for a while his ordinary studies" about Absolute Predestination, and to suspend his attacks upon Arminianism. Yet his intensity of desire to learn such an interpretation of the mysteries of futurity as might be rendered auspicious to the grand aspirings of Calvinism, produced that effect, as the Doctor himself informs us in his Preface to Mr. Mede's excellent posthumous publication, entitled *the Apostacy of the later Times.**

* "A cup of good wine will be known where it is, without an ivy-bush: Such is the following discourse. Many years ago I was acquainted with it, by the author's own hand: For such was his scholastical ingenuity, I found him most free in communicating his studies, right like unto the description of the scholar in Chaucer:

Sounding in moral virtue was his speech,
And gladly would he learn, and gladly teach.

And sometimes he dealt plainly with me, in telling me the reason why; and that was, because he found me so inqnisitive after his meditations, whereas those with whom he familiarly conversed were nothing so. The truth is, I

That Preface is a good specimen of the Doctor's facetiousness, and verifies the report given by Mr. Reid concerning his "jo-

was exceedingly taken with his notions; for he had a critical wit, and affected to correct common errors: And herein he seemed to me exceeding happy, demonstrating not only acuteness of wit, and clearness of conceipt, but solidity of judgment. And therefore, from the first time that I grew acquainted with him, I made bold to improve my acquaintance to the uttermost of mine own advantage scholastical, encouraged thereunto by his facility and ready condescension to my requests.

"The beginning of our familiarity was occasioned by a rumour spread of his opinion, concerning the glorious kingdom of Christ here on earth, which many hundred years ago was cried down as the error of the Millenaries: and Augustine himself, though confessing that at first he liked the same, yet sheweth how that afterwards he was taken off from it, and upon what ground. And it seemed wondrous strange to us, that such an opinion should, after so many hundred years, be revived; and that in so strange a manner, as now we find, both amongst us, and amongst outlandish divines. Nevertheless, myself being firmly set upon studies of another nature, I had no great edge so much as to hearken to it, much less to take it into consideration. But a friend in the country sometimes urged me to write to an acquaintance in London; and to entreat him to enquire of Mr. Mede, whether he were of the same opinion with Piscator and Alstedius concerning the first resurrection, and the glorious kingdom of Christ. And hereupon, shortly after, word was sent me, that he did agree with Piscator in this, 'that 'some shall rise a thousand years before others,' but he differed from him in this, that Piscator thought this reign of Christ should be in heaven: 'But I,' said master Mede, 'agree rather with Alstedius, and conceive, that the 'thousand years' reign of Christ shall be on earth.' Yet herein he differed from Alstedius; that, whereas Alstedius was of opinion that the thousand years reign of Christ should be after the day of judgment, master Mede's opinion was that it should be in and during the day of judgment; which day of judgment should continue a thousand years, beginning with the ruin of Antichrist, and ending with the destruction of Gog and Magog. And that Camerarius, writing upon Plato's Alcinous, testifies that the Rabbins among the Jews write, that the seventh thousand years shall be the great day of judgment, or the judgment of the great day. And Hierome upon the sixty-fifth chapter of Esay confesseth, that it was a tradition among the Jews, that the Messias should reign a thousand years in new Jerusalem.

"When I heard this, my spirit was stirred up in me to lay aside for a while my ordinary studies, and to take this into consideration; and I prayed Mr. Mede to give me leave to propose my reasons against this opinion of his. Mr. Mede very readily entertained the motion, and prescribed me a time after which he should be at leisure for me; and in a letter after this, in his familiar manner asked me, saying: *When come your quæries?* I accepted his courteous answer, and sent up unto him, first and last, twelve arguments against that opinion of his; and at the first I sent him ten, with an answer devised by myself to nine of them; for so I had promised him, namely, that I would bethink my wits of what possibly might be said in the solution of them, according to the straitness of my invention, leaving it to him to approve, or correct, or add, as he thought good. And whereas I could devise nothing at all in answer to my tenth argument, he sent me a large answer thereunto in three sides of a sheet of paper; whereby I well perceived, that my best arguments had been known to him, and examined before I devised them.

"After this, I came acquainted with many discourses upon the same argument. No less than seven manuscripts were sent me from one divine, treating of this and other mysteries. Now here I cannot but confess my corruption, for I received them by way of a bribe. And indeed I was to do him a favour, (which yet was never done, the death of a special friend preventing it,) and I dealt plainly with him, and told him, 'I would not sell my 'favours gratis; I would be well paid for them. And therefore whereas

cose illustrations," as may be perceived by its commencement and its termination: In the latter, his allusions to the much-

' I heard he had strange notions upon the Revelation, and touching the ' mysteries of the first resurrection, and Christ's kingdom, I looked to be ' feed with the communication of them; with promise to return them safely, ' after I had sucked the honey out of them, though he had never a whit the ' less for that, such is the nature of spiritual commodities.' The good man sent me word, that such bribes would never make me rich: But I returned answer, ' that they would make me more rich than the enjoying of all the ' treasures of Ethiopia, and the hill Amara to boot:' And here I found rich mines indeed, even all the mysteries belonging to Christ's glorious kingdom set down apart, by way of question, and a solemn resolution thereof, with proofs adjoined out of holy scripture. Since that, I have met with diverse choice pieces of the same argument; some prosecuting a few parts thereof only, and others more. But let that pass, I return to Mr. Mede.

" Many letters passing between us, he had occasion sometimes to touch upon some things, whereof he had written more at large, either by occasion of chapel exercises, as he called them, or in more operous and large discourses. I was glad to observe such precious birds of Paradise spring; and thereupon insinuated with him farther, entreating him to communicate such exercises of his to me. And truly I found such exemplary favour with him, that he would scarce deny me any thing. Thus I came to be partaker of divers chapel exercises of his.

" I confess there hath been some difference between us about ceremonies, as lawfulness of bowing towards the altar, and about the holiness of Churches, whereof he was as zealous as his Lord of Canterbury, or rather more; for he held it unlawful to pull down Churches, they being places separated for God's use, and his peculiar: wherein he followed Mr. Hooker's conceit, in the fifth book of his Ecclesiastical Policy. But his Lord Canterbury did not hold it unlawful to pull down St. Gregory's. That axiom, ' there is the same reason of time and place,' deceived him, as it deceiveth many; for where it doth hold, it holds only in reference to time, and place, natural. And indeed, time is only natural; but place may be artificial, and such is a temple: That is, for the general notions of them. Then as touching the special notions of them, herein is a vast difference: For the proportion of time is very considerable for the advancing of God's service; as one day in seven, rather than one day in a fortnight, or one day in a month; the like cannot be said of the proportion of place. And lastly, the time of God's worship is defined by God still even under the gospel, namely, the Lord's day; not for any place defined by him. And truly the Lord seemed to me by special providence to cast us upon a debate about the holiness of Churches. And it was high time to enquire into it, superstition in this kind of late strangely increasing. The Austine disputations in Oxford, which were wont to be kept in Saint Mary's, of late, I hear, are excommunicated thence. I wonder the Act, and the exercises thereof, are not translated to some other places, for fear of prophanation: and the *Terræ-filius*, or Prævaricator, must take heed of observing the old form of exercising their pleasant wits in facetious discourse, for fear of prophanation, which cannot be salved by aught but Doctor Cozens his *Devotions:* Yet were not the same kinds of exercises performed at the same time, and in the same place, in the time of Popery? Whence it follows, that either they were more prophane than we now a-days, or we more superstitious than they. But whereas some were too forward in censuring Mr. Mede, as complying with the times in this, it is well known, that twenty years and more before that last sermon of his, whereat divers took great offence, he had maintained his opinion that way, and upon a text very plausible at first sight to justify it, Levit. xix, 30. *Ye shall reverence my Sanctuary:* which text may easily miscarry an honest man, and a good scholar, into an opinion of reverence due unto Churches, either civil or religious, or of a middle size betwixt them, as some (I hear) have very unhappily set their wits on work to devise; as if man, made after God's Image, were bound to perform reverence to the work of his own hands. Amongst the chief pieces which Mr.

blamed but little-known *Devotions* of Bishop Cosin, * and to the *Terræ Filius* or *Prevaricator,* (which the renowned Doctor

Mede was pleased to communicate unto me, this of *the Apostasy of the latter times,* as it was the largest of all the rest, so it gave me greatest content; both for the interpretation he makes of the text in Paul, different from all former interpretations of course, which he shews to be most agreeable to the text; and that it affords new and more plentiful matter of meditation. I have heard others highly commend this discourse of Mr. Mede's, as a choice piece, as Mr. Steven Marshall by name, that worthy preacher. My opinion is, that never was the defection of the Church of Rome, and the native genius thereof more lively, and clearly, and learnedly set forth, as most exactly answerable to that which the scripture hath foretold, than by Mr. Mede in the opening and expounding of this text."

* "Paris, *Oct.* 1, 1651. The Dean of Peterborough [Dr. Cosin] preached on Job xiii, 15, encouraging our trust in God on all events and extremities, and for establishing and comforting some ladies of great quality, who were then to be discharged from our Queen Mother's service, unless they would go over to the Romish Mass.

"The Dean dining this day at our house, told me the occasion of publishing those Offices which, among the Puritans, were wont to be called *Cosin's cozening Devotions,* by way of derision. At the first coming of the Queen into England, she and her French ladies were often upbraiding our religion, that had neither appointed nor set forth any hours of prayer or Breviaries, by which ladies and courtiers, who have much spare time, might edify and be in devotion as they [the Papists] had. Our Protestant ladies, scandalized, it seems, at this, moved the matter to the King; whereupon his Majesty presently called Bishop White to him, and asked his thoughts of it, and whether there might not be found some forms of prayer proper on such occasions, collected out of some already-approved forms, that so the court-ladies and others, (who spend much time in trifling,) might at least appear as devout, and be so too, as the new-come-over French ladies, who took occasion to reproach our want of zeal and religion. On which the Bishop told his Majesty, *that it might be done easily, and was very necessary:* Whereupon the King commanded him to employ some person of the Clergy to compile such a work; and presently the Bishop naming Dr. Cosin, the King enjoined him to charge the Doctor in his name to set about it immediately: This, the Dean told me, he did; and, three months after, bringing the book to the King, he commanded the Bishop of London to read it over and make his report: This was so well liked, that (contrary to former custom of doing it by a chaplain,) he would needs give it an *imprimatur* under his own hand. Upon this there were at first only 200 copies printed: 'Nor,' said he, 'was there 'any thing in the whole book of my own composure, nor did I set any name 'as author to it, but those necessary Prefaces, &c. out of the Fathers, touch-'ing the times and seasons of prayer; all the rest being entirely translated 'and collected out of an *Office* published by authority of Queen Elizabeth, 'anno 1560, and our own Liturgy."—This I rather mention to justify that industrious and pious Dean, who had exceedingly suffered by it, as if he had done it of his own head to introduce Popery, from which no man was more averse, and one who in this time of temptation and apostacy held and confirmed many to our Church." Evelyn's *Diary.* Of this last remark, a strong corroboration will be found in Dr. Cosin's very satisfactory *Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture,* which was written and published, during his residence at Paris, in opposition to "the New Canon of Scripture first set forth by the Council of Trent."

I introduce this quotation from Mr. Bray's most interesting *Memoirs of Evelyn,* for the sake of the principle which it candidly avows—a desire to make the Church of England appear lovely to Roman Catholics. This might be done with a good conscience and to great effect, at such a peculiar juncture as that, when the Queen of England was a Papist, and surrounded by some of the most subtle emissaries of the Romish See, appointed for the avowed purpose of making proselytes among the nobility and the numerous classes of religious dissidents which the lax measures of Archbishop Abbot had greatly encouraged. She was the only Church in Christendom that pre-

Owen afterwards abolished at Oxford when that University was

served a proper medium between the degradation to which the Puritans would have subjected her, and the unchristian pomp to which the Papists would have elevated her, as soon as either of those parties had obtained their wishes. In another note it will be seen how Archbishop Laud attempted by similar means to gain Papists over to our Church; and all moderate and unbiassed men, who have read the accounts of all the parties then concerned, must allow, that no Protestant Archbishop had ever before been placed in such critical circumstances, and they will not suffer the subsequent decapitation of this great man to lessen the persuasion, that in the midst of such unprecedented difficulties no Prelate ever manifested greater prudence or ability.—But in the matter of Cosin's Devotions he was not concerned: That book was sanctioned by Mountain, his predecessor in the see of London, who, on more occasions than one, had proved to be his enemy. The following extract from Heylin's *Life of Archbishop Laud* relates a few additional circumstances respecting this book, which are amusing and highly characteristic of that fanatic age:

"About the same time came out a book entitled, 'A Collection of Private Devotions, or, the hours of Prayer,' composed by Cozens one of the Prebends of Durham, at the request, and for the satisfaction, as it was then generally believed, of the Countess of Denbigh, the only sister of the Duke, and then supposed to be unsettled in the religion here established, if not warping from it. A book which had in it much good matter, but not well pleasing in the form; said in the title page to be framed agreeably to a Book of Private Prayers authorized by Queen Elizabeth, anno 1560. After the Kalendar it began with a specification of the Apostles' Creed in twelve Articles, the Lord's Prayer in seven Petitions, the ten Commandments, with the duties enjoined, and the sins prohibited by them; the Precepts of Charity, the Precepts of the Church, the seven Sacraments, the three Theological Virtues, the three kinds of Good Works, the seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, the twelve Fruits of the Holy Ghost, the Spiritual and Corporal Works of Mercy, the eight Beatitudes, seven deadly sins, and their contrary virtues, and the *Quatuor novissima*: After which (some prefaces and introductions intervening) followed the forms of prayer for the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours, also for the *Vespers* and *Compline*, known here in former times by the vulgar name of canonical hours: Then came the Litany, the seven Penitential Psalms, preparatory Prayers for receiving the Holy Communion, prayers to be used in time of sickness, and of the near approach of death, besides many others. The book approved by Mountain then Bishop of London, and by him licenced for the press (with the subscription of his own hand to it): Notwithstanding which it startled many at the first, though otherwise very moderate and sober men, who looked upon it as a preparatory to usher in the superstitions of the church of Rome. The title gave offence to some, by reason of the correspondence which it held with the Popish Horaries; but the frontispiece a great deal more, on the top whereof was found the name of Jesus, figured in three capital letters (IHS) with a cross upon them, incircled with the sun, supported by two angels, with two devout women praying towards it.—But for all this violent opposition, and the great clamors made against it, the book grew up into esteem, and justified it self, without any advocate; insomuch that many of those who first startled at it in regard of the title, found in the body of it so much piety, such regular forms of divine worship, such necessary consolations in special exigencies, that they reserved it by them as a jewel of great price and value.

While on the subject of frontispieces to books, it may not be improper to impart to the reader the following curious passage from one of Mr. Evelyn's letters. Mr. Bray tells us in a note, "Dr. Jeremy Taylor had been committed prisoner to the Tower, for setting the picture of *Christ praying* before his collection of Offices, contrary to a new Act concerning *scandalous pictures*, as they called them." During the pious Doctor's imprisonment, Mr. Evelyn addressed a letter to *the Lieutenant of the Tower*, in which, among other things, he says: "As it is an error to be troublesome to great persons upon trifling affairs, so were it no less a crime to be silent in an occasion wherein I may do an act of charity, and reconcile a person to your good opinion who has deserved so well, and I think is innocent. Sir, I speak in

committed to his governance,*) are exceedingly playful and ingenious, and might demand some degree of the reader's admiration, were it not known from what malignant source they

behalf of Dr. Taylor, of whom I understand you have conceived some displeasure for the mistake of his printer; and the readiest way that I can think of to do him honour and bring him into esteem with you, is, to beg of you, that you will please to give him leave to wait upon you, that you may learn from his own mouth, as well as the world has done from his writings, how averse he is from any thing that he may be charged withal to his prejudice, and how great an adversary he has ever been in particular to the Popish religion, against which he has employed his pen so signally and with such success. And when, by this favour, you shall have done justice to all interests, I am not without fair hopes, that I shall have mutually obliged you both, by doing my endeavour to serve my worthy and pious friend, and by bringing so innocent and deserving a person into your protection." This communication, so honourable to the character of Mr. Evelyn, was written in 1657, under Cromwell's usurpation, "on behalf" of a learned and pious Divine, who was a lineal descendant from Dr. Rowland Taylor one of the first Protestant Martyrs in Queen Mary's days, and who had shewn as much zeal and ability against the Papists, as had formerly been manifested by his courageous and suffering ancestor.

* In the note from Dr. Twisse, page 501, the drift of his jest will be perceived to have been this,—his surprise that the strenuous patrons of the sanctity of churches and of altars should allow the church of St. Mary's at Oxford to be defiled by the pleasantries of the *Terræ-filius*, which in those days were often carried to great and culpable excess. But, whatever means might have been adopted prior to the Inter-regnum to remedy this abuse, it appears by the following quotation from ORME'S *Life of Dr. Owen*, that Cromwell's reforming chaplain was the only man to abate this nuisance. In his inaugural speech to the University he had said, "From the obscurity of a rural situation, from the din of arms, from journies *for the sake of the gospel* into the most distant parts of this island and also beyond sea, from the bustle of the court, I have retreated, unskilful in the government of a University." Owen had not studied military tactics so long under Cromwell without knowing the address of Fabius, the Roman ambassador, to the Carthaginians, when he told them he carried in his bosom both WAR and PEACE, and they might have their choice of either. The sentence quoted from Owen's speech might be intended to admit of a similar construction; it would then be interpreted thus: "You may either accept of me as a mild country pastor, "a military chaplain, (for a piquant description of whom, see page 457,) a "busy knight-errant for propagating Calvinistic and Republican principles, "or as a supple and well-dressed courtier: It depends altogether upon "yourselves which of these different characters I shall assume."—Towards the under-graduates, however, he had soon to appear in his military capacity, as Mr. Orme informs us: "The exertions of the Vice-chancellor, we may be assured, were not wanting to correct these evils. He set himself vigorously to curb the licentiousness of the students. The state of morals and order among them, with the degree of firmness and authority which was requisite to keep them in subjection, may be judged of by the following incident. At a public act, when a student of Trinity College was *Terræ filius*, the Doctor, before he began, told him, that he should have liberty to say what he pleased, provided he would abstain from profaneness, obscenity and personalities. The *Terræ filius* began, but soon transgressed all the rules which had been prescribed to him. The Doctor several times desired him to forbear, but still he went on; till at last, seeing him obstinate, he sent the beadles to pull him down. On this the scholars interposed and would not suffer them to come near him. The Doctor determined to pull him down himself, and, though his friends near him dissuaded him, lest the scholars should do him some mischief, 'I will not see authority trampled on in this manner,' said he, and actually pulled him down, and sent him to Bocardo; the scholars standing off, surprised at his resolution." Thus, it appears, those men belie Dr. Owen very much who assert that *he was inimical to the maintenance of all*

were derived, and how deeply they were intended to wound the objects to which they expressly applied. As a Millenarian, the Doctor was in ecstacies on discovering Mr. Mede's "opi-

lawful authority, when on this occasion he shewed himself to be a marvellous stickler for his own: And certain expressions of Mr. Orme in other parts of his work convince me, that had such an interruption been given to a public Act by any preceding Vice-chancellor, it would have been recorded by this Independent biographer as an act of consummate tyranny and oppression.

It is amazing how much Mr. Orme is concerned to represent the very dress of his University hero, not merely as unexceptionable, but as most appropriate. He says, "The account which Anthony Wood gives of the conduct and manners of Owen, while Vice chancellor, is too curious to be omitted: 'He 'endeavoured,' says that illiberal writer, 'to put down habits, formalities and 'all ceremony, notwithstanding he before had taken an oath *to observe the* '*statutes and maintain the privileges of the University*. While he did under-'go the said office, he, instead of being a grave example to the University, 'scorned all formality, undervalued his office, by going in *quirpo*, like a 'young scholar, with powdered hair, snake-bone band-strings or band-'strings with very large tassels, lawn band, a large set of ribbands pointed at 'his knees, and Spanish leather boots, with large lawn tops, and his hat 'mostly cocked.' Wood's account of Owen's dress is vastly amusing. How much should we have been gratified, had he furnished us with a drawing of this dandy Vice-chancellor,—his snake-bone band-strings, and lawn boot-tops would be invaluable antiquarian relics, could they be recovered. Had Owen been a person of a different description, Anthony would have told us of his turnip-head and sepulchral face, and his sack-cloth garb, by which he disgraced the University and brought all good-breeding into contempt." This *dandyism* in Owen, as his biographer is pleased to call it, is of the same species as that which prompted Dr. Reynolds and his Puritan compeers at the Hampton Court Conference, and on other public occasions, to appear in *Turkey coats*, instead of the canonical robes of clergymen. Mr. Orme gives us a quotation from Bastwick, and another from Edwards, which prove, that the Independents during the Inter-regnum were as much inclined as the primitive Puritans to be distinguished by the singularity of their costume. But how does Mr. Orme clear Dr. Owen from this unimportant charge? He attempts to do it by a quotation from EVELYN'S *Diary*, under the date of "July 9, 1654," in which that true English gentleman, giving an account of his visit to Oxford, says, among other things, "Preached at St. Mary's in the afternoon the famous Independent Dr. Owen, perstringing Episcopacy. On Monday I went again to the Schools, to hear the several faculties, and in the afternoon tarried out the whole Act in St. Mary's,—the long speeches of the Proctors, the Vice-chancellor and several Professors,—*creation of Doctors by the cap, ring, kiss, &c.*, these ancient ceremonies and institutions being as yet not wholly abolished." If this extract was intended to prove any thing, it is an inconsequent argument for Mr. Orme's position: For it says, "these ancient ceremonies being *as yet* not wholly abolished," intimating that they were afterwards almost entirely laid aside. But perhaps he thinks, as the doctor is only blamed for *perstringing* Episcopacy, that *therefore* nothing else about him was peculiar; but this is another egregious *non sequitur*. Or the good man, not having been personally conversant with those who have been created DOCTORS by the ancient mode, may suppose, that, as *the cap, ring, and kiss* were employed at their initiation, they must necessarily have been used on all subsequent occasions: But this is on his part a piece of excusable ignorance.—Amidst all this flourish, however, Mr. Orme seems to have forgotten as piquant a description of Owen's dress, which he has presented to his readers in the language of a co-temporary pamphleteer, who, while animadverting on the Independent Vice-chancellor's conduct in "raising a troop of sixty horse, beside their officers," speaks thus: "When those loyal gentlemen of the West [Col. Penruddock and his friends] made an attempt to redeem their native soil from the bondage of their Cromwellian task-masters, how did this Cromwellian Doctor, rather like a Major-General than a Vice-chancellor, carry God in his scabbard, and religion at his sword's

nion concerning the glorious kingdom of Christ here on earth;" and he says, in reference to his brother Calvinists, "it seemed wondrous strange to us, that such an opinion should, after so many hundred years, be revived; * and that in so strange a

point! How did he make his beadles exchange their staves for fighting irons! How did he turn his gown into a cloak, and vaunt it with WHITE powder in his hair and BLACK in his pocket, threatening every one with disaffection to the government who would not join with him in his designs! And so he rode up and down, like a spiritual Abaddon, breathing out nothing against those brave souls but rage and fury, slaughter and blood!" The reader may form some judgment of the accuracy of this description from the following solitary remark which Mr. Orme has appended,—"The charge of *carrying a sword* the Doctor repelled by coolly declaring, that, *to his remembrance, he never wore a sword in his life.*" Yet he probably acted like some of the early Generals of the French Republic, and, to encourage the ardour of his "troop of sixty," might shoulder a musket, instead of wearing a sword.

The subjoined paragraph contains a curious description of the removal of the Act from St. Mary's; it is also a proof that the Restoration brought with it the same kind of re-action in Academical Exercises as in religious sentiments:

"July 9, 1669. In the morning was celebrated the Encenia of the new theatre, so magnificently built by the munificence of Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, in which was spent £25,000, as Sir Christopher Wren, the architect, (as I remember) told me; and yet it was never seen by the benefactor, my Lord Archbishop having told me that he never did nor ever would see it. It is in truth a fabric comparable to any of this kind of former ages, and doubtless exceeding any of the present, as this University does, for Colleges, Libraries, Schools, Students, and order, all the Universities in the world. To the Theatre is added the famous Sheldonian Printing-house. This being at the Act and the first time of opening the Theatre, (Acts being formerly kept in St. Mary's church, which might be thought indecent, that being a place set apart for the immediate worship of God, and was the inducement for building this noble pile,) it was now resolved to keep the present Act in it, and celebrate its dedication with the greatest splendour and formality that might be, and therefore drew a world of strangers and other company to the University from all parts of the nation." After enumerating some preparatory ceremonies, Mr. Evelyn proceeds: "Then followed Dr. South, the University's Orator, in an eloquent speech, which was very long, and not without some malicious and indecent reflexions on the Royal Society, as underminers of the University, which was very foolish and untrue, as well as unseasonable. But, to let that pass from an ill-natured man, the rest was in praise of the Archbishop and the ingenious architect.

"July 10. The next day began the more solemn Lectures in all the faculties, which were performed in their several schools, where all the Inceptor Doctors did their exercises, the Professors having first ended their reading. The assembly now returned to the Theatre, where the *Terræ filius*, (the University Buffoon,) entertained the auditory with a tedious, abusive, sarcastical rhapsody, most unbecoming the gravity of the University, and that so grossly, that unless it be suppressed, it will be of ill consequence, as I afterwards plainly expressed my sense of it both to the Vice-chancellor and several heads of houses, who were perfectly ashamed of it, and resolved to take care of it in future. The old facetious way of raillying upon the questions was left off, falling wholly upon persons, so that it was rather licentious lying and railing than genuine and noble wit. In my life I was never witness of so shameful entertainment." EVELYN'S *Diary*.

* "I seem to discern a providence of God in causing the opinion of a thousand years' *regnum sanctorum* to be blasted as an error, by the censure passed upon the Chiliasts, to take men off from fixing their thoughts too much on that in those days when the accomplishment was so far removed; but with purpose to revive it in a more seasonable time, when Antichrist's kingdom should draw near to an end." TWISSE'S *First Letter to Mede*.

manner as now we find, both amongst us and amongst outlandish divines."

The following extract from the Preface to More's Translation of Mr. Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica* was written by Dr. Twisse, and will afford the reader a fair outline of Mr. Mede's interpretations of the prophecies that are yet unfulfilled:

" *Many shall run* (or pass) *to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.* (Dan. xii, 4.) I lighted sometimes on a witty interpretation of this passage in a certain manuscript; and the interpretation was this: 'That *the opening of the world* by Navigation 'and Commerce, and *the increase of knowledge*, should meet both 'in one time or age.' The observation is justified by experience, however divines may judge as they see cause of the congruity thereof unto Daniel's text. And this *increase of knowledge*, which these latter times have brought forth, appears in nothing more remarkably, than in the interpretation of this mysterious book, the Revelation of St John.

" The whole body of the Revelation, for the most part, being carried along by figurative expressions, it is requisite to observe the genius of scripture phrase in this kind: Wherein Mr. Mede excels,* and hereby the sense is cleared in such sort

" When a vein is once found of gold or silver, it makes a man hungry and greedy to pursue it; and *the kingdom of the saints* goes beyond all mines and treasures. O how have you blessed me, and still continue to bless me with your papers! I protest unto you, your letters, your conjectures, your meditations, are the greatest jewels my study contains." *Fourth Letter.*

These were the sanguine expressions of a cool metaphysician respecting the anticipated Millennium, " the accomplishment of which was not far removed when Antichrist's kingdom drew near to an end," and the triumphant Calvinists were about to sit on the throne and to lord it over God's heritage in all the kingdoms of Europe. How powerful then must have been the impulse which was thus given to the minds of the uninformed populace, who had been sedulously taught to regard all Arminians, and those who were conscientiously attached to the rites of the Established Church as " an Antichristian generation!"

* There is not in the English language a higher compliment to Mr. Mede's chastised invention, sound judgment, and sober views, than the subjoined unbiassed testimony from Bray's *Memoirs of Evelyn*: " April 26, 1689. I went with the Bishop of St. Asaph [the learned Dr. Lloyd] to the Archbishop at Lambeth, [the amiable and benevolent Sancroft,] where they entered into discourse concerning the final destruction of Antichrist, both concluding that the third trumpet and vial were now pouring out. My Lord St. Asaph considered *the killing of the two witnesses* to be the utter destruction of the Cevennes Protestants by the French and the Duke of Savoy, and the other the Waldenses and Pyrennean christians, who, by all appearance from good history, had kept the primitive faith from the very Apostles' time till now.—The doubt his Grace suggested was, 'whether it could be made evident that 'the present persecution had made so great an havoc of those faithful peo-'ple as of the other, and whether there were not yet some among them in 'being who met together, it being stated from the text, (Apoc. xi,) that they 'should both be slain together.'—They both much approved of Mr. Mede's way of interpretation, and that he only failed in resolving too hastily on the king of Sweden's (Gustavus Adolphus) success in Germany. They agreed that it would be good to employ some intelligent French minister to travel as far as the Pyrennees, to understand the present state of the Church there, it being a country where hardly any one travels." Evelyn's *Diary.*

as to give great satisfaction: As, in opening the mystery of *the battle in Heaven,* (Rev. xii,) and *the casting-down Satan unto the earth,* he shews that states and kingdoms in the *world political* are indeed much answerable to the condition of the *world natural,* and accordingly represented in scripture. For, as the world natural consists of *heaven* and *earth,* so in each state a kingdom is found somewhat answerable hereunto, and that is the NOBILITY and LAITY. And as in Heaven there are Sun, Moon, and Stars of lesser and greater magnitude, so in every kingdom there is a King, and Queen, and Nobles, and that in great variety of degrees of magnitude, And as in earth there is great variety of creatures, as of trees of various sorts, and of herbs and flowers; so in the people of any Commonwealth is

From the multitude of French Protestants who had then taken refuge in England to avoid the tyrannical measures consequent on *the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz*, it was not difficult to obtain a French minister who would embark on the expedition here described. A subsequent quotation from the same work will explain this matter more fully, and will also serve to shew that even the Bishop of St. Asaph himself, though happy in one of his conjectures, was a more sanguine interpreter of sacred prophecy than Mr. Mede had been, and therefore committed greater mistakes.

"*June* 18*th* 1690. *Fast-day.* Visited the Bishop of St. Asaph. He and his company's conversation was on the Vaudois in Savoy, who had been thought so near destruction and final extirpation by the French, being totally given up to slaughter, so that there were no hopes for them; but now it pleased God, that the Duke of Savoy,—who had hitherto joined with the French in their persecution, was now pressed by the French to deliver up Saluce and Turin as cautionary towns, on suspicion that he might at last come into the confederacy of the German Princes,—did secretly concert measures with and afterwards declared for them. He then invited these poor people from their dispersion amongst the mountains whither they had fled, and restored them to their country, their dwellings, and the exercise of their religion, and begged pardon for the ill usage they had received, charging it on the cruelty of the French who forced him to it. These being the remainder of those persecuted christians which the Bishop of St. Asaph had so long affirmed to be *the two witnesses* spoken of in the Revelation, who should be killed and brought to life again, it was looked on as an extraordinary thing that this prophesying Bishop should persuade two fugitive ministers of the Vaudois to return to their country, and [should] furnish them with Twenty Pounds towards their journey, at that very time when nothing but universal destruction was to be expected, assuring them and shewing them from the Apocalypse that *their countrymen should be returned safely to their country before they arrived.* This, happening contrary to all expectations and appearance, did exceedingly credit the Bishop's confidence how that prophecy of *the witnesses* should so come to pass, just at the time, and the very month he had spoken of some years before. I afterwards went with him to Mr. Boyle and Lady Ranelagh his sister, to whom he explained the necessity of it so fully and learnedly made out, with what events were immediately to follow viz. the French king's ruin, the calling of the Jews to be near at hand, but that the kingdom of Antichrist would not yet be utterly destroyed, till thirty years, when Christ should begin the Millennium, not as personally and visibly reigning on earth, but that the true religion and universal peace should obtain through all the world. He shewed how Mr. Brightman, Mr. Mede, and other interpreters of these events, failed, by mistaking and reckoning the year, as the Latins and others did, to consist of the present calculation *so many days to the year,* whereas the Apocalypse reckons after the Persian account, as Daniel did, whose visions St. John all along explains as meaning only the Christian Church." *Idem.*

found great variety of differences. And upon this ground, and by this course of interpretation which he taketh, whereas other writers give pretty interpretations many times, which the reader perhaps could wish to be true; Mr. Mede, by his grounds and manner of proceeding, convinceth the reader of the truth of that sense and meaning of the text which is delivered by him, even to admiration.

" By *New Jerusalem* is meant ' Christ and his raised saints,' who are called ' the saints whom he shall bring with him.' (1 Thess. iv.) And by *the nations* are meant ' all the faithful servants ' of God who shall be found here alive at Christ's coming.'* And I find that, through the want of distinguishing these, the Ancient Fathers, and particularly Epiphanius, have discoursed very wildly against the glorious kingdom of Christ here on earth, yet in just opposition to the Cerinthians, whose guise it was to discourse very carnally of the glorious kingdom of Christ; the consideration whereof moved Austin to relinquish the doctrine of Christ's kingdom here on earth, which formerly he embraced, as himself professeth in one of his works, *De Civitate Dei*, where he treats thereof.†

* That Dr. Twisse and his brother Calvinists ought not to have appropriated to themselves this character, is very evident by the following extract from Mr. Mede's Remains: " Those who shall be partakers of this kingdom are described to be of two sorts: (1.) *The deceased Martyrs* who shall resume their bodies and reign in heaven: (2.) *Such of the living* as have not worshipped the beast, nor his image, neither have received his mark, &c.; these shall reign on earth. Under the second sort of those reigners, together with *the virgin Christians of the Gentiles*, (who are the surrogate Israel,) I would in a particular respect understand *the nation of the Jews*, then converted to the faith of Christ; who, coming in toward the end of the day, may above all others be said to be *those who had not worshipped the beast*, &c., which most of the christian Gentiles had done, and therefore at their cleansing are rather described as *those that had gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name.*"

† To the exception, that *Mr. Mede afforded too much countenance to the Chiliasts, or those who expect the Millennium on earth*, it has been said in answer by his biographer: " That what Mr. Mede did herein cannot be justly counted any blemish to his name and honour. For, grant that opinion were an error, yet, saith he, it hath very much to plead its toleration and their pardon that hold it. Whatever it be, it passed for a precious truth, even in the purest and most untainted ages of the Church for the space of above three hundred years, and had the suffrages of the most eminent doctors that lived in those times. Nor was it ever discountenanced, till the Church, recovering breath from her persecutions, began perhaps a little too much to prize her peace, and, disvaluing her expectations, to set up her rest in her enjoyed tranquillity. Not to argue its verisimilitude from the consonancy it seems to have with the many glorious prophecies of Christ's Kingdom in the Old Testament, which otherwise find many cold interpretations among expositors,—a man can hardly, without admitting it, make good sense of those places, in the twentieth and twenty-first chapters of the Revelation, which tells us of *a First and Second Resurrection*, and of *a Jerusalem descending out of heaven from God*. Which last seemed to him extremely harsh to expound of the state of bliss in heaven; and to make ' *descending out of heaven*' to signify ' *ascending up thither*,' was more absurd than that of the Canonist, who expounded *Constituimus* by *Abrogamus*. So that he was compelled by that and many other places, against his inclination, to allow

" What cause have we to bless God for bringing us forth in these days of light! May we not apply that of Esay unto these times? : 'When darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people, the Lord hath risen upon us, and his glory hath been seen upon us.'* (1) Not only in respect of the great Reformation wrought in this western part of the world, a hundred years ago and more: God awaking as it were out of a sleep, and like a giant refreshed with wine: And the Lord Christ awaking, and stirring up his strength for the raising up of Jacob, and restoring the desolations of Israel, and blessing us with a resurrection of his gospel, and discovering *the man of sin,* and blasting him with the breath of his mouth. (2.) But also opening the mystery of *the slaughter of the witnesses,*† which we have just reason to conceive to have been on foot divers

so much of Chiliasm as might make sense of those prophecies; yet always keeping himself from falling into those dotages which some of that opinion fancied, or at least were charged with: Neither denying any necessary Catholic verity, nor admitting any thing inconsistent with the analogy of faith, and submitting his opinion to the judgment of the Church. And, within these limits, I never yet learned why he, or any other learned man, may not have the liberty of his own sense, or in such problematical points should incur any censure for dissenting from others." MEDE's *Life.*

* " What a gracious God do we serve, that hath so well provided for us in these times and for our consolation so many hundred years ago! And as he hath reserved us for these times of light, so he raiseth up some to open these oracles unto us! What should man be better for that sweet dew, (honey, I mean,) if the Lord had not provided such a creature as the bee by natural instinct to seek after it, and gather it for the use of others, as well as for themselves? I protest unto you, if I should lie in prison all days of my life, next unto the consolations of God's Spirit your writings would most refresh me: They do always dispel melancholy. I desire no better preferment than you can perform, and that is, to be preferred to acquaintance with your rarities." TWISSE's *Eleventh Letter.*

A number of these flattering episodes are to be found in various parts of the correspondence: Their intention is obvious, but they had not the desired effect upon the integrity of Joseph Mede's spirit. Few men of that age were entitled to make a declaration similar to that which occurs in one of his letters to Mr. Hartlib in 1638; for he could say with truth, " I confess I endeavour, as much as I can possibly, to subdue myself unto freedom from prejudice, *studium partium,* or from a desire to find for this side rather than that:" And whoever reads another of his declarations in page 519, will perceive the correctness of this remark. In the same letter to Mr. Hartlib, he adds, " The world loves to be deceived rather than to be taught, and will never entertain any man well that shall deal ingenuously with them. He must look to have Micaiah's luck: *He must say true, and yet not prophesy against Ahab!* If he does, he must to pound and to hard meat for it." This was, in Mr. Mede's case, the language of experience.

† The following extract, from King JAMES's *Paraphrase on the Revelation,* displays considerable ingenuity; he speaks in the person of St. John, and says: " (2) The hypocritical and antichristian church shall tread down and persecute the true church, *for the space of two and forty months,* or three years and a half, for it is both one number. This space prescribed by Christ alludeth to Daniel's prophecy of *two times, a time, and half a time:* For as Daniel meant thereby *the half of his prophetical week,* so Christ means by this, that the persecution of this destroyer shall last the half, to wit, it shall reign about the midst of the last age of this whole week, which begins at his incarnation and first coming, and ends at his last coming again, which, because it is the last period, is here compared to a week.—(3.) But I

years, not by judicial proceedings only in the martyrdom of God's saints, but by the sword of war, *first* in the Low Countries, *then* in France, *after that* in Bohemia, then in Germany, (which how long it should continue, Mr. Mede professeth to be uncertain,) and *now* amongst us, *first* in Ireland, *then* in England, and that by the anti-christian generation, with so manifest opposition unto truth and holiness under a Protestant Prince as, I think, the like was never known since the beginning of the world.*

shall give that holy town to two witnesses of mine, who, clothed with sackcloth, shall prophesy the space of one thousand, two hundred and three score days: For, these my successors he shall raise up as witnesses, to wit, a sufficient number of them, (for 'out of the mouth of TWO or THREE witnesses every word is confirmed,') to witness, that their doctrine is false who persecute the church which he shall give unto them: For he shall make them their patrons, to defend and feed them by the power of the true word, and they shall preach repentance to that counterfeit church; and therefore they are said to be 'clothed in sackcloth.' And, to assure us to our great comfort, that, in all the time of blindness, God shall ever be raising up some of these two witnesses against the hypocritical destroyer, and to comfort and confirm his true church, it is said, they shall prophesy the number of days that ye have heard, which is correspondent justly to the months before mentioned, to wit, they shall not leave off to witness all the time of the antichristian kingdom.—(4.) These witnesses are two green olives, who anoint the elect with that holy oil; and two candlesticks, (as Christ said, to enlighten the world with their brightness,) who are set down and do their office, in the presence of Him who is Lord and Ruler of the earth.—(5.) And if any shall press to harm them, fire shall come out of their mouths and devour their enemies: For, whosoever will do them any hurt, himself must be slain so, to wit, the Holy Spirit, who is the fire in their mouth, shall accuse and cause to be destroyed, with *the second death*, all them that either persecute them, or will not hear or obey their doctrine.—(12.) And they heard a great voice from the heaven, saying unto them, *Come up hither*: Then they ascended up into heaven, and their enemies saw them do so: For although that, during the flourishing of this heretical and hypocritical monarchy, the true pastors no sooner appeared than they were put to death, yet at the last this monarchy shall begin to decay when the three years, or the three days and a half thereof, shall be expired: And then shall *the Spirit of life from God*, to wit, the Holy Spirit sent from God, work mightier in the latter pastors of these days, so as in them shall the by-past martyrs be revived, and their doctrine shall take root in the hearts of many; and their reasons shall be so pithy, as the antichristian sect and the rest of the world shall know as perfectly that they shall prevail, as if they heard God call them to heaven, to reward them there for their victory: Neither shall they have power of their lives; for God shall move the hearts of many to defend them in such glory and safety, as if they were mounting up to heaven in a cloud, and they not able to hinder them."

These premises were too general, and the consequences too spiritual, for the purposes of Dr. Twisse and other Puritans, who called themselves *the two witnesses*, and the reputed Arminians were *the antichristian beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit, &c.*

* This is a clear and unequivocal exposure of the views entertained by Dr. Twisse and the Calvinistic party concerning the persons intended by the prophetic designation of *the two witnesses*. In their estimation they were no other than themselves, the Calvinists of Holland, France, Bohemia, Germany, Ireland and England. In the preceding part of this Appendix, from page 242 to 266, I have given a brief exposition of "the uncommonly enthusiastical aspect" which was communicated to these Foreign Predestinarian Churches, by "the partially successful experiment of the Synod of Dort, and by the Elector Palatine's acceptance of the crown of Bohemia,"

"After this strange war and slaughter of the witnesses,* which hasteneth to a period, the continuance of it shall be but three years and a half; in which space of time they that dwell on the earth shall rejoice over them and make merry, and send gifts one to another; because these prophets tormented them that dwelt upon the earth. But after three days and a half, when the Spirit of life from God should enter into them, and they stand upon their feet, great fear should fall upon them which saw them.

which induced them to augur propitiously concerning the ultimate and speedy establishment of *a Calvinian universal Monarchy*." I have also shewn, from page 267 to the close of Appendix D, that though "these imaginary Calvinistic triumphs severally terminated in the hopelessness of despondency, yet a great door of hope was opened to the party in England;" and that the English Predestinarians were not "content to have this ground of hope *in their eye only* and to contemplate it *by faith*," but, in the language of Sir Henry Vane, they considered "there was a duty of the day, a generation-work, respecting the time and circumstances of action in which the lot of their lives was cast, which called upon them to use all *lawful and righteous means* that were afforded by the good hand of God, through *the inward light* and knowledge he vouchsafed, and *outward providences* and helps which he cast in, whereby to make way for and to be hasting unto the coming of that day of God." They were not slow or reluctant about adopting this operative or militant plan, but entered heartily upon its execution. The expressions of Dr. Twisse in the text, among the multitude of other witnesses, are in proof of the extraordinary enthusiasm which actuated the whole fraternity. For he makes all those who had been vexed "by judicial proceedings," as well as those slain "by the sword of war," to be "God's saints and martyrs." He tells his readers "that this slaughter of the witnesses, which had been on foot divers years, was then hastening to a period;" after which "the Spirit of God should enter into them, they should stand upon their feet, and great fear should fall upon those which saw them." That part of the prediction which regarded "great fear" was literally fulfilled; for, like the followers of Mahomet, who were their brethren in the belief of Fatalism, they employed the sword for the propagation of their faith, and put the multitude of their opponents into bodily fear. But in nearly every other circumstance the prediction failed:—Dr. Twisse did not hear "a voice from heaven saying unto him, *Come up hither!*," when he was constituted Prolocutor of *the Assembly of Divines*, unless he contented himself by interpreting to his own advantage the commonly-abused maxim of *Vox populi vox Dei*:—The Calvinists did not commence a millenary tranquillity, when under their beloved Republic they furiously debated concerning a mutual toleration of their ecclesiastical differences:—And they did not, either literally or metaphorically, "ascend up to heaven in a cloud in sight of their enemies;" but were doomed to resume their much-abhorred "sack-cloth" as a judicial punishment, and, by a striking train of providential occurrences which no man could then have foretold, were compelled to suffer a series of distresses and privations, nearly as long in their duration as those which they had presumptuously inflicted on their Arminian brethren.

From the whole of this correspondence it will appear, that almost all the Calvinistic divines of eminence in those days were visionary Millenarians, and abused that doctrine in promoting their own vile purposes. I could demonstrate this from the publications of several of them, as well as from their private correspondence. It afterwards indeed became the fashion to cast the blame of all this fanaticism upon the Fifth-Monarchy men, the Vanists, &c. who ran into some more egregious extravagancies than the earlier Calvinistic Republicans. But, in their eager expectations of the unmolested enjoyment of a kind of terrestrial paradise, there was no great difference between the parties.

* In the year 1655, after nearly all the mischiefs had been committed which are described in a preceding part of this Appendix, a quarto volume was pub-

And a voice shall be heard from heaven saying unto them, *Come up hither!* And they shall ascend up to heaven in a cloud,

lished, entitled, THE RETIRED MAN'S MEDITATIONS, *or the Mystery and Power of Godliness shining forth in the Living Word to the unmasking the Mystery of Iniquity in the most refined and purest Forms, &c. In which Old Light is restored, and New Light justified; being the witness which is given to this age by* HENRY VANE, *Knight.*—This wily old gentleman, who had studied the points of the political compass to some profitable purpose, could then inform his Calvinistic friends that they had been looking in a wrong direction when they expected the two witnesses to be caught up to heaven in that age. In chap. xiii, Sir Henry says:

"By what hath been said, we may perceive who are meant by *the spiritual seed*, and how they are described in the scripture as *the two witnesses of God:* FIRST, in a more general acceptation as in all ages they are to have their *heel bruised*, and to be *slain for the word of God:* AND THEN, in a more particular and restrained sense, as some of them are to *come forth in the latter days, in the spirit and power of Elijah*, to prepare for Christ's second coming, and then to have *their dead bodies for three days and a half remain unburied in the great city, spiritually called Sodom and Egypt:* Which city, as *the mother of harlots*, hath been extant in its spirit and principles, from the beginning, as well as the profane heathenish world with the powers thereof, embodied together upon differing grounds and interests by the spirit of the old Dragon, and influenced by him as suitable instruments of war and engines of battery, for *the bruising of the heel* of the true spiritual seed."

At the close of his 25th chapter, he says: "So that when once it shall please God to raise up a seed and generation of saints, in whom these *marks of the dying of the Lord Jesus* shall be eminent, to the slaying and bringing to rest all operating powers and faculties of their natural man, as standing in opposition to the Lord of life and glory, and subjecting *every high imagination* in them by the cross, to the laying of it and of all the glory of flesh in a very great measure under the feet of Christ, whereby that which lets [hinders] his glory from appearing unveiled, and hath all this time let, is taken away; then will it be known *what the two witnesses are*, and that *they have not hitherto so much as begun their prophecy* in the power of Elijah beforementioned: So far are they from being slain!"

The doctrine and language of this man of war, who had been a most potent enemy both to his friends and his foes, were exceedingly displeasing to his brethren the Calvinists, but more particularly to the Presbyterians. Richard Baxter, about the period when this work was published, made frequent vituperative mention of Sir Henry and his foolish disciples. But the doughty knight, who had been thoroughly initiated in the cant of that age, and had employed it both in the field and in Council, could say, in his Preface,—"Having an opportunity ministered through the retiredness of my condition, I judged it my duty, amongst that variety of witness in the things of God which is at this day given forth, to bear also my part, and stand up in my lot, taking this age to record that *I am herein free from the blood of all men*, as not having shunned to declare unto them the counsels and truths of God, that have obtained a large entrance and reception in my heart, as a seed there sown which is springing up to a perfect day.—Yet how ungrateful a thing it is to flesh and blood, in the best of us, to be bearing that witness which seems to carry contention in it with the whole earth!, sending forth a fire upon all that is earthly, to consume the false rests wherein professors themselves are apt to take up, even in that wherein we are allowed only to be as sojourners! Yea, what straits are we in, as straitened between two,—either to render ourselves *guilty of the blood of men*, in the age wherein we live, by holding our peace,—or else to endanger *the making ourselves a prey*, by speaking so as to become *hatred in the house of our God*, and be accounted *fools and madmen*, yea *spectacles and wonders even in Israel!*"

Well might this valorous Knight expect opposition; for, like a number of *equally ill-qualified* laymen of that age, he valued highly his own curious expositions of scripture, which were mixed up with a large portion of imaginative Mysticism.

and their enemies shall behold them. But certainly when that comes to pass, the same hour there shall be an earthquake, and the tenth part of the city shall fall. This city undoubtedly is Rome, which Mr. Mede proveth curiously to be at this day *precisely the tenth part of the city of Rome as it was in St John's days* when this prophecy came forth; and in the earthquake shall be slain of men (of names of men) seven thousand, which Mr. Mede interpreteth *men of quality*."

There was nothing culpable in the solicitude which Dr. Twisse manifested to become acquainted with Mr. Mede's interpretations of the prophetical scriptures, provided he had abstained from giving to those interpretations a leaning towards his own views and desires as a Calvinist, and had not, in opposition to his author,* applied the Apocalyptic maledictions and

* "His writings bear the impress and character of his peaceable spirit and life; for, not a syllable that naturally tends to blow men up into such furious heats as threaten public disquietnesses and embroilments, is to be found therein; as neither in the writings of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Cyprian, and others of utmost Antiquity; whose doctrine touching this point, as also their practices, were far from any show of unpeaceableness, far from provoking to any thing but to love and good works. As our author himself was a man of a cool spirit, so likewise is his notion and representation of the Millennium calm and moderate, not ministering to faction and sedition, to tumults and subversion of all degrees and orders of superiority in the public. And assuredly the happiness of the Millennial state shall take place in the world without that disorder and confusion which some men have extravagantly imagined; men of unhallowed minds and consciences, who, judging of things according to the lusts of ambition and love of the world reigning in them, have depraved and stained this primitive tenet,—the ancient, sober, and innocent notion of the kingdom of Christ, as likewise every other mystery, with not a few carnal conceits and intolerable fancies of their own: And thus 'unto them that are defiled is nothing pure.' (Titus i.) Nor shall those 'times of cool refreshing' ever be brought in by hot fanatic zealots, 'men set on fire,' in the Psalmist's phrase, and ready also to 'set on fire the course of nature,' as St. James speaks, such as are skilful only to destroy and overturn. And therefore the temper and frame of their spirit being perfectly contrary to the temper and equality of those better times, they are thereby rendered uncapable either of furthering and hastening the felicities of the New Heavens and Earth, or of enjoying them when the New Jerusalem shall be come down from God out of heaven, and the tabernacle of God shall be with men. For the primary character of that Future State being universal righteousness and good-will, piety and peace, it naturally follows, that they who are men of embittered passions and of a destroying spirit, altogether devoid of civility, gentleness and moderation, kindness and benignity towards men, and altogether unacquainted with what is lovely, decorous, venerable, praise-worthy, equitable and just, can have no part or lot in this matter.

"As for any other representation of our author's notion of the Millennium, which is 'earthly, sensual and devilish,' our author had nothing to do with it, nor with the patrons thereof: 'His soul came not into their secret.' And therefore if any ill-tempered persons, men of wild principles and practices, should abuse his name to the countenancing of any bad purposes and selfish designs, (as Antinomians have in like manner abused the names of some ancient Protestant worthies to the gracing of their own unwholesome opinions,)—if any unlearned and unstable souls wrest St. John's Apocalypse and the Prophetical Scriptures, (as well as some did, in St. Peter's time, 'the things hard to be understood' in St. Paul's Epistles, and do so still,)—they shall bear their own condemnation, they do it to their own destruction.

woes to Arminians, and others, many of whom were better christians and of a more amiable spirit than himself. Divine Providence then permitted the experiment of a reputed holy republic to be made in this country,* and undoubtedly intended

But, in the meanwhile, St. John, St. Paul, and the Prophetical Scriptures, are holy, harmless, and without fault: Nor ought our author and those Protestant writers to bear the blame of other men's misapprehensions or misdoings, but let every men bear his own burden. It is no new thing, but hath been an usual artifice of worthless men, to derive some reputation to their opinions and practices from the pretended authority of some worthy and excellent writers: And we are the less to wonder at it, since they have not spared in the same kind to abuse the Divinely-inspired Prophets and Apostles. Yet should not this abuse of St. John's Apocalypse and other prophecies be deemed a sufficient ground to dissuade from the study of the Prophetical scriptures, no more than the abuse of some passages in St. Paul's Epistles to Antinomianism and evacuating of the law should be of force to take men off from the study of St. Paul's writings. Nay, rather should all serious and judicious persons, out of an holy indignation against such wrongful perverting of the holy oracles of God, excite and oblige themselves unto a more studious enquiry and diligent search into the genuine meaning of those scriptures; that thereby they may be the better enabled to detect the falsehood of those glosses which men of corrupt minds have for their own ends put upon them, and, by discovering the true importance and scope of such prophecies, put to silence those men of noise and confidence rather than of reason and judgment. And certainly this would be the happy effect of such studious diligences: For they should find, that St. Paul's Epistles afford no favourable countenance to Antinomian principles, nor do in the least disparage the indispensable necessity of internal righteousness and uniform obedience to the Divine Law. It should also appear to them, that St. John's Apocalypse contains nothing that may in the least encourage to disobedience and disorder; but on the contrary represents christian kings and princes under a fair character, as friends to the holy and beloved city, the new Jerusalem, (Rev. xxi, 24,) but enemies to the whorish city, the mystical Babylon, which they shall hate and make desolate. (Rev. xvii, 16.). THEY shall do it; not the people without their princes, but kings with the help of their subjects; so hard a work requiring many hands, and the concurrence of several aids." MEDE'S *Life*.

* The judicious Hooker has severely animadverted upon the absurd political consequences which the Calvinists of that period deduced from the closing verses of the 149th Psalm, *To bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron: to execute upon them the judgment written, &c.* I am much pleased with Dr. Adam Clarke's excellent Comment on that Psalm, in which he answers the following objection:

"But do not these last verses contain a *promise*, that all the nations of the "earth shall be brought under the dominion of the *Church of Christ*; that all "*heathen and ungodly Kings* shall be put down, and *pious men* put in their "places?"—"I do not think so," says the doctor. "I believe God never intended, that his church should have the civil government of the world. His church, like its *Founder* and *Head*, will never be *a ruler and divider among men*. The men who, under pretence *of superior sanctity*, affect this, are not of God. The truth of God is not in them; they are puffed up with pride, and fall into the condemnation of the devil. *Woe unto the inhabiters of the earth*, when the *church* takes the *civil government* of the world into its hands! Were it possible that God should trust *religious people* with civil government, *anarchy* would soon ensue; for every professed believer in Christ would consider himself on a par with any other, and with every other believer—the RIGHT TO RULE, and the NECESSITY TO OBEY would be immediately lost, and every man would do what was right in his own eyes. For, where the grace of God makes *all equal*, who can presume to say, 'I have Divine Authority to govern my fellows?'—The Church of Rome has claimed this right; and the Pope, in consequence, became a secular prince. But the nations of the

that its disastrous issue should be a warning to the nations *not to infringe the royalties of Heaven by assigning the precise time for the accomplishment of particular events predicted in God's Holy Word, to which perverse and designing men gave a plausible meaning, and under it concealed their own secular and corrupt designs.** But this will be still more clearly perceived in the sequel.

world have seen the vanity and iniquity of the claim, and refused allegiance. Those whom it did govern,—with force and cruelty did it rule them; and the odious yoke is now universally cast off. Certain *enthusiasts* and *hypocrites*, not of that church, have also attempted to set up a *fifth Monarchy, a civil government by the* SAINTS!—and diabolic saints they were. To such pretenders, God gives neither countenance nor support. The secular, and the spiritual government, God will ever keep distinct: And the church shall have no power but that of doing *good*; and this, only in proportion to its holiness, heavenly-mindedness, and piety to God."

In this paragraph Dr. Clarke does not convey any intimation, that pious laymen may not appropriately engage in the executive government of a kingdom or commonwealth: Such persons are indeed the best pilots for directing the helm of state, and weathering the storm of contending human interests, both in the body politic at home and in its relations with foreign countries. The Doctor alludes to the practice of those who called *themselves and all of their own party* "a holy nation" and "a peculiar people," but who were far from shewing their title to this sacred character by being "zealous of good works." On the contrary, they persecuted and oppressed all those who could not pronounce their SHIBBOLETH, or who would not run with them into the same excess of riot; and thus they became "diabolic saints," enthusiastic and hypocritical "pretenders!"

* As a kind of counter-part to the sound doctrine of the preceding note, the following extract from Sir Henry VANE's *Retired Man's Meditations*, will afford a specimen of the manner in which *the men of war* and their republican chaplains excited in the minds of their retainers fresh hopes of ultimately obtaining their romantic desires.

In his 21th Chapter, on *the Primitive Constitution and Right Use of Magistracy*, he propounds the subjoined doctrine: "Whereas it is said in this place, 'all rulers must be brought at last to serve Christ and his people, yea, 'to serve Christ in his people,' it doth not only mean *earthly thrones amongst men*, but the very *heavenly thrones of angels themselves*, who are made subject unto Christ and the true spiritual seed, that are the right *heirs of salvation, unto whom even the angels are appointed ministering spirits*; who yet, as we have shewed, are the highest lords and rulers of this world under Christ, those *that execute his commands*, in all parts and places of his dominion throughout the whole world; being those *that are higher than the highest* rulers amongst men, and that know how to bring redress of grievances and restoration of *judgment in a province, when it is violently perverted* by the uncontrollable force and power of man, then in authority and rule there. (Eccles. v, 8.) The angels then under Christ are *the highest powers* in this world, whose *thrones, and dominions, and principalities*, are invisible, yet are influencing to all visible powers whatsoever, steering them to the end Christ hath appointed, whatever the intentions, designs, and interests of the instruments are: And all visible powers are the next subordinate thrones and dominions unto them, &c.—These powers are said to be *ordained of God*. (Rom. xiii, 1,) and are likewise called *the ordinance of man*, (1 Peter ii, 13,14) both which ingredients are therefore requisite to the setting up of magistracy amongst men in its right constitution and exercise. For men in their creation and birth are *made of one blood, all the nations of men*, (Acts xvii, 26,) and so are equal, and cannot therefore be distinguished and fixed in such different conditions and capacities of rulers and subjects, but by God's ordinance and to serve some holy and glorious end of his. Nor is the subjection which God requires irrational and merely implicit, but rational and voluntary, unto which men are to be led, not only by the awe and fear of God unto whom it is they pay a duty, but they are also to be won and persuaded by the sense

When Dr. Twisse had obtained all the knowledge that he desired concerning the Millennium, knowing that Mr. Mede had been lately appointed chaplain to his Grace the Archbishop of

of their common good and benefit thereby; which, in whatever forms the government be administered, (that in themselves, simply considered, are all lawful and innocent,) doth difference *just and righteous rule* and government over men, from *a tyranny* and subjection unto private will and lust, which is none of God's ordinance, but the abuse of it. When lust thus creeps into magistracy, which in itself is the good creature and ordinance of God, it knows how to engender to bondage and tyranny, which God for a punishment brings upon the nations of the world, and suffers; but it is no part of the primitive institution of a right magistracy.

"Men may lawfully arrive and attain unto this office and dignity, either in an ordinary way through the endeavours and free choice of men, or extraordinarily by the immediate call of God himself to the exercise thereof, making those that are to obey *willingly subject in that day of his power*.—Therefore we are not to conceive, as most are apt to do, that man, in his innocent state and sinless nature, stood in no need of this office of magistracy; for it is not only useful to restrain from unrighteousness and disorder occasioned by sin and the fall, but also to conserve and maintain men in the good order and right disposition of things, wherein by their creation they were placed, in a preventing way unto the disorder and danger that lust threatens, and is ready to introduce upon man in his mutable righteous and holy state. And in this way of exercise it will be upheld by Christ during his reign on earth the thousand years, when with the whole creature it shall be restored from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, and be made subservient to the right heirs of salvation, whereby kings shall become nursing fathers, and rulers nursing mothers to the church, bringing the glory and power of all nations into it; so as all nations shall walk in the light of the New Jerusalem, before which all the kings of the earth shall stoop and be made to yield homage and subjection, as not able to resist the wisdom and power of God there shining forth; but from the conviction and demonstration flowing thence, shall conform, whether they will or not, to the righteous rule of this government of Christ, who thereby *binds their kings in chains and their nobles in fetters of iron*, causing them to fall down and yield themselves up in submission thereunto; or else to be burnt up like thorns in the fire, as they shew themselves resisters thereof: This being *the honour which all the saints shall have*,—in this manner to prevail over and subdue all their enemies and opposers. (Psalm cxlix.)

"And if it be here demanded, 'Whether the Saints of God are to content 'themselves with having this in their eye only, and with the contempla-'tion of it by faith, as the thing which Christ will bring about in his own 'time, in despight of all opposition?' It is answered, Though the saints should sit down in faith and patience, waiting to see this promise accomplished by the immediate power and hand of Christ, without entertaining any solicitude in reference to other means, they should not be disappointed nor fall short of their expectations at the last. But, Secondly, there is a duty of the day, a generation-work, respecting the time and circumstances of action in which the lot of our life is cast, which calls upon us to use all lawful and righteous means that are afforded by the good hand of God, through the inward light and knowledge he vouchsafes, and outward providences and helps which he casts in, whereby to make way for and to be hasting unto the coming of that day of God, &c. Our part is the same therefore in this, as in the practice of other righteous duties appertaining to us, the perfection whereof we cannot expect until the *redemption of the body*; and yet we are to be using all lawful means and endeavours to come as near the primitive pattern and rule as we can, in our whole practice throughout. In this lesson, the Lord Jesus hath given cause to many of these nations in these late years to be great proficients, by the experiences which he hath afforded them, step by step, for the learning of his will and mind therein: Who hath not emptied us from vessel to vessel without some teachings thereby what was bad and fit to be left behind, nor without some dawnings and intimations of what is

Canterbury, he began a controversy with him about *bowing towards the altar, the sanctity of churches,* &c. as he informs us himself in the note, page 501. In answer to his queries on this subject, Mr. Mede says: "I confess I have not been unacquainted with speculations in things of this nature: They were my eldest thoughts and studies, full twenty years ago, and the

good, and is yet before us to be prosecuted and followed after.—Which whoever shall impartially and sincerely weigh the cause and interest which the good people of this nation have all along engaged in, (as well in reference to their civil liberties or interests of men *as men*, as to their christian liberties *as saints*,) cannot but acknowledge: Nor therefore can they vet remove the persuasion thoroughly out of their minds, that God, who hath brought on the work thus far, should leave it here, when it is come (as it were) unto the birth, and is upon the very anvil to be formed into what may answer the true ends of magistracy and common good of men: Unto which if there were yet applications made in a way of righteousness and in the fear of the Lord, good men and God's own people might not despair of being taught by God and enabled through his power to grow up to that wherein, like *faithful servants* unto Christ, they might receive encouragement from their Lord at his coming," &c.

Every one who knows the chagrine which Vane felt on perceiving the ambitious intentions of Cromwell, will be at no loss to interpret several of the mysterious expressions in this quotation, which certainly do not admit of an interpretation favourable to the Protector's designs. Indeed, he had reasons to believe that Cromwell suspected his fidelity, for as early as 1651 he thus addresses him, in a letter which contains an allusion to his mystic principles, that, in his own estimation, were "too high to be fathomed even by" Cromwell: "Till then, (whenever it pleases God we meet,) let me desire you, upon the score of ancient friendship that hath been between us, not to give ear to the mistakes, surmises or jealousies of others, from what hand soever, concerning your brother Heron, but to be assured he answers your heart's desire in all things, except he be esteemed even by you in principles too high to fathom; which, one day, I am persuaded, will not be so thought by you, when, by increasing with the increasings of God, you shall be brought to that sight and enjoyment of God in Christ which passes all knowledge, and into which the wonderful appearances of God in these times doth directly lead and tend, as to the end of all those shakings and removals of things that are made, which these late years have produced."—Like many of his plotting Republican friends, Sir Henry was purposely ambiguous, yet in the worst effusions of his moody wildness may be traced the latent reasons of a wary politician. However, his "ancient friend" Cromwell did "give ear to the surmises of others" and for his own security sent the old Knight, soon afterwards, as a prisoner to Carisbrooke Castle.

Many persons were deeply imbued with the spirit of fanaticism which is described in this note, and for several years afterwards attended to such advice as Vane has tendered, in being on "the look-out" for providential circumstances that might favour their wishes. Under the date of "April 24, 1694," that honest old chronicler, John Evelyn, Esq. tells us: "A great rising of the people in Buckinghamshire, on the declaration of a famous preacher, (till now reputed a sober and religious man,) that our Lord Christ, appearing to him on the 16th of this month, told him *he was now come down, and would appear publicly at Pentecost, and gather all the saints, Jews and Gentiles, and lead them to Jerusalem, and begin the Millennium, and, destroying and judging the wicked, deliver the government of the world to the saints.* Great multitudes followed this preacher; divers of the most zealous brought their goods and considerable sums of money, and began to live in imitation of the primitive saints, minding no private concerns, continually dancing and singing Hallelujah night and day. This brings to mind what I lately happened to find in Alstedius, *that the thousand years should begin this very year* 1694: It is in his Encyclopædia Biblica; my copy of the book printed near sixty years ago."

argument of my *Concio ad Clerum* when I commenced Bachelor of Divinity, and before I was any proficient in the Apocalypse. And, it may be, I have had so many notions that way as would have made another man a Dean, or a Prebend, or something else, ere this. But the point of *the Pope's being Antichrist*, as a dead fly, marred the savour of that ointment.* And, besides, I am no practitioner nor active, but a speculator only: But, I am afraid, there are others as much in fault, *which practise before they know*. I suppose you have heard something this way, and thence took occasion to move this question to me: Which is the reason I have told you this long tale by way of preface, lest you might think I had made the bent of the times the rule of my opinions. But if I did so, I should quickly renounce my tenet of the Apocalyptical Beast, which I know few men here so hardy with us as to profess they believe, yea or would fain do. But alas! that, I am so ill-advised, I cannot do withal! And, I thank God, I never made any thing hitherto the caster of my resolutions but reason and evidence, on what side soever the advantage or disadvantage fell. Besides, it fell out happily, that the times when my thoughts were exercised in those speculations, were times of better awe than now they are; which preserved me from that immoderation into which I see divers now run, whether out of ignorance or some other distemper I cannot tell." He then proceeds to give some good reasons for a greater observance of sanctity in God's worship, than was generally practised by the Puritans.

In the Doctor's reply, among other things, he says: "Somewhat I have heard another way, which hath made me recount my own fortunes in resemblance unto yours. For, sometimes I have been censured for a *Puritan*, sometimes for a *good fellow*: My preaching, as in opposition to Popery, was opportuned to undergo the one censure before persons Popishly affected; and my free conversation in the enjoying of my friends, (yet, I thank God, without all scandal,) hath exposed me to the other, and that from the same mouths, not judging indifferently, but upon particular, and those unjust, distates practising to disgrace me. I see our fortunes have not been much unlike; I trust we shall

* In the note page 502, it is shewn what compliances were made by Dr. Cosin to the prejudices of the Protestant ladies in the court of Queen Henrietta. It must also be recollected, that her Majesty was sister to the French monarch, who, according to the statement in page 290-4, "ordered his Protestant subjects to refrain, in their sermons and writings, from calling the Pope *Antichrist*." No wonder therefore can be expressed at Archbishop Laud's attempts to introduce the same forbearing practice among the English divines, when he had manifested his approbation of the pacific measures of Cardinal Richelieu and Grotius. And it is highly creditable both to Mr. Mede and to his patron, that, notwithstanding the wishes of the latter on this point, the former should not hesitate to assign to the Roman Pontiff his proper *Antichristian* designation, and should not by that and similar acts lose the favour of the Archbishop. This is a strong proof of Mr. Mede's integrity and of the magnanimity of the Archbishop's spirit.

love mutually so much the more.—Things lawful in themselves become unlawful by accident; as when they are superstitiously practised,* though not by ourselves; yet, by concurring in the same act, we may scandalize by countenancing the superstitions of others. And, I willingly profess, I fear superstition hereby will creep on in a conceit as if God were better served by worshipping him towards the altar than otherwise: The contrary whereunto were it publicly professed, I should be the less solicited with such fears."

In Mr. Mede's next letter, he answers several new questions which the Doctor had proposed. Amongst other observations he makes the following, concerning the objection that *our Saviour ate the Passover, and instituted the holy supper, in a common place, in an inn:* "What needed there any altar or place of relative presence, where the Son of God, the Heavenly Altar and Holy of Holies, was himself present in person? Is not the temple of God there, where He is? And what altar was so holy as his sacred hands?"—To the question, *Why, in the posture of our adoration of the Divine Majesty, more respect should be had to the altar or holy table, than either to the font or pulpit, seeing they also are places of God's presence as well as the other?*, Mr. Mede replies: "Suppose they be so: Yet, when there are many, why should not that which hath the principality draw this respect unto it? For it ought to be considered, that the Eucharist is the rite of our address unto God the Father in the New Testament, wherewith we come before him, to offer unto his Divine Majesty our thanksgivings, supplications, and praises in the name of his Son Jesus Christ crucified for us; that is, it is not only a sacrament, but, as the Ancient Church used to speak, a sacrifice also. The mystery of which rite, the Fathers and Primitive Christians took to be this: That as Christ, by presenting his death and satisfaction to his Father, continually intercedes for us in heaven; so the church on earth semblably approaches the throne of grace, by representing his death and passion to his Father in these holy mysteries of his body and blood.—So that, to approach God with this rite, was to do it by way of commemoration or renewing of a covenant with him, and as much as to say, *Remember thy Covenant*, which is the foundation of all invocation. For, what hath man to do with God, to beg any favour at his hands, unless he be in

* In a subsequent letter, Mr. Mede gives the following reproof of this excessive inclination of the Calvinists to discover superstition in circumstances in which it never had an existence: "*St. Gregory's church*, you say, *is going down, at least is to be built elsewhere; but we never yet heard the like of the Lord's day.* No! [Have we not?] But I have: namely, that a great man in the Reformation had once a consultation to have translated the Lord's-day unto Thursday, upon pretence to take away superstition. And though that consultation succeeded not, yet he is known to have been no great friend to the hallowing thereof. How true this is, I know not; *penes authores fides esto!* But such a thing I have read, I can assure you."

covenant with him? Whereby appears the reason why mankind, from the beginning of the world, used to make their address unto their God by this rite of sacrificing, viz. *ritu fœderali*. And this is that which the Ancient Church did, and supposed our Lord intended they should do, in the holy Eucharist of his death and passion; which therefore they called the *New* or *Christian Sacrifice:* A definition whereof (as it consists of the *rite* and *action* both together) may be framed out of those words of Mr. Perkins, 'an oblation of thanksgiving and prayer to 'God the Father, through Jesus Christ, and his sacrifice on 'the cross, commemorated and represented in bread and 'wine.'* This is a point of great moment and consequent, worthy to be looked farther into by all the learned of the Reformed religion; lest, whilst we have deservedly abolished that prodigious and blasphemous sacrifice of the Papists, wherein Christ is again *hypostatically* offered to his Father, we have not (but very implicitly and obscurely,) reduced that ancient commemorative sacrifice of Christians; wherein that one sacrifice of Christ upon the cross was continually, by that sacred rite, represented and inculcated to his Father, his Father put in mind thereof by those monuments set before him; wherein we also testified our own mindfulness thereof unto his sacred Majesty, that so he would for his sake, according to the tenour of the New Covenant in his blood, be favourable and propitious unto us miserable sinners. These premises considered, the answer to your demand is plain and easy, namely, because adoration is an act of address and of tender of honour unto God, and therefore most fitly to be performed at or toward the place of our address, which is the altar, whereat anciently as the sacrament of the Eucharist, so the whole devotions of the church were performed and presented to the Divine Majesty. *The Pulpit* is the place where God speaks to us, not we to him: *The Font* is the place where he reaches his favours unto us, in accepting us to be his servants: not where, being initiated, we offer our spiritual sacrifice and service to him. You must understand me here to speak according to the ancient manner of the

* Mr. Mede's remarks on this subject are exceedingly important; but they have been abused and misapplied by Drs. Hickes and Heylin. The manner in which the Fathers spoke about it may be discerned by the following extract from Mr. Mede's large treatise on *the Christian Sacrifice*, which contains many similar quotations from the Ancients:

"In a word, the sacrifice of christians is nothing but that one sacrifice of Christ, once offered upon the cross, again and again commemorated: Which is elegantly expressed by those words of St. Andrew, recorded in the history of his Passion, written by the Presbyters of Achaia, where Ægeas the Proconsul requiring of him to sacrifice to Idols, he is said to have answered thus: 'Omnipotenti Deo, qui unus et verus est, &c. I sacrifice daily to Almighty 'God, but what? not the smoke of frankincense, nor the flesh of bellowing 'bulls, nor the blood of goats. No; but I offer daily the unspotted Lamb of 'God, on the altar of the cross: whose flesh and blood though all the faith-'ful eat and drink of, yet after all this notwithstanding, the lamb that was 'sacrificed remains entire and alive still.' This riddle, though Ægeas the Proconsul were not able to unfold, I make no question but you are: and here I conclude."—MEDE's *Christian Sacrifice*.

Church. And thus far I have adventured to discover my thoughts in this nice and doubtful argument, presuming upon the experience I have formerly had of your judgment, freedom, and ability of discerning, especially of your affection and good opinion of myself. You may guess, my thoughts have not been a stranger to things of this nature. You will admire perhaps, they were no hindrance to my Apocalyptical speculations, and how I could so easily, being possessed with such tenets, believe the Popedom to be *the Beast*, and Rome *the Whore of Babylon;* seeing, in the apprehension of the most, these things accord not well together. But this seeming incompetibility will soon vanish, if you consider that in all my meditations I make the *apostacy of the visible church* to consist, not in Judaism,* but in Gentilism; the constant character of the Apocalyptical allegories warranting and first suggesting this conceit, where namely I observed Judaism to bear the type of the true church, and Gentilism of the false."†

* This is the solution of the mystery, why Mr. Mede could both call the Pope *Antichrist*, and yet could plead for *decent order* in the services of God's sanctuary. One of the subjects of dispute, between the advocates of Episcopacy and those of Independency and Presbyterianism, lies in the degree of conformity or non-conformity of many early christian observances to the Jewish ritual and ceremonies. In this view, therefore, Mr. Mede's speculations could not be very agreeable to those men who attempted to diminish the splendour and extinguish the glory of the purest and most apostolical church upon earth, and who introduced for a season a less splendid ecclesiastical regimen, which obtained favour neither from God nor man.

† The concluding paragraph of this long letter is very important, and as Dr. Twisse afterwards animadverts on a part of it, it is here subjoined: "*Altius hoc animo meo insedit*, [but this consideration is still more deeply fixed on my mind,] that the Reformed Churches, out of extreme abomination to idolatry, have, according to the nature of men, incurred some guilt before God αμετρια της ανθολκης [through the excess of their antipathy] by taking away the distinction almost generally between things sacred and profane; and that they shall one day smart for it. But the prejudices hereabout are so great, that I have little hope to persuade others to my opinion: Yet I could say much for it; and, if it be well observed, the present judgments of God upon the Reformation do insinuate some such thing. Let the godly-wise consider it. Divine Judgments have usually some brand or stamp upon them, which points at the sin for which they are inflicted: You may call it *a sin-mark*. If the passages and ground of the continuance of this German war be well considered, would not a man think they spake that of the apostle, *Thou, that hatest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?* But I dare go no further: It may be, I have said too much already, for, I well know, the way that I go pleaseth neither party; the one loves not, that *the Pope should be Antichrist:* nor the other to hear, *that these things* [rites and ceremonies] *should not be Popery.*"

This was written in 1635, and contains an evident allusion to the belligerent German Calvinists, who became implicated in the fate of the unfortunate king of Bohemia, whose imprudent and ill-timed zeal against "idols" is recorded in page 244, and in whose favour the king of Sweden had then appeared. (Page 248). Mr. Mede's remarks were so obvious and just, being supported by facts that had then recently transpired, as to depress Dr. Twisse's mind, and to diminish those sanguine hopes about the final triumph of Calvinism which he had never ceased to entertain. When his attention was expressly directed to the point, he could not deny the appearance of *the finger of God* in the matter, although in his reply he attempted to parry the consequences in the following manner: "That which you touch concerning *the German war*, and *the causes of it*, and *the sin-mark*, I willingly profess doth make me melancholic; for I cannot but sympathize with them. Yet

This is only a part of Mr. Mede's able reply, which had the effect of silencing at that time the scruples of Doctor Twisse, who thus expresses his satisfaction: "I am somewhat of a more cheerful spirit than when I wrote my last. I have gotten more liberty of spirit to consider your large discourse, [the preceding letter,] *savouring of great learning, no less judgment, and a distinctive apprehension of things of good importance,* and that, not in my judgment only, but in the judgment of others; though all require serious and further consideration. And, for mine own particular, I cannot but reflect upon myself, how deeply I am beholden unto you for entrusting me in so liberal a manner with these your speculations. We can never offend in putting difference between the *holy* and *profane;* neither can we offend in presenting ourselves too reverently at the Lord's table. Never was the Mercy-seat so well known in the days of the Old Testament, as in these days of the New. We now *behold the glory of the Lord with open face;* and accordingly our Saviour tells us, the Lord requires the true worshippers should *worship him in Spirit and Truth,* in distinction from worshipping him either at Jerusalem, or in the Mount the woman spake of: And in this kind of worship we cannot exceed. But as for outward gestures, I doubt I shall prove but a novice as long as I breathe; and we affect not to make ostentation of our devotion in the face of the world, the rather because thereby we draw upon ourselves the censure of *hypocrisy;* and sometimes if a man lifts up his eyes, he is censured for a Puritan: And, I confess, there is no outward gesture of devotion which may not be as handsomely performed by as carnal a heart as breathes. I am confident, you are far from *studia partium.* So should we be all, and be ambitious of nothing but of the love and favour of God, and of our conformity to him in truth and holiness."

But this was far too liberal to proceed from Dr. Twisse: In many of his whims he was was influenced by the opinions of other divines of the Calvinistic brotherhood, which existed prior to that period, as a regular confederacy, and which was not broken till it had effected the ruin both of Church and State.* In the letter

although, as I understood when I was in the Palatinate, none was more free from such sacrilegious courses than the Palatine, [then nominally king of Bohemia,] not only Bishoprics but even Monasteries continuing there of his ancestors' foundation; yet have they suffered as much as any, both first and last, if not much more."—The whole of this palliation rests upon what Dr. Twisse "understood," that is, upon mere report when he was at the Court of Heidelberg.

* The reader has had opportunities of tracing this confederacy in other parts of the volume. Every thing was done according to counsel and mutual advice. Dr. Twisse gives intimations of this in several of his letters, beside the one quoted in the text. "Not only myself," says he on one occasion, "but divers others, as Mr. W. of Dorchester and Mr. T. of Salisbury, and others,—all of us have been exceedingly taken with your chapel-exercises." In page 502, he also names "Mr. Stephen Marshall, *that worthy preacher,*" among "others who highly commended Mr. Mede's discourse as a choice piece."—These, and the rest to whom allusion is made, were the greatest enemies of the Established Church, and mighty sticklers for Calvinism.

just quoted, after stating "the judgment of others" respecting Mr. Mede's defence of certain rites, he adds, "all require serious and further consideration." And this consideration they soon obtained; for, without waiting for Mr. M.'s reply, he wrote a long letter, containing many ensnaring questions, which are prefaced thus: "Yet have I not done with your large letter *concerning temples and altars*. Since the writing of my last, whilst I was reading that large letter of yours to some divines, who were much taken with admiration at the learning contained therein, in an argument wherein we had been so little versed,*—I say, in the reading of it, I observed one thing of which in all my former readings I took no notice; and that is, in these words: 'This is a point of great moment and consequence, 'worthy to be looked into by all the learned of the Reformed 'religion,' &c. [See the whole passage quoted in page 521.] In the close of that large letter of yours, you signify that you reserve one thing, lest it might undergo censure; which, otherwise, you would communicate. Good sir, you have no cause to distrust my censure. I hear, by Mr. B., it is concerning Corne-

* When he had consulted "some divines," he altered his friendly tone, and ingenuously confessed, as in other passages, his ignorance of the dispute concerning "temples and altars." In the argument of that case, he and his friends had certainly "been little versed;" for it turned much upon authorities from the Christian Fathers, and the usages of the Ancient Church, in which, every one knows, the latter Puritans were not equal to the learned champions of Antiquity and Episcopacy. One of the chief reasons for this is given, in the note page 424—434; and Dr. Twisse had this defect, in common with the great majority of his predestinarian brethren. An extensive acquaintance with the writings of the Christian Fathers, did not constitute a part of his qualifications; his few quotations from them are of the most ordinary description, and discover none of that personal intimacy with "those mighty dead" which we perceive at one glance in the original and recondite observations of such men as Archbishop Usher and Mr. Mede, to both of whom, in cases of difficulty about the topics which were then under discussion, Dr. Twisse was in the habit of applying.—The following concluding remark, from Mr. Mede's answer to the *Seventh Letter* of Dr. Twisse, is exceedingly appropriate, especially in relation to the inadequate acquaintance of the Calvinistic divines with the usages of the Ancient Church:—"For I see so many things requisite yet for the understanding of this discourse, that it would require a volume to give satisfaction herein. But you desired but to know what I thought of *Genuflexio versus altare*, and I think I have told you. I know not how you will like it: I know how full of prejudice in these things most of our divines are. But I am verily persuaded, that the notions of Antiquity hereabout are so far from being followed, that they are quite forgotten and unknown."

But Dr. Twisse could with truth employ the general excuse of his Predestinarian friends: When taxed with neglecting the productions of the early Christian Fathers, he could say, "I am too much engaged in giving an air of plausibility to the rigid scheme of Calvin." In his attention to this *great concern*, he had quite overlooked the important aid which his labours might receive from the mysteries of sacred prophecy, to the developement of which he vigorously devoted himself. For a season he thought Mr. Mede's elucidations suitable for his purpose, and to that learned and humble individual he thus expressed his gratitude: "Alas! had it not been for your help, I had been to this day a stranger in the mystery of God; while all my thoughts are employed in making up the breach which these degenerate times have caused in the mystery of God's grace."—The *breach* to which he adverts is, not merely the one which Arminius made, but that which his own friends, Piscator, Du Moulin, and others effected.

lius, whom you take to have been no Proselyte in any degree: The contrary whereunto, supposed in our Divinity schools, was one of the first things I was acquainted with upon my coming to Oxford, and since I find confessed by Schindler. Yet, I pray, let me see your discourse thereon, and let me know how you salve it; for I am confident YOU ARE NO ARMINIAN!* The sight of Cornelius, and your explicating the practice of the Ancient Churches in their continual celebrating of that 'commemorative sacrifice,' in distinction from that which we do *implicitly and obscurely*, will be a great refreshing to my spirit, and

* Because Mr Mede was a man who greatly resembled Arminius in the mildness of his disposition and in his unostentatious behaviour, and because his manners were exceedingly dissimilar to those of several young Arminian aspirants, Dr. Twisse was confident *he was no Arminian*? If the Doctor's conjecture be correct, how honourable to the impartiality of Archbishop Laud is the advancement of Mr. Mede as his Grace's chaplain! But, I am afraid, few high Calvinists will relish the extract in page 427 concerning Absolute Reprobation: And Mr. Mede's intimacy and unison of feelings with Dr. Thomas Jackson will not assist him in rising into the esteem of strict Predestinarians.

But, independent of other corroborating circumstances, his opinion respecting Cornelius, from which Dr. Twisse draws the inference in the text, will place him at once in the ranks of Arminianism. To reason away the kind and merciful purposes of Heaven as manifested in the care of God for that heathen Centurion, (Acts x,) and to invalidate the arguments thence to be deduced in favour of the call and the bringing-back, to the good Shepherd and Bishop of their souls, of those Gentiles who "had not liked to retain God in their knowledge," the Calvinists tried many expedients, to one of which Dr. Twisse here adverts: To bring Cornelius within what they called "the covenanted mercies of God," they boldly asserted that he was "a Proselyte of the Covenant." But if this had been the fact, what necessity would have existed for Peter's trance? And if Cornelius were already even "a Proselyte of the Gate," would he have been any longer reckoned a complete "alien from the commonwealth of Israel, and a stranger from the covenants of promise?" Yet St. Peter said to the "many that were come together" into the house of Cornelius, "Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company, or to come unto one of another nation: But God hath shewed me that I should not call any man common or unclean." The doctrine of this verse, (28,) is decisive against the alleged *Proselytism* of Cornelius: But that of a succeeding verse, (35,) is still more instructive, and has created much trouble to the Calvinists: "Of a truth I perceive that *God is no respecter of persons*: But, in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him."—What the comment of the Arminians was upon this passage, may be easily deduced from the Doctor's charge: Addressing Mr. Mede, he virtually says, "If you take Cornelius to have been *no Proselyte in any degree*, I am confident, you are an Arminian!" But Dr. Twisse was mistaken in his supposition: For Mr. Mede accounted Cornelius a *Proselyte of the Gate*, and says: "Howsoever these proselytes were reputed Gentiles, and such as with whom the Jews might not converse, as being no free denizens of Israel; yet did the Jewish Doctors yield them a part in the life to come."

Joseph Mede was a pious Arminian of the good old practical school: his humble and unobtrusive conduct on this occasion is a fine trait in his character, and affords a fair specimen of the gentleness and long-suffering of the private ministers of the Arminian persuasion during that period, of whom there were great numbers whose duty did not call them into the ranks of public defenders of the benign doctrines of General Redemption, but who were as usefully employed in teaching their several congregations the necessity of conforming to the primitive practice of the churches of Christ "in walking worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing, being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God." (Col. i, 10.)

consequently may prove some ease to my bodily infirmity also." At the conclusion of his letter he informs Mr. Mede, "And now truly, Sir, there is no book that I desire to study more than yourself."

Mr. Mede returned an appropriate answer in his customary undisguised and artless manner; about a month after which, it seems, Dr. Twisse visited Cambridge, according to the intimation at the close of his letter, where his violent prejudices against ceremonies were further excited by some high Nonconforming spirits in that University. On his return to Newbury, he addressed a letter to Mr. Mede, which is a curious medley of praise, blame, and bigotry, and from which I now proceed to give copious extracts,—and subjoin, as notes, Mr. Mede's replies to some of the complaints and accusations. "Had I staid longer in Cambridge," says Dr. Twisse, "you had enjoyed my company longer, or, to speak more properly, I should have desired to enjoy your company longer; and it would be very long ere I should be weary of your discourse. O Mr. Mede, I could willingly spend my days in hanging upon your ears, while you discourse of *Antichrist* and the accommodation of his legend to *the Pope of Rome,* and *the whore of Babylon* to *Rome* itself:* though my studies have lain far more in their writings than in our own divines, and I was never found to dislike any opinion of a Papist for the Papist's sake who maintains it, as *having profited in Divinity more by their writings than by our own,* always excepting interpretation of scripture!† How much more to hear you discourse of the glorious kingdom of Christ here on earth to begin with the ruin of Antichrist! It may be, you do not find many disciples more docile this way than

* This is very true: The Doctor was delighted as long as Mr. Mede prophesied about the downfall of Popery, in which, by Dr. Twisse's own explanation, (page 511,) was included the ruin of the ecclesiastical establishment of his country. But as soon as he begun to discourse about the crying sins of the Puritans, and their open contempt of decency and order in the public worship of God, the old man immediately became testy and would endure no allusion to that topic.

† This is a remarkable expression. But how can it be reconciled with others, in which, Dr. Twisse has sedulously attempted to fasten on the Arminians of Holland the charge of an attachment to the doctrines of Popery, and on those of England a love both for the doctrines and the rites of the Romish Church? This however is not the sole instance in which the duplicity of the man's character is displayed. The Christianity which his adversaries professed had not one half as many points of co-incidence with Popery, as that professed by the Calvinists had; yet to render those Protestant adversaries odious in the eyes of the world, he employed the usual artifice of his party and designated them PAPISTS, at the very time when in his private correspondence he could utter such a sentiment as this, which cannot be deduced, even by implication, from any of the Arminian writers of that age, though they were among the most ingenuous and liberal divines that ever breathed. Correctly therefore was it said by Dr. Twisse, "that he had himself profited in Divinity more by the writings of Papists than by those of Protestants;" and the traces of the doctrines of the Dominicans and Franciscans are so numerous in the Doctor's most famous performance, as to require no intimation of the kind contained in this letter, that "his studies had lain far more in their writings than in our own divines!"

myself.—But I would intreat you to spare me in the point of ceremonies; in some particulars whereof, you told me once in a letter, *you were no practitioner:* But now, I fear by that which I find, you are *a promoter of them.** In Easter term last, I heard * * *, your good friend, while he lived, complain not a little of a sermon of yours, which you had then lately preached: and he delivered it with much grief. After, Mr. B. wrote unto you of the battle of Armageddon, enquiring *whether the time thereof were not already extant:* The next letter I received from him, had this passage, 'I am verily of Mr. 'Mede's opinion in this—*that the times wherein we live, are the 'times for the slaughtering of the witnesses.*'† Whereupon I com-

* "*Yea, but* [you say] *I am a great practiser and prosecutor of such ways!* Yet, for all this, I bowed not to the altar when I came out of St. Mary's pulpit, as others commonly use to do. I have urged no man at any time to use any of these ceremonies, nor conformed myself to any of them, till I saw them prevail so generally as I should have been accounted singular. Our own chapel is very regular; yet was not any thing introduced by me but by others. I confess, I had no scruple to follow them; besides I took occasion, by my chapel-exercises, to inform them of the nature and grounds of what they praetised, lest, for want thereof, they might cherish some unsafe conceit. And, notwithstanding I preached for *bowing*, as you say, *to altars*, yet I have not hitherto used it myself in our own chapel, though I see some others do it. If I come into other chapels where it is generally practised, I love not to be singular where I have no scruple." MEDE's *Reply*.

† Mr. Mede's real opinion concerning the slaughter of the witnesses is thus diffidently expressed in the translation of a Latin letter to a friend: "You desire to know 'what my sentiments are respecting that most griev-'ous calamity which Brightman predicted as impending over all churches, 'while all things were then in a peaceful and flourishing condition.' I wish that the reasons which I deduce from the Apocalyptic mysteries did not compel me, as far as I can understand them, to approach more nearly to Brightman's opinion than I desire, but on other grounds than those on which his is founded,—whether that opinion was pronounced in a prophetic spirit or from other influence. Either I am deceived, or the *Revelation* suggests very plainly, that, a short time previous to the destruction of the Beast, the whole of the Reformed world will be oppressed, though only for a short time, and (the relation fills me with horror,) will be entirely subverted. * * * 'After three days and half, the spirit of life from God shall enter into the slain witnesses of his truth, and they shall stand upon their feet,' &c. Brightman supposes this prediction to have received its fulfilment long ago, in the Smalcald contest, but I think it has yet to be fulfilled. For, as long as the Beast shall reign, those mournful times of the apostacy have not completed their period, nor therefore is the time at an end for the witnesses to mourn in sack-cloth and ashes. But I scarcely dare say whether this deplorable destruction and ruin of the Reformed Churches, which we have now for a few years beheld, be preparing the way to this catastrophe: This is a thing known to God alone, in whose hand are the times and seasons. But this assertion I shall not be afraid of venturing to make, 'If any man 'has deeply contemplated the present aspect of affairs, the result of his con-'sideration will suggest causes of fear that will be sufficiently weighty.' For what man does not perceive matters to be now brought to such a crisis, that, unless the Father of Mercies speedily look upon us with the eyes of his paternal mercy, we must expect the miserable destruction of the entire Reformation as it were, and the appearance of all things being once more brought under the tyranny of the Romish false prophet! To this must be added, the amazing disorder and confusion of counsels, as if they proceeded from persons that were judicially stricken by God; and, suppressing all notice of other sins, that manifest hardness of heart among the Reformed

pared your letters; and I found that well it might be, by your opinion. And if it be so, how sorry should I be to observe that you should have a hand in the slaughtering of them!,* as namely, by promoting of such courses and countenancing them, for not conforming whereunto many are like to be slaughtered, that is, (according to your interpretation,) turned out of their places. And as for outward compliments, nothing

themselves, which is not a subject of common grief, but rather to be deplored in tears of blood! For how few are they who are seriously affected with grief at the affliction of Joseph, or who lament the destruction of their brethren! On the contrary, the greater part of those persons whom these evils have not yet molested, though they are close to them and impending over their heads, indulge themselves with such security in their mutual dissensions, hatred and partialities, as if *they had made a covenant with death, and with hell were at perfect agreement!*"

This opinion could not be very grateful to the Calvinistic prepossessions of Doctor Twisse, who was vexed at Mr. Mede's making both parties exceedingly culpable.

* "*But* [you say] *you would not have me have any hand in killing the witnesses.*—God forbid I should! I rather endeavour they might not be guilty of their own deaths: And, I verily believe, the way that many of them go is much more unlikely to save their lives than mine. I could tell you a great deal here, if I had you privately in my chamber, which I mean not, for any man's sake, to commit to paper. *Syracusæ vestræ capientur, et in pulvere pingitis.*" MEDE's *Reply*.

This is one of the most notable passages in the whole correspondence. The old Doctor esteemed his Calvinistic and Nonconforming friends *the two witnesses*, who had "prophesied clothed in sack-cloth." But Mr. Mede was not of that opinion: He viewed them as men of a rash and turbulent spirit, who would effect their own destruction, instead of being "overcome and killed by the beast." However, the Doctor and his friends took the most compendious method in the world to have the prophecy fulfilled, in their sense of the Apocalyptical expressions, by accounting "the three days and a half" to be just then (1640) expiring, after "the dead bodies of the two prophets had lain in the street of the great city." To make the prophecy complete, therefore, they thought "the Spirit of life from God had entered into themselves," as composing an essential and important part of the two witnesses; and they contrived, by their tyrannical measures, to inject "great fear into them who were spectators." I have proved, in another note, that the grand *finale* of the prophecy was not perfected in their experience, as Sir Henry Vane had likewise previously shewn. Indeed, the small portion of truth to be found in Mr. Mede's modest conjectures on this subject, seems to apply to the persecuted Arminians in Holland, England, and France, who were compelled "to prophesy in sack-cloth" while the enthusiastic notion of an universal Calvinistic empire prevailed, and was inculcated as one of the verities of scripture. But He, in whose hands are "the times and seasons" of human affairs, and whose providential appointments are incontrollable, manifested his high displeasure against this presumptuous mode of dictating to him and of their desire to become his counsellors; for before twenty years had elapsed, he gave such a direction to public affairs in this kingdom, as evidently to demonstrate to the whole world, that, if the English Calvinists had ever possessed the least claims to the honour of being "the two witnesses" described in the Apocalypse, they had prematurely cast aside their "sack-cloth" and vain-gloriously assumed the royal purple. They were therefore, in this their own prophetic view of the matter, punished with a just retribution, by being compelled to resume their discarded sack-cloth, and to come under the yoke to those men over whom they had exercised a brief but cruel triumph. Thus, almost literally, was fulfilled the concluding prophetic expression of Mr. Mede: "Their Syracuse was taken by storm: and they, as captives, had leisure to engrave their sorrows on the sand!"

more pleaseth a natural man in religious worship, and he finds himself apt enough for it, yea far more apt than they who, knowing and considering that *God is a Spirit and they that worship him must worship him in spirit*, are most careful for the performance thereof: Whereupon while their minds are intent, they find themselves not so free for outward compliments, the care whereof is apt to cause avocation and disturbance in that *unum necessarium*.—You bade me stand up at *Gloria Patri;* and it was in such a note too, that you had the mastery of me I know not how: I profess I little looked for such entertainment at your hands. My wife's father, Dr. Moore, was Bishop Bilson's chaplain, and most respected by him of any chaplain that ever he had, and he a cathedral-man too; but they could never get him to stand up at *Gloria Patri*.* I, living in a country-auditory, am a mere stranger to such ceremonies; neither do I know any order of our church urging thereunto; neither do I know when it begun and upon what grounds: It may be, it was upon their prevailing against the Arians; and, as the Creed is pronounced standing, so and in the same respect this also: All which is duly to be considered before we come to the practice of it. It is true, we were private, and I was loth to offend you.—In like sort concerning *bowing towards the altar*, for which it was (as I heard) that you preached, I profess unto you I have hitherto received no satisfaction; and I long to hear of my Lord of Armagh's judgment of the passages between us. And therein, I perceive, the main thing you reached after was a certain *mystery* concerning a *sacrifice*, which the Papists have miserably transformed, but, in your sense, is now-a-days become a *mystery* to all the christian world. And hereupon you touched upon the judgments of God at this time in Christendom, as if it were for the neglect of that *sacrifice;*† which, while I attended, in the issue came only to the *sacrilege of these times:* But whether your meaning were not, 'that for God to be robbed of such a sacrifice was a great sacri-

* The reader is referred to Mr. Reid's account in a preceding page, (454,) and he will instantly perceive how galling it must have been to this sturdy old Puritan, to be compelled in good manners to stand up when *Glory be to the Father, &c.* was repeated in the service of the college-chapel. He seems to bemoan his compliance, as if it had been a mortal sin.—But his chagrine appears to have been increased on recollecting, "his wife's Father, Dr. Moore, a cathedral-man too," could never be prevailed upon "to stand up at *Gloria Patri!*"

† "Because in the close of my letter I expressed my fear of some judgment to befal the Reformed Churches, because out of the immoderation of their zeal they had in a manner taken away all difference between *sacred* and *profane*, you will needs suspect I aimed 'to make the present judgments of 'God upon Christendom to be for neglect of that sacrifice' of which I had spoken; a thing I never thought of, nor thought so plain an expression of my meaning could ever have been so mistaken. I pray, let me intreat you to read over those papers once again, and then tell me with whom the fault is. For why? Is not to esteem the Eucharist *a Sacrament*, to account it *a sacred thing*, unless it be accounted *a sacrifice?*" MEDE's *Reply*.

'lege,' I know not.* And by Mr. B. I heard, as [coming] from yourself, the practice of Bishop Andrews's chapel was that which first cast you upon such a way, so as from thence to observe the course and practice of Antiquity. But, in my poor judgment, it is very strange that a matter of such importance, as you seem to make it, should have so little evidence in God's word and antiquity, and depend merely upon certain conjectures.† That which you style your *conjectura de Gogo et*

* "I meant between *sacred* things, persons, times, and places, and *profane*: The neglect or violation of the respect due to all which may, in a large sense, be termed *sacrilege*. And then consider, whether God may not in time upbraid the Reformation with that of St. Paul, *Thou that hatest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?* This was that I reached at."—*Ibid.*

† "It seems 'strange to you that a matter of so great importance, as I 'seem to make this sacrifice to be, should have so little evidence in *God's* '*word* and *Antiquity*, and depend merely upon certain conjectures.' As for *scripture*, if you mean the NAME of *sacrifice*, neither is the NAME *Sacrament* nor *Eucharist* (according to our expositions) there to be found; no more than Ομοσιος ['being of one substance']. Yet may not the THING be?—But when you speak of so little evidence to be found in *Antiquity*, I cannot but think such an affirmation far more strange than you can possibly my opinion. For what is there in Christianity for which more antiquity may be brought, than for this? I speak not now of the Fathers' meaning, (whether I guessed rightly at it or not,) but in general of their notion of a sacrifice in the Eucharist. If there be little Antiquity for this, there is no Antiquity for any thing. Eusebius Altkircherus, a Calvinist, printed at Newstadt in the Palatinate, in 1584 and 1591, *De mystico et incruento Ecclesiæ Sacrificio*, [says] page 6, 'This was always the standing, accordant and unanimous 'opinion of all the ancient Fathers of the Church, *that the memorial of the* '*passion and death of Christ in the Holy Supper, instituted by Him,* '*contained also in itself the commendation of a sacrifice.*'—Bishop Morton, in the Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to his book of the Eucharist, [says] 'We 'freely acknowledge the fact, that *there is frequent mention made by the* '*Ancient Fathers of the bloodless sacrifice of the body of Christ in the* '*Eucharist*; and it is not possible to describe how much such passages have 'exercised, tortured and vexed the genius of some men, who were other- 'wise very learned, or with what arroganee on the contrary the Papists 'boast themselves on this matter.'—And that, in the age immediately following the Apostles, the Eucharist was generally conceived of under the name and notion of a sacrifice, (to omit the testimonies of Ignatius and Justine Martyr,) take only this of Irenæus, lib. iv, cap. 32, 34. [Which we here omit.] The evidence of this was such as forced Hospinian to say, 'Even in that first age, whilst the Apostles were still alive, the devil 'had the audacity to lie in ambush under this sacrament more than under that 'of Baptism, and gradually seduced men from that primitive form:' And Sebastianus Francus [to say,] 'Immediately after the time of the Apostles, 'all things were inverted, *the Lord's Supper was transformed into a sacrifice.*'

"Now, Sir, if I was loath to pass so harsh a censure as some do upon the First Fathers and Church Christian, and could not be persuaded but that which the Catholic Church from her infancy conceived of the Eucharist should have some truth in it, and accordingly endeavour to find out that *ratio sacrificii* therein, such as might be consonant both to the principles of the Reformed Religion and unto the scripture of the New Testament,—yea, perhaps found therein not *quoad rem* only, but *quoad nomen* also,—did I merit to be irrided for having found out I-know-not what '*mystery of a* '*sacrifice, now-a-days a mystery* in my sense to all the christian world?' When all men are at a seek, and one cries, *I think I have found it*, shall he be chidden therefore? Sir, I can remember when you understood me more rightly, and interpreted my freedom with much more candour. To tell you true therefore, I am somewhat suspicious lest the air of Cambridge did you

Magogo, in my poor judgment, is more rational by far ;* and yet the matter thereof you know to be very strange, but it prevails very much with me.—Indeed, the matter of *bowing at hearing of the name of Jesus,* is nothing pleasing to some in these times. But how doth Bishop Andrews's reading in Anti-

some hurt.—That which I wrote to you concerning this mystery, was, for the most part, little other than testimony of matter of fact. If it were false, *testare de mendacio;* if true, *cur cædor ?* Yet one thing more : It is no time now to slight the Catholic consent of the Church in her first ages, when Socinianism grows so fast upon the rejection thereof, nor to abhor so much the notion of a Commemorative Sacrifice in the Eucharist, when we shall meet with those who will deny the death of Christ upon the cross to have been a sacrifice for sin. *Verbum intelligenti.* There may be here some matter of importance." *Ibid.*

* "The rising of the martyrs is that which is called the first resurrection, being, as it seems, a prerogative to their sufferings above the rest of the dead ; who, as they suffered with Christ in the time of his patience, so should they be glorified with him in the reign of his victory before the universal resurrection of all. 'Blessed and holy are they who have part in the first 'resurrection, for on them the second death hath no power ;' namely, because they are not *in via* but *in patria ;* being a prerogative, as I understand it, of this sort of reigners only, and not of the second. Thus I yet admit the first resurrection to be corporal as well as the second, though I confess I have much striven against it.

"The second resurrection, to be after the end of the thousand years, Justin Martyr, by way of distinction, calleth Την καθολικην και αιωνιαν ομοθυμαδον αμα παντων ανασασιν, *the eternal and universal resurrection of all together :* namely, in respect of the former which was particular, and but of some. And that it is common both to the godly and to the wicked, and not of the wicked only, may appear in that there are two books opened for the dead, (Rev. xx, 12,) whereof one is 'the Book of Life,' which argues two sorts of dead to be judged. Nor can I imagine how it can be otherwise, unless all the just which live during the thousand years be supposed to be immortal ; which is a paradox I dare not admit, understanding not that all the individuals, but that the body of the church here on earth should successively reign with Christ her Lord a thousand years. Besides, the attempt of the nations, after the devil's loosing, argues a state subject to mutability. As for those words of verse 14, which seem to intimate no other dead then judged but the wicked, because it is said that 'death and Hades were cast into the lake of fire,' which is the second death ; I suppose nothing else is meant thereby, but that death was now quite vanquished, and that there should be no more death of body, or separation of soul, but only the second death. As if it had been said, Death and Hades are now confined only to the lake of fire which is the second death ; but the former death of bodies in the grave, and the state of separate souls in Hades, was no more.

"For Gog and Gog Magog, who, after Satan's loosing and before the last resurrection, shall gather together against the camp of the saints and the beloved city, it cannot be literally understood of the nations so called in the Old Testament. For there Gog the prince, with the people of Magog came out of the north parts, where the posterity of Magog was seated. But Gog and Magog here are said to be 'nations which are in the four quarters of the 'earth.' As therefore the Apocalyptical Babylon is not Babylon in Chaldea, but a counter-type thereof, most like for universal ambition and metropolitanship of spiritual fornication: So this Apocalyptical Gog and Magog is not the Gog and Magog of the North, but a counter-type of them which should, after the same manner, attempt against the beloved city then, which the Scythian Gog and Magog (I mean the Turk) doth against the church of the Gentiles now, and should, before his last ruin, attempt against Israel at their return. And if there ever be an Antichrist, such as the Fathers describe, now will be the most likely time for him, when the devil is loose but for a little season."—MEDE's *Remains.*

The concluding paragraph is an epitome of Mr. Mede's conjecture in Latin.

quity serve his turn for that?* Cornelius a Lapide is a Papist and a Jesuit: He saith, '*Ad nomen Jesu* in St. Paul, is no more than *ad Jesum.*' I know it is the Father's pleasure, *that as we*

* Mr. Mede's acquaintance with Bishop Andrews is thus related in the Account of his Life: "His first shewing himself abroad was by an address he made to that great patron and example of learning, Dr. Andrews, (then Lord Bishop of Ely, afterward of Winchester,) in a Latin tract, *De Sanctitate Relativa*,&c. A piece of that commendable learning that, had it been published when it was first written, would have discovered the author's pregnant parts, and raised his just estimation in the world. And though himself, in his latter time, was pleased to censure it, as 'savouring too much of his 'infancy in divinity, and first thoughts, and affectation of style,' and that upon this score he would not permit the forementioned tract to see the light: yet this early specimen of his theological studies gained the approbation of so great a judgment as his was to whom it was presented; insomuch that shortly after, he having need of the King's favour concerning his election to a fellowship, that worthy bishop stood his firm friend, and not only maintained his right then, but afterward desired him for his household chaplain; which place notwithstanding he civilly refused, as valuing the liberty of his studies above any hopes of preferment; and esteeming that freedom which he enjoyed in his *cell*, (as he used cheerfully to term it,) as the haven of all his wishes."

Dr. Twisse has likewise alluded, in a preceding sentence, to "the practice of Bishop Andrews's Chapel" as "that which first cast Mr. Mede upon such a way of observing the course and practice of Antiquity." When that pious and learned Bishop, whose high and well-merited encomium has been pronounced by persons of all denominations, was first appointed *Dean of the Chapel* to King James I, he saw the danger to which his Majesty was exposed by his pride and vanity, and how easily he might be perverted to the Popish faith. To prevent this,—which, was not an imaginary danger, as may be proved by the king's private correspondence with the Prince and the Duke of Buckingham in Spain, and his degrading negotiations with the Spanish and French courts respecting a family alliance,—Bishop Andrews employed his profound knowledge and great skill in Antiquity in giving as much pomp and ceremony to *the service of the Church*, when performed in the Chapel Royal and in his own, as might be rendered conducive to practical godliness, and not repugnant to the simplicity of the Gospel. That prudent divine was much commended for the conscientious manner in which he brought into display many of the ceremonies of the Church of England that had fallen into disuse or neglect, and for thus guarding the volatile mind of his royal master from the two extremes of PRESBYTERIANISM and POPERY. When Bishop Andrews demonstrated to that erudite monarch, from the writings of the Ancient Fathers, the Antiquity as well as the propriety of many of those chaste and primitive observances, his Majesty was delighted, because he possessed learning sufficient to enable him to appreciate the correctness of the Bishop's observations, and he expressed wonderful satisfaction at being the Head of such a pure ecclesiastical establishment. The subjoined extract from HEYLIN'S *Life of Laud* will shew, that the Doctor pursued the same practice as his learned predecessor, and commenced his ministrations with an act which is highly creditable to his memory: "But the Deanery of the Chapel [Royal] had not been void above nine days, when Laud was nominated to it, and was actually admitted into that office on the sixth day of October following, [1626,] by Philip Earl of Montgomery Lord Chamberlain of Majesty's houshold, before whom he took the usual and appointed oath. He had before observed a custom used in the court since the first entrance of King James. The custom was, that at what part soever of the public prayers the King came into his closet, (which looked into the chapel,) to hear the sermon, the divine service was cut off, and the anthem sung, that the preacher might go into the pulpit. This the new Dean disliked, as he had good reason, and thereupon humbly moved his Majesty, 'that he would be present at the Liturgy, as well as the sermon every 'Lord's day; and that, at whatsoever part of prayers he came, the priest

honour the Father so we should honour the Son; and all the world shall never bring me to shew more reverence at the hearing of the name of JESUS, than at the hearing of the

'who ministered should proceed to the end of the service.' To which his Majesty most readily and religiously condescended, and gave him thanks for that his seasonable and pious motion.—As for the Deanery of the chapel, it was of long standing in the court, but had been discontinued from the death of Dr. George Carew Dean of Windsor, Anno 1572, till King James his coming to this crown, at what time Bancroft, then Bishop of London, *conceiving into what dangers the Church was like to run, by the multitude of Scots about him*, thought it expedient that some Clergy-men of note and eminence should be attendant always in and about the Court. And thereupon it was advised, that, to the Bishop Almoner and the clerk of the closet, *a Dean of the Chapel* should be added, to look unto the diligent and due performance of God's public service, and order matters of the choir. According to which resolution, Dr. James Mountague was recommended to the King for the first Dean of the chapel in his time: succeeded in that place by Andrews, and he now by Laud."

When Dr. Laud became *Dean of the Chapel Royal*, the times were materially altered from what they had been in the days of Bishop Andrews, which, Mr. Mede says, "were times of better awe than now they are." But when Dr. Laud succeeded to the office, the Predestinarian controversy, as it was then conducted and fomented under the auspices of Abbot, had done incalculable injury to the cause of Uniformity; and the Puritans, it is seen, had assumed fresh courage by the auspicious decisions of the Synod of Dort, and were determined, at all hazards, to follow up their advantages. In this state of the Established Church, that which had been considered necessary by Drs. Bancroft and Andrews for the establishment of the mind of King James, was deemed equally necessary for confirming the minds of the people: and, for this reason, "the decency and order" observed in the King's chapel were recommended for adoption throughout the kingdom. Other circumstances conspired to render the general adoption of these observances desirable, among which has been already noticed the case of the Queen, page 502. When it was afterwards ignorantly objected against Archbishop Laud, that he had introduced innovations into the service of the church, his friends commonly defended him by alleging "the practice of Bishop Andrews's chapel," which his Grace had admired and endeavoured to bring the Church of England uniformly to observe. The greatest defect in his character, noted both by friends and foes, was—that, in the execution of his designs, he did not always adhere to the excellent rule of *suaviter in modo*, though no one complained of his deficiency in the other clause of the description, *fortiter in re*. Yet many excuses may be made for his conduct. Dr. Twisse, with all his keen Puritanic animosity, was *a very mild specimen* of the violent party that was then exciting the popular fury against the National Church, and clamouring for its destruction. If, on such an emergency, the opposite party, that strove to maintain the dignity of the church, ran for a season into the contrary extreme, and sanctioned many actions and writings, of which in their cooler moments they could not entirely approve,—it was no more than that which any one acquainted with the constitution of human beings might naturally expect; and, though an infirmity greatly to be deplored and carefully guarded against, yet it was by no means confined to one side, but both parties appear to have acted alike under its influence. The just and weighty reasons of Dr. Laud for the unwearied attempts which he made to uphold the dignity of the Church, are thus briefly summed up by himself, in the answer which he delivered at the bar of the House of Lords, after the articles of his impeachment had been read: "Ever since I came in place, I have laboured nothing more, than that the external public worship of God, (so much slighted in divers parts of this kingdom,) might be preserved; and that with as much decency and uniformity as might be. For I evidently saw, that the public neglect of God's service in the outward face of it, and the nasty lying of many places dedicated to that service, had almost cast a damp upon the true and inward worship of God, which while we live in the body needs ex-

name JEHOVAH: And when we are (as we should be) intent upon our religious comportment before God according to the inward adoration in spirit, that we should watch, when a word comes, to perform outward obeisance, in my judgment is very strange.* And I remember how faintly Mr. H. carries himself in this; and others, in pleading for it, most of all urge this, *that nobody is troubled about it:* But now more than enough must yield or suffer.—I never had experience of the practice till now, and that makes me the bolder to write as I do. Yet whatsoever we shall be put unto, I am glad that I have such liberty to confer with you thereabouts. I am lately grown acquainted with my Lord of Armagh, being encouraged to write unto his Grace about the matter of the Sabbath; which I willingly apprehended, and acquainted him with all my grounds whereupon I proceeded; and he justifies them all. I intreated also help in Antiquity† about the notion of a Sab-

ternal helps, and all little enough to keep it in any vigour. And this I did to the utmost of my knowledge, according both to law and canon, and with the consent and liking of the people: Nor did any command issue out from me, against the one, nor without the other."

* "As for bowing at the name JESUS,—it is commanded by our Church. And, for myself, I hold it not unlawful to adore my Saviour upon any cue or hint given. Yet could I never believe it to be the meaning of that place of the Philippians, ['that at the name of JESUS every knee should bow,' &c.] nor that it can be inferred thence otherwise than by way of a general and indefinite consequence. I derive it rather from the custom of the world, in several religions thus to expresssome kind of reverence when that which they acknowledge for their God is named, as we find the Turks do at this day. Besides, I conceive, to do this reverence at the name JESUS only, is proper to the Latin church, and it may be of later standing. For if some Greeks have not deceived me, the custom of the Orient is to bow the head, not only at the name JESUS, but at the name CHRIST, and sometimes (though not so frequently) at the name GOD. And if that were the fashion of the elder Christianity, that out of St. Jerome would sound more to the purpose, *Moris est ecclesiastici Christo genuflectere*, [it is the custom of the church to bow the knee to Christ.]

"That the worship of the inward man is that which God principally requires and looks at, I think no christian man denies. But what then? Doth not our Saviour's rule hold notwithstanding in such a comparison, *These things ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone!* And consider, that the question is not here, (as most men seem to make it,) between *inward* worship and *outward* worship *seorsim*, (for in such case, it is plain, the *outward* is nothing worth,) but whether *the inward worship together with the outward* may not be more acceptable to God than *the inward alone?*—As for that so commonly-objected scripture in this question, *of worshipping the Father in Spirit and truth*, as the characteristical difference of the *evangelical* worship from the *legal;* I believe it hath a far different sense from that it is commonly taken to have, and that the Jews, in our Saviour's sense, worshipped the Father in Spirit and truth."—MEDE's *Reply.*

† This is another proof of Dr. Twisse's deficiency in a knowledge of the Ancient Fathers; and he applied to Archbishop Usher for a solution of his difficulties. Indeed, the Lord Primate of Ireland was for many years the grand source of information, as well as the depository of intelligence, for all the Puritanic party; and many of the malevolent arrows that were winged against the Church of England, had been feathered from his pinions. The subsequent complete change of sentiment in the pious Arch-

bath given to the Lord's Day; and he profest unto me, that *he never inclined his mind to observe that, in all his reading;* and he added this reason, 'For he never thought to see such times 'as these, to call into question *Whether the Moral Law contains* 'TEN *or but* NINE *commandments.*' And Dr. Reynolds, being asked 'what he thought of Beza's judgment concerning the Sabbath,' made no other answer but this, *You know the commandment.* Thus have I made bold to write freely as to my dear friend. I doubt not but whensoever I am put unto it, I shall find you the readier to afford me your best satisfaction; for certainly I will neglect no means to keep me out of the paw of the lion as well as I can."

The main accusation in this long letter was answered in the following humble and candid manner by Mr. Mede: "As that I bade you (hearing prayers in our Master's closet,) to stand up at *Gloria Patri,* I will assure you, you were mistaken. My words were, *We stand up,* or *They stand up,* (I know not certainly which,) intending only to have you take notice of

bishop, and the amelioration ultimately effected in the opinions of Bishops Hall and Davenant, and other dignitaries who had formerly been high Calvinists and patrons of the irregularities of Nonconformists, I ascribe almost as much to their deep and accurate acquaintance with the productions of the early christian Fathers, as to the effect of their own painful experience in the rugged paths of the levelling party. Both these causes contributed to render them loyal subjects, and mild and practical christians. The very learned Herbert Thorndike gives a modest hint, towards the close of the subjoined extract, why many persons of that age did not cultivate this necessary branch of theological literature:

"Two privileges there are, belonging to the Fathers of the Church, which no man that writes in these days can pretend to, how godly, how learned soever he may be. The First is that of their age and time, creating an infallible trust, in point of historical truth, concerning the state of christianity during those ages in which they lived, or which they might know. This is that, which neither Pagans, nor Jews, nor Mahometans, can refuse them, any more than christians can refuse to believe them in matters of fact, which they relate, not as things done in private, (which themselves, with a few more, may pretend to have had means to know,) but which were visible to the world at such time as they writ, and wherein, had they been otherwise, they might have been reproved, as imposing upon the world, not the belief of that which doth not appear to be true, but of that which doth appear to be untrue. But when I see, how many, pretending to search the Scriptures, and the truth of things questioned in christianity, never make use of any information they might have from them, to argue thereupon the true sense of the Scriptures, (who, if they were to expound any author of human learning, would count him a madman that should neglect the records of those authors that lived nearest the same time, and perhaps do themselves employ the writings of Jews and Pagans in expounding the very Scriptures,) I cannot chuse but take it as a mark of prejudice against some truths, that men care not to be informed of the primitive christianity, lest consequences might be framed against some prejudices of their own, which, supposing only the credit of historical truth, might prove undeniable.—The Second consideration, in which the writings of the Fathers are valuable, cometh from that which is now proved, that is, from the society of the Church, and the unity thereof, from whence it follows, that what is found to be taught in the church by men authorized by the communion thereof, and qualified to teach, and that without contradiction, is not contrary to the rule of faith, but, if it be taught with one consent, it is part of it." THORNDIKE'S *Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England.*

our manners and fashions; as I did also the night before, when they bowed at the name JESUS in the Creed. I confess indeed, when I saw you so suddenly to alter your posture, I had some suspicion lest you misunderstood me, and repented me I had spoken, and thought of it some times afterward. Yet mine was but doubting: I would yours had been so too. For why would you suppose me to be so uncivil, as to speak unto a stranger and my better in degree in such a rude manner, or *note*, as you call it? Surely, in this you were to blame. Nay, I do not remember that ever I bade any one, little or great, either to stand up at *Gloria Patri*, or bow at the name *Jesus*, or to conform to other the like posture, all days of my life, however my opinion hath been concerning them. The plain truth is, I had a desire to have talked with you about these things, and to have acquainted you with something I had that way; which, now I find your mind so averse, I shall never do. For this end it was, that I ever anon put you in mind to observe our postures; and now and then, at other times in our discourse, touched upon something of that kind, to have given occasion of conference about these matters: And the rather I desired it, because I had declared myself so far in my letters unto you formerly as I thought might require more to be added to prevent such scruples as might arise from thence. You may remember what hint I gave you in our Gate-house the first night, concerning that place in Daniel, (vii, 25,) *And he shall think to change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hand for a time, times, and half a time.* I would fain have entered with you upon that scripture, and told you I had some notion thereabout which some friends of mine had termed *Dog and Cummin seed*, &c.— As for my sermon at St Mary's, if I could have enjoyed you privately *et sine arbitris*, (which I much but in vain desired,) in all probability you had been (together with some other things,) better acquainted with some of the contents thereof. And as for preaching for *bowing to altars*, if my memory fail me not, the word *altar* (unless in citing a place of scripture) was never mentioned in my whole discourse. Sure I am, there was no bowing spoken of, either with respect to it or to the Communion-table; but only of *bowing* in general, without any determination. Besides, that which was spoken was done as it were *obiter* and in few words, without insisting thereupon, and that too with premised caution; and nothing so much by a great deal, nor so punctual, as I had discoursed in the same place sixteen years ago in a *Concio ad Clerum* for my degree upon another text. [See note page 501]—The text now was that of Solomon, *Look to thy feet, when thou comest to the house of God; and be more ready to obey, than to offer the sacrifice of fools.* (Eccles. v.) I made the sense of these words of Solo-

mon to be as if we, inflecting them to our manner, should say, *Look unto, or be observant of, thy head, when thou comest into the house of God;* meaning, that he should put off his hat, and use any other reverence wont to accompany it as a leading gesture. For so was this rite of *discalceation* among the Jews a leading ceremony to other reverential guises then used, as *the putting off of the hat* (in civil use) is wont to be with us. Hence I inferred, it was not only lawful, but fit and a duty commended to us in scripture, to use some kind of reverence, yea some reverential guise and gesture, when we come into God's house: Where, after a very few words of the thing in general, in the close I had these words: 'For, should we come 'into GOD'S house, as we do into a barn or stable? It was not 'good manners once, so to come into a MAN'S house. There-'fore our blessed Saviour, when he sent forth his disciples to 'preach the Gospel, would not have them to enter into a man's 'house without salutation. *When ye enter into a house,* saith he, '*salute it.* (Math. x.) Why should we not think it to be a 'part of religious manners, to do as much when we come into 'the house of God? But if any shall ask me here, *what other 'gesture beside the uncovering of the head I would require in this 'case,* because I intimated that (even now) to be a leading 'gesture, I answer, This belongs to the discretion of our supe-'riors and the authority of the Church to appoint, not to me 'to determine. For here, as in all other ceremonies, the 'Church is not tied, but hath liberty to ordain that which she 'shall think most suitable and agreeable to the time, place, 'and manners of the people where she lives. Yet if I may, 'without offence or presumption, utter what I think, then I 'say, that adoration or the bowing of the body, together with 'some short ejaculation (which the Church of Israel used in 'her Temple together with discalceation, and which the Chris-'tians of the Orient at this day use in their churches, and, time 'out of mind, have done so,) is of all others the most seemly, 'ready and fitting to our manners, were it once by uniform 'order and practice established, namely according to that of 'Psalm cxlii, 7, *We will go into his tabernacle, we will worship 'at his footstool;* or to that of Psalm v, 7, *I will enter into thy 'house in the multitude of thy mercies; in thy fear will I worship 'toward thy holy temple:* Which is the form the Jews use at this 'day at their ingress into their Synagogues; and so, for aught 'I know, might we too.'—This was the whole passage *verbatim* as I spake it. Whence I passed immediately to the Second Part of my text, *Be more ready to obey, &c.* where my chief observation, wherewith I concluded, was, 'the condition of 'all external service of God in general, in the eyes of God; 'which was such as he accepted no otherwise than *secundario,* 'namely as issuing from a heart respectively affected with that

'devotion it importeth: That as the body without the soul is 'but a carcase, so is all bodily worship wherein the pulse of 'the heart's devotion beats not.' Now, Mr. Doctor, what was there, in all this, that an honest, discreet and moderate man, being so persuaded as I am, might not speak? But you will say, *What need had I to say any thing at all?* I will tell you. My opinion in these things was well known to many in the University. Our pulpit had a long time been inflamed with such discourses. My obstinate silence,—having had more than once opportunity to declare myself, and being studied in these matters,—was imputed to me by some to proceed either *ex malitioso affectu* toward such as furthered these things, or out of too much addiction and tenderness to the Puritan faction; which is a crime here, if it be once fastened upon a man, *nullo oceano eluendum.* I thought good therefore to declare myself; which yet I did, with that caution and tenderness which might not give any just cause of offence to those who were contrary-minded; who yet, now I perceive, deserved it not by their over-lavish report of what was spoken.*—Besides, I observed, both out of books daily printed and out of such discourses as I had heard, upon what dangerous grounds some defended these things; namely, such as would in time infer the lawfulness of image-worship. I thought good therefore, in more private discourses, to set them upon safer principles, and such as might, if it were possible, prevent such an evil. And, in all this, why may not I say, *What have I done? Was there not a cause?*"—This letter was dated May 2, 1637, six years before the appointment of Dr. Twisse as Prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines, for which office he had long proved himself to be well qualified.

To this masterly reply Dr. Twisse and his friends seem to have found nothing effectual to say, till July the 2nd 1638, soon after Mr. Mede had in the simplicity of his heart presented the Doctor with a copy of his recently-published treatise on *Churches,* which he had dedicated to his patron the Archbishop of Canterbury. On that occasion Dr. Twisse writes thus: "I have lately received a book from you by the hands of Mr. Hartlib, for which I heartily thank you. The title you give in your dedication, *sublati discriminis inter sacrum et profanum assertori eximio,* I doubt, will do you wrong with many, and make them to conceive that the *sacrum et profanum* you speak of is, in your account, only in respect of PLACE, and not at all in respect of TIME. But I know the contrary, which makes me wonder at it the more. I had recourse to you about the holiness of places long ago, merely for information; and I was then as *abrasa tabula,* apt to receive aught that I saw reason for. But to this

* Thus, it appears, that, whether the speaker was Joseph Mede or Archbishop Laud, if the things spoken did not agree with the preconceptions of the Calvinists, they were certain to be misreported.

hour I am not satisfied; whether the fault be in my understanding or in my affections, God knows, or in the sufficiency of evidence convincing. And that my affection should sway me, I have this reason against it; I find myself naturally pliable that way which you take, even to superstition, as now I find, calling myself to examination. And I have been very prone to your interpretation of that in Paul, (1 Cor. ii, 22.), [What? have ye not houses to eat and to drink in? or despise ye the church of God, and shame them that have not? What shall I say to you? shall I praise you in this? I praise you not:] insomuch that the way others take to the contrary seemed to me at first sight wondrous strange, that I understood not so much as their meaning at the first, nor did I come to understand what they would, without some plodding: And when I did understand it, it seemed harsh unto me, until I came to examine what it is to despise or dishonour a place, and compared it with dishonouring of days. And surely neither days nor places are to be honoured by us, but God in them: But, notwithstanding the difference between us herein, you shall always be as dear to me as you have been: and that not as a civil friend only, but as my christian brother too, were our difference in opinion greater than these: For I manifestly perceive, how easy a thing it is for good men to take your way about the Holiness of Place; and hereunto myself have been exceeding prone."

Dr. Twisse then adduces the arguments which he has repeated in page 501, concerning "the axiom of *there being the same reason of time and place:*" To which, and to his remarks about the dedication of his treatise, Mr. Mede returned the following judicious reply:

"Now, Sir, for my book, I sent it not to you as an *auctoramentum* or press-money to bind you to be of my opinion, but only as a testimony of that honour I thought I owed you; and yet so much the more willingly, because the argument confirmed some grounds of Mr. Potter's, if I am not deceived. It was my New-Year's Gift to my Lord's Grace, after he had taken me under his name; which some friends informed me was a ceremony of decorum, that I could not now at the first omit, and would serve instead of a journey to London to thank his Grace, &c. I had this ready, and sent it in that name, with the inscription which you see; save only that the words, '*In novi anni auspicium gratique,*' &c. now appear not, being thought by some fit to be omitted when it was to go to the press: to which honour, the author, if I know his mind, had no ambition it should have been preferred. Well, but, howsoever it came about, you say 'that the part of the eulogium in the inscription, you 'doubt, will do me wrong, [namely, *Sublati inter sacrum et pro-'fanum discriminis assertori*] although you know the contrary to 'what they will be ready to conceive thereupon.' It is true,

there be some men that will never find the true sense or reason of any thing *quod dictum aut factum nollent.** I have heard of the constructions of my new relation, but, God forgive them! I have witnesses enough, which they are aware of, of their unadvisedness, that I may give it no worse term. I am beholden, yea exceedingly beholden, to my Lord's Grace for his good opinion of me, (notwithstanding he well knows, that in some things I differ from him,) and I am bound to acknowledge it. Howbeit he yet knows not his chaplain *de facie*, nor his chaplain him.† But because there are some that forget there is

* This is a fine and delicate reproof of Dr. Twisse, who was in the number of those "who never would find the true sense or reason of any thing, the *mention* or the *execution* of which they *wished* to suppress." On a former occasion, (page 530,) the same truth was more plainly told, thus, "I can remember when you understood me more rightly, and interpreted my freedom with much more candour," &c. In fact, the able reasons produced by Mr. Mede for several rites, against which the Calvinists objected, were exceedingly perplexing to the whole of that party, who could make out a much more specious case for themselves when they encountered some of the replies to which reference is made in the text, than when they had to combat those of our author. In the letters which passed between him and Dr. Twisse, when the latter was unable to grapple with the arguments of his friend, he appears sometimes to have tried to awe him into silence by the overwhelming authority of Archbishop Usher. But this stratagem had not the desired effect; for Mr. Mede knew more than Dr. Twisse about the Lord Primate's sentiments, who lived long enough to feel the unkindness of such rigid Calvinists as the Doctor and his party. On this point the following remarks, by Dr. Gauden, will be read with interest:

"As to his personal policy, domestic subtilty, or private cautiousness, truly he had little enough of *the serpent;* but as to his harmless innocency, he had very much of *the dove*, ever esteeming piety the best policy and sanctity the safest sanctuary. If any thing might seem to have been as a venial alloy in him, it was a kind of charitable easiness and credulity, which made him prone *to hope good of all, and loth to believe evil of any;* especially if they made any profession or shows of piety. He did not think there could have been so much gall and vinegar mixed with the shows or realities of some men's graces, until he found by sad experience some godly people and Presbyters professing much godliness, who formerly were prone to adore him as a God or an oracle, were (now) ready to stone and destroy him with all his brethren the British Bishops. He was most prone to err on the right hand of charity, and to incline to those opinions in *things disputable* which seemed to set men furthest off from pride, licentiousness and profaneness; of which he was better able to judge than of hypocrisy, being more jealous of *irreligion*, than of *superstition* which is the right hand and the more venial extreme of religion. He had not, till of late years, felt the scalding effects of some men's over-boiling zeal, or the dreadful terrors of their righteousness who affected to be over-righteous, who despised his learned, wise, and moderate counsels touching the settling of peace, order and government in the church: For the advance of which he could have cheerfully sacrificed all his private interest of honor or profit, *and have been reduced to teach school in a belfry*, as his phrase was. But he ever held to his pristine and constant judgment in the most prosperous times, which enjoyed him the same as did his adversities; no losses and distresses, (to which the fatality, fury, folly, or ingratitude of this age reduced him,) being able to cloud his judgment or discompose his tranquility, in any other, or in this sharp controversy touching Episcopacy."

† "When he newly related to his then Grace of Canterbury, and now glorious martyr, (neither of whom, I believe, had seen each other's face in all their lives, I am sure he told me so not long before his death,) he

a Ninth commandment, [‘Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour,’] as well as a Second, and have given me cause to speak, I would have them know what I now say, that I defy them, whosoever they or he be, that says, ‘He is less ‘ambitious or less discontented with his present condition than ‘I am, or were when this happened unto me.’ And this by the way.* I said, there was *eadem ratio loci et temporis*, not simply but *eadem ratio loci et temporis sacri:* to wit, for the sanctification (that is, holy and discriminative usance,) due unto them both, and the formal reason in respect whereof it is due. For the reason why a thing is to be sanctified or *sancte habendum* is, because it is *sanctum* or *sacrum*. Now, whatever is appropriate unto God and his service, is such, whether the determination thereof be by God's own immediate ordination or man's devotion it is all one in this respect, so the appropriation or dedication therefore be supposed lawful and agreeable to the Divine will. For this sanctification we speak of, depends not either upon the difference of the cause or manner whereby the thing is consecrated, nor upon the diversity of natural and artificial being, but upon the *formalis ratio* of the object, because it is holy or sacred, therefore to be sanctified with holy usance. For *to sanctify* in scripture is, not only *to make holy* קדש, but *to do unto a thing as becometh its holiness,* קדש. Moreover, I believe the sanctification of a place to be intended in the fourth commandment, as well as that of time: and that, not only from

desired me to tell him freely what I heard men say concerning his chaplainship, &c. The sum of my answer was, ‘that I perceived he was looked ‘upon as a rising man, and that many rejoiced at it because of his known ‘merits,’ &c. To the latter part of my answer he replied, ‘I am much ‘beholden to my friends for their good opinion of me, &c. But no man ‘knows my defect so well as myself.’ And this was but the native language and dialect of his innate modesty. But when he came to reply to the former part, which spake him *a rising man*, here he used more than ordinary solemnity, and with a grave, composed countenance uttered these words: ‘As to my rising, come now, I will make you my Confessor. I can safely ‘appeal to that Infinite Majesty who hears me, that, if I might obtain but a ‘donative *sine cura*, which I may keep with my fellowship, I would set up ‘my staff for this world. And the reason why I desire this, is, that I might ‘be able to keep a nag for my recreation sometimes, in taking the air, and in ‘visiting my friends in the country, since this my corpulency (then growing ‘upon him,) makes me unwieldy for walking.’” MEDE'S *Life*.

* Mr. Mede immediately adds the following paragraph:

“I come again to the eulogium, where I am not so narrowly pent, that I should be confined to the *discrimen* between *sacrum et profanum* in places only, to make it true. You may remember, that once upon occasion with you I made four sorts of things sacred: to wit, 1, *Personæ sacræ*, 2. *Res sacræ*, 3. *Loca sacra*, 4. *Tempora sacra: Personæ sacræ*, as the clergy; *Res sacræ*, (specially so called,) as *Bona Ecclesiastica*, &c. Now I think the world takes notice, that my Lord is *Assertor eximius* of the discrimination of the first three from common: and I hope an instance of one particular amongst four, against the other three, doth not make an indefinite affirmation not true. Besides, I add the word, *sublati;* but the discrimination of sacred time with us was none of the *sublata*, though somewhere it be as well as the rest. And the field of my defence is so much the larger if it be considered, that one of the three, *Res Sacræ*, is capable of sub-division. But enough of this, it being no well-becoming theme to dispute upon.”

the rule observed in the interpretation of the rest of the commandments, (by one of the kind named, to understand all the rest *ejusdem generis*,) but especially the Lord himself hath conjoined them as pairs: 'Keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my 'Sanctuary.' (Leviticus xix, 30.) And why not, when they are so near akin, being both circumstances of action? why may I not then say, *Quæ Deus conjunxit nemo separet?* And it may be, (if it be well looked into,) the sanctification of the Lord's-day might be urged with far more advantage upon the ground I intimate, than upon that other which is so much controverted.*

* How untenable the ground on which the Puritans defended their views of the sanctification of the Sabbath, will be perceived by the following extract from THORNDIKE'S *Epilogue:* "There is an opinion too well known amongst us, 'that the First day of the week is kept by Christians in virtue 'of the Fourth Commandment, which obliged the Jews to keep the Seventh 'day of the week.' Which opinion if it be true, they have some ground for confining the service of God to it. But it cannot be maintained without two assumptions: THE FIRST, 'That *the Seventh day* in the Fourth Command-'ment signifies, *not the Seventh day of the week* on which God rested from 'creating any more, but *one of the seven days*.'—THE SECOND, 'That the 'resurrection of Christ upon the First day of the week, is a reason that ne-'cessarily determines all christians to do that which they are bound to do on '*one day of the seven*—upon *the First* and none else.' Neither of which is true, though the latter have far the more appearance of truth in it. For it is manifest, that the will of God may be, having obliged the Jews to keep one day in seven, to oblige Christians to keep one in six or less, unless it be otherwise determined by some commandment of God's. Now it appeareth, that the First day of the week was kept in the times of the Apostles, our Saviour having appeared unto them after his resurrection upon that day. But, of any precept to make this a law to all christians, nothing appears in the scriptures of the New Testament. Again, it may be said, 'that the Gospel requireth more 'plentiful fruits of obedience than the Law; and therefore if the Law required 'one day of seven for the service of God, that the Gospel requires more.' Nor will it concern me here to prove, that this opinion is true: It is more than enough that I can say, that, before this novelty came into England, it cannot appear that any christian thought otherwise. For I argue no more in this place, but that *the rising of our Lord* upon the First day of the week doth not necessarily determine the Church to keep one day of the seven, as *the command of God* doth. For, had God commanded one day of seven to be kept under the Gospel as under the Law, there had been no room for further consideration. But so long as there is only a reason on the one side, 'that the *Resurrection* to Christians is as the *Creation* to Jews,'—and a reason on the other side, 'that it becomes Christians in this, as in all, to do 'more than Jews,'—I cannot deny that there is a sufficient reason, for him that hath *power* of determining that which God hath not determined, to appoint the First day of the week. But I utterly deny, that there is any law of God, before the act of this *power*, to determine it. And the reason is plain: For, in matters of this nature, there may be sufficient reason for several determinations, because it is not the *substance* but the *circumstance* of that which is by nature necessarily good and God's service. Again, supposing that Christians are bound to keep one day of seven for God's service, may I not ask, Why *the passion of Christ* should not determine them to keep the Sixth, as well as *the Resurrection* the First day of the week? especially in the sense of them who think they have reason to feast on Good Friday, and to celebrate their Fasts on the Lord's day! For, if the Resurrection of Christ be no reason to make the day thereof festival, nor his Passion [a reason] why we should rather fast on the day of it, certainly, where both cannot be kept, the one concerns us as much as the other does; and therefore there is as much reason to keep this as that." THORNDIKE'S *Epilogue.*

But it is partiality that undoes all. It seems by this objection I have now answered, you supposed the argument of my book to be *the Reverence of Holy Places*, which is only the *Antiquity* of them. I think I have no more to make answer to, and I confess I have done this not without some tediousness. For you must pardon me, if, judging as a stander-by, I am not persuaded you are by nature so prone and liable, as you think, to the way which you say I take. Thus, with my heartiest affection, which I never found myself prone to change for mere difference of opinion, I commend you and yours to the Divine blessing."

In the long quotations which I have introduced on this subject, it has been my intention to shew the perfect harmlessness and propriety* of several of those decent rites and ceremonies

* Though I call several of these ceremonies "harmless and proper," I would not be understood by such an expression to intimate my entire approval even of those of them which Mr. Mede here defends. St. Paul, in reference to a different topic, has given us this general axiom: "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient: All things are lawful for me, but all things edify not." In this view we may satisfactorily account for the conduct of Bishop Bedell, as thus narrated by Bishop Burnet: "He thought CONFORMITY was 'an exact adhering to the Rubric;' and that 'the adding 'any new rite or ceremony' was as much NONCONFORMITY, as 'the passing 'over those which were prescribed.' So that he would not use those bowings or gesticulations which grew so much in fashion that men's affections were measured by them. He had too good an understanding not to conclude, that *these things were not unlawful in themselves*; but he had observed, that when once the humour of adding new rites and ceremonies got into the church, it went on by a fatal increase, till it had grown up to that bulk to which we find it swelled in the Church of Rome. This began so early and grew so fast, that St. Austin complained of it in his time, saying, 'that the 'condition of Christians was then more uneasy by that yoke of observations, 'than that of the Jews had been.' And therefore our Author thought the adhering to established laws and rules was a certain and fixed thing; whereas superstition was infinite. Upon this account he was against all innovations, or arbitrary and assumed practices; and so much the more, when men were distinguished and marked out for preferment by that which, in strictness of law, was a thing which deserved punishment. For, in the Act of Uniformity, made in the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, it was made highly penal to use 'any other rite or ceremony, order or form, either in the sacraments, 'or in morning or evening prayers, than what was mentioned and set forth 'in that book.' And this was particularly intended to restrain some who were leavened with the former superstition, and yet, for saving their benefices, might conform to the new service, but retain still (with it) many of the old rites in sacred offices. And it seems our legislators were of the same mind, when the last Act of Uniformity was past in the year 1662; for there is a special proviso in it, 'That no rites or ceremonies should be openly used in 'any Church other than what was prescribed and appointed to be used in and 'by the said book.' Our author therefore continued to make the Rubric the measure of his conformity as well before his promotion as after it.— He went constantly to the common prayer in his cathedral, and often read it himself, and assisted in it always with great reverence and affection. He took care to have the public service performed strictly according to the Rubric; so that a curate of another parish being employed to read prayers in the cathedral, who added somewhat to the collects, the Bishop observing that he did this once or twice, went from his place to the reader's pew, took the book out of his hand, and, in the hearing of the congregation, suspended him for his presumption, and read the rest of the office himself. He preached constantly

against which the great body of high Calvinists directed all their argumentative artillery, and which were generally defended by persons that held the tenets of Arminius, or whose

twice a Sunday in his cathedral on the Epistles and Gospels for the day, and catechized always in the afternoon before sermon; and he preached always twice a year before the Judges, when they made the circuit. He observed the Rubric so exactly, that he would do nothing but according to it; so that, in the reading of the Psalms and the Anthems, he did not observe the common custom of the minister and the people reading the verses alternately: for he read all himself, because the other was not enjoined by the Rubric."—Thus it is seen, Mr. Mede and Bishop Bedell, who were divines of exemplary piety and moderation, ran in opposite courses, with regard to some of the new ceremonies, though both of them were very far removed from the restless factiousness of the Puritans. But the rules by which Mr. Mede regulated his behaviour, were certainly more correct and defensible than those by which the Bishop walked. On the introduction of fresh rites, Mr. Mede says, in page 537: "This belongs to the *discretion* of our superiors, and *the authority of the Church*, to appoint, not to me to determine," &c.

Such a principle is plain and intelligible, and very different from Bishop Burnet's strange reasoning about the immutability of the Rubric, and his declaration that NONCONFORMITY consists "as much in the *adding* any new rite or ceremony, as in *the passing over* those which were prescribed." The Bishop's arguments in the whole of the paragraph, if pursued to their consequences, would conclude quite as well for a Roman Catholic priest's *stedfast adherence to his Creed, (immutable* since the Council of Trent,) and would furnish as many plausible pretences for his commencing a schism in that church *when any new rite was ordained by his ecclesiastical superiors*, as they do for Mr. Bedell's principles and practice both before and after he became a Bishop. In making out a case, Bishop Burnet has used one of those great liberties for which he is rendered famous as a historian: He has taken a long leap from "the Act of Uniformity in the first year of Queen Elizabeth" to that "in the year 1662;" leaving the reader, if ignorant, to conjecture, that in the intervening 104 years no additional regulations were framed for the government of the Church, under the auspices of King James or his ill-fated successor,—when the contrary was the fact. All this, however, agrees well with the Bishop's design, which was,—on every occasion to produce arguments in defence of what he had advanced respecting some of the circumstances attending the revolution of 1688, the justification of which, in the Bishop's hands, approximated too closely, in the judgment of many persons, to the principles avowed by the successful republicans.—But on the subject of conformity we shall receive much safer counsel from Bishop SANDERSON's celebrated *Preface* to his Sermons: "I know no true son of the Church of England, that doteth upon any ceremony, whatsoever opinion he may have of the *decency* or *expediency* of some of them. If any do, let him answer for himself. Among wise men, he will hardly pass for a wise man, that doteth upon any. Nor will he, I doubt, prove a much wiser man, that runs into the contrary extreme, and abhorreth all. It is true, that there have been long and unkind quarrels about these things. More is the pity! but where is the fault? To whom is the beginning, and to whom the continuance of a quarrel rather imputable—to him that demandeth his right,—or to him that withholdeth it from him? For this is the plain case, in short, The Bishops (under the King) require obedience to the laws Ecclesiastical; these men refuse to give it. So began the quarrel at first; and upon the same terms it continued. They have been told a thousand times over in the sermons and writings of private men, which is also attested and affirmed by the public declaration of our Church, (the most authentic assurance a question of this nature is capable of,) that we place no *necessity* at all in these things, but hold them to be *merely indifferent:* That when, for *decency, order, or uniformity's* sake, any constitutions are made concerning them, there is the same *necessity* of obeying such constitutions as there is of obeying other laws made for the good of the commonwealth concerning any other indifferent things: That such necessity, either in the one or the other, ariseth not properly from the authority of the imme-

reading in Christian Antiquity rendered them liberal and tolerant in their principles. These circumstances relative to the public worship of God were maintained, by three or four party writers, in a less learned but more violent manner than that which Mr. Mede has adopted: But he is produced as an example of *the great body of the Episcopal Clergy of that period*, who, when superior decency and splendour were communicated to some parts of the public service of the Church,* did not

diate law-giver, but from *the ordinance of God*, who hath commanded us *to obey the ordinances of men for his sake:* That, such *necessity of obedience* notwithstanding, the things remain in the same indifference as before; every way in respect of their nature and *quoad rem*, (it being not in the power of accidental relations to change the natures of things,) and even in respect of their use; and *quoad nos* thus far, that there is a liberty left for men, upon extraordinary and other just occasions, sometimes to do otherwise than the constitution requireth, *extra casum scandali et contemptus;* a liberty which we dare not either take ourselves, or allow to others, in things properly and absolutely necessary."

* It has been before stated as a just ground of complaint, among moderate men both now and in former days, that the levelling spirit of Nonconformity, under a pretence of introducing primitive purity into the worship of God, wished to destroy many of the chastest observances of the Ancient Christian Church. The following remarks occur in Bishop Sanderson's *Episcopacy not prejudicial to Regal Power*.

"Because the Papists by the multitude and pompousness of their ceremonies had taken away much of the inward vigour of God's public worship, by drawing it too much outward; the Puritans in opposition to them, and to reform that error, by stripping it of all ceremonies have left it so bare, that (besides the unseemliness) it is well nigh starved for want of convenient clothing. It is in the distempers of the body politic, in this respect, not much otherwise than it is in those of the body natural. In an ague, when the cold fit hath had his course, the body doth not thence return to a kindly natural warmth, but falleth speedily into a burning preternatural heat, nothing less (if not rather more) afflictive than the former. And how often have physicians, (not the unlearned Empericks only, but even those best renowned for their skill and judgment,) by tampering with a crazy body to master the predominancy of some noxious humour therein, cast their patients ere they were aware under the tyranny of another and contrary humour as perilous as the former: or, for fear of leaving too much bad blood in the veins, have letten out too much of the vital spirits withal? Only the difference is, that in bodily diseases this course may be sometimes profitably experimented, and with good success; not only out of necessity, when there is no other way of cure left, (as they use to say, desperate diseases must have desperate remedies,) but also out of choice, and in a rational way. But for the remedying of moral or politic distempers, it is neither warrantable nor safe to try such experiments: NOT WARRANTABLE; because we have no such rule given us in the word of God whereby to operate. NOR SAFE; because herein the mean only is commendable, all extreams (whether in defect or excess) vicious.

"Whereas the Papists unjustly charge the Protestant Churches with schism for departing from their communion, it could not but be a great scandal to them to confirm them in that their uncharitable opinion of us, if we should utterly condemn any thing as *unlawful*, or but even forbid the use of it as *inexpedient*, upon this only ground or consideration, that *the same had been used in the times of Popery, or that it had been abused by the Papists*. And truly the Puritans have, by this this very means, given a wonderful scandal and advantage to our adversaries, which they ought to acknowledge and repent of; when, transported with an indiscreet zeal, they have cried down sundry harmless ceremonies and customs as superstitious and Antichristian, only for this—*that Papists use them*. Whereas godly and

manifest *any symptoms of horror* on account of such rites having obtained the sanction and patronage of an Archbishop who was reputed an Arminian.—The ungrateful return which Mr. Mede received from Dr. Twisse for his pacific services, has been already detailed in various parts of the notes; a summary of it is contained in the following lines addressed to one of his friends: "I can be content to satisfy myself without troubling others, unless I see them *seriously desirous to be informed.* But no man, I find, loves any speculations but such as he thinks will advance his profitable ends, or advantage his side or faction." The ingratitude of Dr. Twisse was not confined to those instances of fretfulness and impatience which occur in the preceding correspondence: He published some of Mr. Mede's papers without his privity, after they had been lent to him in the unsuspecting confidence of friendship. Of this unhandsome trick Mr. Mede complains in a letter addressed, four months before his death, "to a worthy friend," an extract from which, inserted in the note,* displays to advantage the

regular Protestants think it agreeable to christian liberty, charity and prudence, that in appointing ceremonies, retaining ancient customs, and the use of all other indifferent things, such course be held as that their moderation might be known to all men; and that it might appear to their very adversaries, that, wherein they did recede from them or from any thing practised by them, they were not thereunto carried by a spirit of contradiction, but either cast upon it by some necessity of the times, or induced for just reasons of expediency so to do."

The Rev. J. W. Cunningham, the amiable Vicar of Harrow-on-the-Hill, has also, in his "VELVET CUSHION," remarked with no less terseness than truth concerning a Popish church: "The vast Gothic arches, the solemn light, the general air of majesty—all inspired the most lofty ideas of the BEING to whom the temple was dedicated. And here, Sir, as I am likely to say a few hard things of Popery presently, I wish, by way of set-off, to remind you good Protestants, that you owe to Popery almost every thing that deserves to be called by the name of a Church. Popery is the religion of *Cathedrals*,—Protestantism of *Houses*,—Dissenterism of *Barns!*"

It detracts nothing from the high estimation in which the character of this active and benevolent clergyman is held, that, notwithstanding his belief in *the general truth* of the proposition which he thus briefly states, he expunged the whole passage from the succeeding editions, because it had given huge offence to many Dissenters, who in this particular seem by their practice to have disowned both the opinions and the deeds of their ancestors. For, while several of them have been blessed "in their basket and in their store" by the bounty of heaven, and have been enabled to erect superb mansions for their personal accommodation, they have, in the unaffected spirit of ancient piety, repeated the words of king David, "See now, I dwell in a house of cedar, but the ark of God dwelleth within curtains." Not content with a listless repetition of the noble sentiment, they have erected magnificent structures in various parts of the kingdom, and, more blessed than the royal Psalmist, have lived to see them dedicated to the public worship of the Living God. This is as it should be. It is a holy service, which deserves commendation, by whomsoever it may be performed.

* "There are some papers of mine, walking I know not where, concerning bowing towards the altar; which were written by way of answer to somebody, (and a man of note,) demanding of me what I thought thereof. One was my first answer: Another more large, replying to the exceptions he made against that first and the whole opinion and practice, being somewhat larger than I use to write letters, and written with some intention of mind,

unsubdued good-nature of this eminent divine. Many were the artifices, invented by the Doctor and others, to induce the good man to transgress the usual bounds of his moderation, and to shew himself a warm and decided partizan: But this they could not accomplish. For, as it is well observed by his biographer, "To conceal his judgment, not to divulge every thing that was truth to him, he was not hard to be persuaded. But neither friends, nor interests, nor any worldly allurements whatsoever, were of force to corrupt his affections, or pervert his judgment: Much less could they prevail with him, unworthily to deny any truth, how unplausible soever it was to some men, and therefore disadvantageous to himself. For a proof of his constant and unremovable affection to truth, as also of his patient enduring the contradiction of others against himself, take this instance: 'In the revolution of about twenty years 'by-past,' (the saying was his own,) 'he had by the self-same 'persons been looked upon, and accordingly reported of, as 'POPISH, PROTESTANT, and PURITAN:' And yet he would protest it as in the presence of God, 'that to his knowledge he 'had not in the least receded from his very first persuasions!' So that all the while he was the same without wavering, although varied to their appearance; because they, sailing with the tide and wind, varied towards him."

But another point of difference between Dr. Twisse and Mr. Mede, that ultimately became a test of the party to which a man belonged, was the defining of FUNDAMENTAL ARTICLES, to which allusion has been made in page 497, where Mr. Mede, with the liberal feeling then generally exhibited by the the English Arminians,* declares that the Romish Church holds

after my thoughts that way had been long asleep. I, by chance, kept a copy of it, which how it came to be so much dispersed, I profess I know not. That so-long-since-written discourse of mine, *De Sanctitate Relativa, &c.*, savours too much of my infancy in divinity, and first thoughts, and affection of style, ever to see the public light. And indeed I had resolved to enjoy myself, and such contentment as I could find in my cell, and never to have come in print again, either to please or displease any man; but only to vent such notions as I had conceived privately by a new way I took of common-placing, changing my theme *qualibet vice*. When now on a sudden before I was aware, and little expected any such matter, one of my stragglers is perked into the press, telling the world he was one of those common places. What his destiny is, I know not: but if it be good, somebody can say, 'He hath 'flung many a stone in his days, but never hit the mark till now, and that 'too by mere chance, and not so much as intending it.'"

* "It cannot seem strange, that a man in my case, removed by the force of the war from the service of the church, should dedicate his time to the consideration of those controversies which cause divisions in the church. For, what could I do more to the satisfaction of mine own judgment, than to seek a solution, what truth it is, the *oversight* whereof hath divided the church; and therefore, the *sight* whereof ought to unite it? The title of Reformation which the late war pretended, mentioned only Episcopacy and the Service. The effect of it was a new Confession of faith, a new Catechism, a new Directory, all new; with chapter and verse indeed, quoted in the margin, but as

those truths which Protestants consider *fundamental*. ARMINIUS was one of the earliest divines who attempted practically to apply, to the purposes of general christian union the comprehensive plan, which had been devised by Erasmus, Junius, and others, of defining those few grand *truths the belief of which is necessary to salvation*. On this subject, his nine orphan children say: "The mind of our beloved father was strangely exercised with many thoughts of this kind, which often drew tears from his eyes, and excited sensations painful beyond any thing that he ever experienced. For by his incredible sagacity he could discern how the dissensions of friends, while they operated as losses to themselves, were advantageous to their enemies. The whole of these considerations he has most accurately expressed in his elaborate oration on this subject. With this view, under the Divine favour, he most diligently and mildly applied the powers of his mind to effect a complete union of the Churches, at least of those which differed very little from each other; and in this way endeavoured according to his ability to remove sects from the Reformed portion of Christendom, a measure most offensive to them, and to destroy the kingdom of Anti-christ,—always stipulating for the inviolability of that truth by which we either stand or fall, and having a due regard to the preservation of their own names to all those to whom such an object was of consequence. He was desirous to point out in a sparing manner the method by which this design might be

well over-against their own new inventions, as over-against the old faith of the church. This burthen was as easily kicked off by the Congregations, as laid on by the Presbyteries; as carrying, indeed, no conviction with it, but the sword, and what penalties the sword should inforce it with. Which failing, what is come instead of it, to warrant the salvation of christians, but *that the Bible is preached*, (which what heresy disowneth?) *and by them whom the Triers count godly men?* make they what they can of it. I, from my nonage, had embraced the Church of England, and attained the order of Priesthood in it, upon supposition that it was a true church and salvation to be had in it and by it; owning, nevertheless, (as the Church of England did own,) the Church of Rome for a church in which salvation, though more difficult, yet might be had and obtained. That there is no such thing as a church by God's law, in the nature of a body, (which this state of religion requireth,) is opposite to an article of my creed, who always thought myself a member of such a body by being of the Church of England. The issue of that which I have published, concerning that title of Reformation which the war pretended, was this: That they are schismatics, that concur to the breaking or destroying of the Church of England for those causes.—If the salvation of a christian consist in professing the common christianity, as I shew you at large, shall not the salvation of a divine consist in professing what he hath attained to believe, when he thinks the exigent of the time renders it necessary to the salvation of God's people? How shall he otherwise be ministerial to the work of God's grace, in strengthening them that stand, in comforting and helping the weak, in raising them that are fallen, in resolving the doubtful, without searching the bottom of the cause? Nay, how shall he make reparation for the offences he may have given, by not knowing that which now he thinks he knows?"—THORNDIKE's *Epilogue*, 1654.

"They [the Puritans] promote the interest of Rome, and betray the Protestant cause; partly by mistaking the question, (a very common fault among them,) but especially through the necessity of some false principle or

accomplished, through a lure to others; by which means he studied to procure commendation for them, rather than seem himself to seek his own honour by prescribing a method to his governors and fellow ministers, to all of whom he paid a most willing homage." But, unlike Grotius* and some of his English

other; which, having once imbibed, they think themselves bound to maintain. Among those false principles, it shall suffice for the present to have named but this one, 'That the Church of Rome is no true church.' The disadvantages of which assertion to our cause in the dispute about *the visibility of the Church*, (besides the falseness and uncharitableness of it,) their zeal, or prejudice rather, will not suffer them to consider. With what out-cries was Bishop Hall, (good man! who little dreamt of any peace with Rome,) pursued by Burton and other Hotspurs, for yielding it a church? Who had made the same concession over and over again *before he was Bishop*, (as Junius, Reynolds, and our best controversy-writers generally do,) and no notice taken, no noise made of it. You may perceive by this one instance where the shoe wringeth."—SANDERSON'S *Preface*. On these outcries against Bishop Hall consult a succeeding note, which contains *Sadler's examination*.

* Of the early opinions of Grotius on this subject it is necessary to give some account, because, at a subsequent period of his life, they were objected to him as contradictory to his more mature thoughts and designs: In 1611, when he was twenty-seven years of age, on consulting Anthony Walæus about one of his first publications, he thus addresses him: "I perceived that it would be easy for me to clear myself, before those persons who would enter into a right consideration of my design; and yet that it would be an act of greater prudence and correctness, if every expression were so mollified as to require the least possible excuse or apology. But, as this course was one of difficulty, for I seemed always inclined to stumble against one side or the other, I began to deliberate *if it would not be better to suppress this production*, or to defer its publication to a more peaceful period.—The saying of yours is undoubtedly true, 'that, among those topics of controversy between 'us and the Papists, there are some which openly attack the citadel of the 'true faith.' Yet the foundations of the citadel are still apparent among them; and, if a comparison be instituted, we shall find those foundations to be greater and more dignified than the structure that is erected upon them, and than that part of the structure itself which is nearest the foundations,—for there are gradations even between the different parts. Our Junius was accustomed to say, 'The Popists err IN the foundations so as not to err FROM 'the foundations:' To this distinction I yield my full assent. In this book, in which I had purposed to abstain from all controversies, I could not pass over in silence, among other topics, that most profane custom of forming representations of the Deity by images; because in reality I hope, that no prudent men in the church of Rome itself can possibly approve of that impiety, as they must likewise disapprove of those gross and Pelagian opinions of some men about *Merits*, and *Free-will* in reference to its opposition to Grace. But even these points among the Papists which are most dangerous, may, I think, be undermined and overturned by the very principles which I lay down as granted. The authority of these principles ought to be the greater, because those who are convicted by them of falsehood, dare not deny their truth. The declaration made by certain divines of great reputation, approaches very near the truth: 'All those truths which we believe, are acknowledged by the 'Papists; but to them are added other things which are false, and which are 'totally inconsistent with those prime truths which they acknowledge.' The consequence is this, when religion is reduced to those truths in which all christian churches of every age agree, Popery will be ruined, because it is composed of private opinions," [which have no connection with the recognised verities of the Church Universal.]

It is amazing that any one should have objected against these sentiments; for they are the very germs of the principles which he afterwards expanded in the blessed work of pacification. This is rendered still more apparent, by a letter to the same learned divine, written two months afterwards, of which the following is an extract: "Between you and me no difference of opinion

disciples, Arminius rejected the Papacy from his project of pacification, as Bertius informs us, and it is also recorded in his last Will and Testament: "He shewed great solicitude,

exists respecting the Papists, though each of us may employ different phrases from the other, which is nothing unusual. For I concede to you, that, in Popery, there are certain things which it has in common with other churches, and that there are likewise some things which are peculiar to itself: Those of the former class are *christian*, those of the latter are for the most part *antichristian*: the former by themselves are *of a saving nature*, the latter, when separated, are *destructive*. But we have cause of gratitude to God on one account—those individuals among the Papists who possess a larger portion of candour and liberality, are compelled to own, '*that all the articles of their* '*belief are not of equal authority*, and therefore that those assured princi-' ples which are common to our Christianity, ought to be apprehended with a ' kind of special knowledge that does not belong to the others.' For this reason the way in which I proceed seemed to me not unsuitable for healing those who are capable of a cure, and that is—to teach them to hold those things as undoubted which are *of a salutary nature*, and, if they cannot yet execrate the others as *pestiferous*, to lay them aside in the mean time as *unnecessary*. Though I readily understand how important and difficult of reconciliation those topics are which are controverted among christians, and particularly those which are subjects of discussion between us and the Papists, yet to place before their eyes this *importance* and *difficulty* was no part of my intention, which only included a wish to exhort real christians to the exercise of charity, on account of those things which are common to all of them: and to advise *all others* to embrace those things which are professed by christians in general, and to omit all the subjects of dispute. Unless such a plan be adopted towards those who are not christians, they will undoubtedly be so scandalized at our dissensions, as almost to think that, excepting the name of CHRISTIAN, there is no other point in which we all agree."

His early views on this subject receive further illustration from a Letter addressed, six years afterwards, to his brother, who was then at Paris on his travels. "My Brother, your safe arrival at Paris in the midst of such difficult circumstances, is a true source of pleasure to me: Nor is it the less pleasing to hear, that at the very commencement of your journey you have begun to know a race of men whom you had not seen before, who are objects of hatred to every good man, and distinguish themselves by that most arrogant appellation of JESUITS; as though it was not sufficient for them to be called CHRISTIANS,—a title with which the piety of such a multitude of ages has been content! The objections which they stated to you about the Catholic Church, are of no value. For it is as great an absurdity to dignify the Church of Rome with the name of CATHOLIC, as to bestow it upon the Church of Holland. Both these churches are only parts of the universal body, whose head is Christ. The Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Abyssinian, Russian, Armenian, and as many more that lie under no obligations to the Roman Pontiff, are parts of the same great body. These are stigmatized by the Roman Catholics as SCHISMATICS, because they do not own that new domination of *the Universal Bishopric* which Gregory, the Roman Pontiff, specified long ago as the mark of the future Antichrist. It is an undoubted fact, that the Christian Name is far more widely extended among those nations that are unacquainted with the Papal kingdom, than it is among such as have submitted their necks to that unjust yoke. But if the Roman Pontiff would confine himself within the ancient limits, and would account it enough to be *the First Patriarch*, and at the same time *the Son* but not *the Lord* of the Church, some hopes might then be indulged concerning the restoration of unity, which cannot form any possible ground of hope as long as liberty is thus manifestly under oppression. The conversion of the Gentiles is indeed promised to the true church, and, in the first ages after Christ, that prophecy received an abundant fulfilment. Yet I cannot deny, that some persons have been gained from Paganism to Christianity, as well by Papists as by Protestants: But this circumstance is of no avail, either to them or to us, in discovering the truth under controversy,—no more than it concerned

that the scattered members of the Church should no longer remain in a state of separation, but should now at length, according to their Lord's command, be incorporated into one body. In his judgment, which in this instance is supported by facts, the Court of Rome does not seek those things which are Christ's, but the pleasures, the honours, the profit, and the splendour of this world, and a system of tyranny over both the minds and the bodies of men; and he therefore considered it neither possible nor proper for any person to enter into consultation with that harlot respecting the concerns of salvation, or the establishment of peace throughout the Christian community. In other religious denominations he could generally perceive a studied regard and attention to conscience and piety; and that these parties did not intentionally or by design offend against the integrity of the Church, so much as by doubtful ambiguities or intricate enquiries. To render these noble attempts abortive, or to elude their efficacy, Satan

those of old 'that compassed sea and land to make one proselyte, who, 'when he was made, became two-fold more than his masters the child *of hell* 'but *not of heaven.*' (Matt. xxiii, 15.)"—At the close of the same letter, he alludes to a principle contained in his treatise *On the Freedom of the Ocean*, and says: "My treatise by no means concedes an indirect dominion to the Pope; but it derives its argument from those principles which are professed among the Cardinals themselves. I approve of the sentiments of those individuals among the Roman Catholics who declare, 'that Bishops,—and among 'them, the Roman Pontiff, if he be desirous of properly discharging his 'functions,—have a right over the sheep of their fold to make arrangements 'about the concerns of their flock in the way of *persuasion*, but not of *com-* '*mand.*' If any person refuses obedience, he may for equitable reasons be *excluded* from communion, but he cannot be *compelled.* But if those who are called HERETICS may *through the fear of contagion*, be excluded from the privileges which are common to all by the law of nations, why may not access into Spain be denied to us and to the English? Thanks be to God, we are not heretics: but we can say with St. Paul, *After the way which they call* HERESY, *so worship we the God of our Fathers!*"

In all these extracts, Grotius manifests the same liberal feeling as he exhibited nearly thirty years afterwards, with the exception of his hint about *the mark of Antichrist.* Most justly therefore could he observe to his brother in 1643, in reference to a scurrilous publication against him: "I have seen the book which James Laurence has dedicated to me. I wonder, how he, who calls himself *the defender of the truth*, can utter such *audacious falsehoods*, —as he does when he says, 'that Ruarus lodged in my house,'—and when he applies to the Socinians the arguments which, in my book *on the Laws of War and Peace*, I had written against the Mennonites. I am not aware of any Protestant having hitherto declared, 'that no man, in the communion 'of the Church of Rome, can possibly be saved!' A doctrine contrary to this was both taught and written by Camero, Ferrarius, and many other Protestants. The causes which he adduces are exceedingly vapid. For the Council of Trent says, that the righteousness which obtains the approbation of God, and which it is his pleasure to render saving, is derived *from God through Christ.* It is also possible for persons in that Communion to abstain from idolatry, by honouring the saints only as the servants of God, by using images as refreshing excitements to their memories, and by venerating in the sacrament that which is its principal part, as the Council of Trent has made *the adoration of the sacrament* to be tantamount to *adoring Christ in the sacrament.*—He objects against me many of my former opinions, as if they were at variance with my recent writings; yet there is no actual variation

endeavoured to excite a persuasion in certain inconsiderate persons, that in all these things Arminius was actuated by a selfish desire to procure his own glory, to make an ostentatious display of the force of his genius, to introduce innovations into the Church, and to put in motion the recriminating saw of mutual contentions and altercations." By consulting *the Works of Arminius*, (vol. 1, pp. 408—461, 639, 660,) the reader will become acquainted with the philanthropic and liberal views of that great man, who made those benevolent declarations, when, according to the statement of the Dort Synodists "the magistrates were favourable to the Arminians, and they could accomplish any thing through Uitenbogardt's influence with the Advocate of Holland."* (*Arminius*, vol. 1, pp. 514, 548.)

between them, if they be examined according to the exact rules of Logic. If my judgment has become purer and more refined through process of time, conversation with the learned, or through diligent reading, I ought not, on that account, to be accused of *inconstancy*, any more than St. Augustine, who in his *Retractations* has corrected many of his own opinions.—But, in defiance of all justice, he charges the Psaltery of Bonaventura upon the whole body of Catholics, (though it was condemned by the Doctors of the Sorbonne,) and those verses to the Virgin Mary which commence with *Impera Redemptori*, as well as some others which he has quoted from their books. Prudent men among the Roman Catholics believe, not only that censors of books but that Popes themselves may be fallible, and often are deceived on many subjects."

* In page 496, I have said, that "the Dutch Calvinists adopted the expedient of calling the doctrine of Unconditional Election and Reprobation *fundamental*;" and it is there shewn to be a Popish principle. For, with the substitution of the word Calvinists, the Arminians might employ Mr. Mede's phrase, and say: "The Calvinists and we differ not in the articles WE account to be fundamental; not that we differ not, and mainly too, in those which THEY account fundamental."

The first mention of such a proposition was made by Gomarus, at the close of a Public Conference between him and Arminius, before the States of Holland, on the 24th of May, 1608. After a patient hearing of the parties, the President of that honourable assembly had thanked God *that the controversy between the two Professors did not at all concern the main points of the christian religion;* but Gomarus passionately affirmed "that the controversy "between them was of such vast importance, that he durst not appear in the "presence of his Maker, if he maintained the opinions which Arminius pro-"fessed!" To this uncharitable speech should always be appended the just remark of one of his co-temporaries: "I would much more readily appear "before the tribunal of God with the FAITH of Arminius, than with the "CHARITY of Gomarus!"—The reply of Gomarus was much applauded by his friends, and the principle which it avowed was pertinaciously maintained by the Dutch Calvinists, during the whole of the succeeding half century. But, though inclined to live in amity with his colleague, Gomarus was attacked on his weak side; and being constituted the leader of the high Predestinarian party, he was furnished with projectiles, which, at the suggestion of some craftier men, he hurled against the scriptural doctrines of General Redemption. To this fact some allusions are made in the *Life of Arminius;* and it is easily proved by a document, signed by Gomarus, only three years before, in which he explicitly states, "that, among the Professors of the Faculty of Theology [in Leyden], no difference existed that could be considered as *in the least affecting the fundamentals of doctrine!*" It was not even pretended, that Arminius had disclosed any fresh heterodoxies between the years 1605 and 1608; but the Calvinists had discovered, that, unless they boldly affirmed their DOCTRINAL *peculiarities to be essential to salvation*,—a

In the long note on "the becoming reverence which the Church of England has always entertained for the authority of the Christian Fathers," in a preceding page of this work, (429-433,) I have given a brief account of the labours of Grotius in preparing the celebrated Edict of 1614, and the pleasure which King James received from a perusal of that document. That learned Monarch immediately resolved to adopt the basis of Grotius, and to apply his principles on a more extensive scale in effecting a fraternal concord between all the churches that had rejected the yoke of Popery: In this service he employed Peter Du Moulin; and, in 1615, after the scheme was completed, he transmitted a copy of it to each of the Reformed Churches in France and Holland. This proposal was exceedingly liberal, and happy had it been for the whole of Christendom if its principles had been embraced by all Protestant churches! I subjoin a portion of its contents: "My meaning is not to commence a religious disputation: For as soon as the minds of men are put into a ferment, none will yield, and each will ascribe to himself the victory. But the object at which I aim is this—to lay on the table the Confession of the English and Scotch churches, with those of the French and Dutch churches, that of Switzerland and of the Palatinate, and others: Out of all these *Particular* Confessions a *General* one might be drawn up, in which many things might be tacitly passed by, the knowledge of which is not esteemed necessary to salvation. For instance, the dispute of Piscator, and several refined opinions which have been proposed by Arminius on the points of Free-will, the Perseverance of the Saints, and Predestination.*—With regard to ceremonies and church-govern-

distinction which the Papists alone had till then claimed for *their antichristian additions to the gospel*,—they could not hope to succeed in their daring attempt to suppress the benevolent doctrine of God's good will to all mankind. For, as Grotius has shewn in the case of the Papists, (page 550,) when once *these Predestinarian additions* were allowed to hold no place among the FUNDAMENTALS of the gospel, Calvinism would cease to have the pre-eminence to which it aspired, and the concise yet benignant foundations of Arminianism would be immediately recognized, by the Common Sense of mankind, as those of genuine Christianity. To such a dangerous admission as this, it will be perceived, neither the rigid Papists nor the rigid Calvinists would agree; and, in Mr. Mede's days, (page 497,) the latter continued to object, that, if the Predestinarian points were "declared NOT-FUNDAMENTAL, they "would lose part of their strength and be shaken."

* The golden chains, and similar valuable trinkets, which "his High and Puissant Majesty King James" bestowed upon Du Moulin and other literary drudges, of whom he had several that rendered him essential aid in his learned labours, were of great service to the individuals who received them, as their loyalty and attachment to the government of the country were frequently thus secured at a trifling expense. The good effects produced by the mere countenance and discourse of his Majesty upon the mind of the famous Camero, who had early been tinctured with the disaffection of his party, may be seen in page 205. His Majesty's presents and friendship were equally potent and benign when bestowed upon Peter du Moulin, who was uncommonly

ment, a mutual declaration should be framed and appended to the Confession, in which the deputies should testify, in the name of their principals, that the churches do not condemn each other for such diversities as do not hinder us from still agreeing in the true faith and doctrine, and from embracing each other as true believers and members of the same body.*—The points on which the Lutheran church differs from us are two-fold: (1.) Some are of such a nature as may easily be adjusted between us, viz. the ceremonies of the Lutheran church, which might be understood in the most favourable sense and tolerated, being matters which belong to the class of *expedients* rather than to that of *necessaries*. Of this kind also are some of the opinions about Predestination,† concerning which, I conceive, an article of the general Confession may be framed so as to be approved by all parties without scruple, if, avoiding a prying curiosity, we imitate the manner of the Augsburg Confession, in which that topic is mentioned with great caution and purposely passed over.

obsequious, and yielded a ready compliance with any of the monarch's pedantic humours. Indeed, much of that deleterious influence on the subject of religion, which has been ascribed exclusively to Archbishop Abbot, may be traced up to Du Moulin, who yet, on almost all the disputed points both of doctrine and discipline, was at perfect agreement with his Grace.

But after the death of King James, what a metamorphosis was effected in Du Moulin! The kind and liberal peace-maker became one of the most violent incendiaries in Europe; and, not content with embroiling his native country in an unholy war, he affected to wield in his own hand the religious destinies of Holland and Great Britain. An admirable specimen of his endeavours to kindle the flames of civil discord in this country, will be seen in page 392, and requires no comment.

* How christian and pacific is this judicious plan! And what a contrast does it present to the malevolent productions of the same man, recorded in page 393.

† In a preceding page (154) the ingenuous Mosheim has frankly acknowledged, "If the opinions contained in the well-known FIVE POINTS of the Arminians be simply regarded by themselves, no man can deny the fact that they are the same as those which the Lutherans embrace for DIVINE VERITIES that are clearly revealed. Where can the man be found who will not confess, that the Lutherans were wounded, condemned, and excluded from salvation, at the Synod of Dort, through the sides of the Arminians?"—At the beck of king James and of the Duke of Bouillon, four years afterwards Du Moulin wrote a letter approving of that intolerant conduct on the part of the Synod, although he had previously made the large admissions in the text. See page 242.

But, in enumerating other differences between the Calvinists and Lutherans, Du Moulin added, *in his plan of pacification*, "There is also some difference about the necessity of Baptism, which, in a good sense, may be asserted to be *necessary to salvation*, that is, 'it is necessary baptism should 'be used in the christian church, and it is no less necessary that each private 'christian should not despise it,' without entering any further into the question of such necessity." In page 396, I have quoted the Ninth Article of the Augsburg Confession, which declares the manner in which the Lutherans hold Baptism to be *necessary to salvation*; and which is quite contrary to Du Moulin's Eighth Motion: Let the reader peruse that article, if he be desirous to observe the difference between Du Moulin in 1615 and in 1641. In the long quotation on the same page from Mosheim, allusion is made to Bishops Ward and Davenant's opinions concerning Baptism, on which the reader will find ample information in Dr. PARR's *Life of Archbishop Usher*, pages 434—438.

(2.) There is the point of the Lord's Supper, which will cause more trouble, &c.—For there are two sorts of errors: Some consist only of *what we think or believe,* others of *some external act* beside the belief or opinion. Of the the *first species* are those which relate to the nature of Christ, to Predestination and Free-will. Of *the second* are the doctrines concerning the Communion in one kind, the Adoration of the Host, and Praying in a language *unknown sometimes even to him that prays.* The errors of *the latter sort,* though they be often of less moment than the others, do yet produce greater ferments and sometimes schisms. For if I hold communion with any one who errs in the business of *Predestination* or in that of *Christ's nature,* or who maintains that *Christ's body is every where,* though these errors be great, yet need they not disquiet the person that partakes of the Lord's Supper with him. But if I approach that sacrament with a man who *pays adoration to the bread,* or who believes he is then *sacrificing Jesus Christ,* such an act must scandalize and drive me from thence, for fear of joining in his *idolatry* or *false oblation.* Now it is a happy circumstance, that our differences with the Lutherans are of the First kind; and that with regard to externals, there is no difference but such as might be easily adjusted between us.—In order to induce the respective communities and churches to conform themselves to the agreement which may be concluded, it will be absolutely necessary for the several princes and states to promise, that they will exert their authority for the purpose of abolishing the names of LUTHERANS, CALVINISTS, and SACRAMENTARIANS, and of causing all our churches to be called CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCHES. Every one ought also under severe penalties to be prohibited from inveighing against his brethren in sermons, or writing against them: And the catalogues of those books which are offered for sale at the Frankfort Fair must no longer be filled with the titles of such scandalous libels and invectives as have been commonly published.—The Protestant princes of Germany shall also consent to send their ministers on an appointed day to the principal churches of the neighbouring princes, who shall be ready to receive them, and they may there partake together of the Holy Communion on some solemn festival.—If God would grant his blessing to this holy and laudable undertaking, which would crown with everlasting honour the King of Great Britain and those Potentates that assisted him, it might then be a proper season to offer terms of peace to the Church of Rome. And though I indulge doubts concerning any such peace, because the Pope allows of no Council or Conference in which he is not permitted to preside, yet,* if it were

* This is the opinion of Grotius quoted page 550, and agrees with the following extract from Bishop Gauden: "Nor did the ancient Ecclesiastical laws and distinctions lay more to the Roman inspection or jurisdiction, than

once to be brought under discussion, we should attain a much higher reputation; and, when we were at length brought to an agreement among ourselves, we should be able to speak [to others] with greater authority."

Among those who entered with spirit into this amicable mode of composing religious differences, none was more distinguished than the famous Archbishop of Spalato. Of this individual, Dr. Heylin gives the following sketch in his Life of Archbishop LAUD: "We will begin the next [year, 1623,] with the dismission of the Archbishop of Spalato, a man defamed by the Italians at his coming hither, and as much reproached by the English at his going hence: His name was Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato in fact, and Primate of Dalmatia in title: Such anciently and of right those Archbishops were, till the Bishop of Venice, being made a Patriarch by Pope Eugenius the Fourth, Anno 1450, assumed that title to himself, together with a superintendency over all the churches of that country, as subordinate to him. He had been long conversant with the Fathers and ancient councils;* by this light he discerned the darkness of the Church of Rome, and the blind title which the Popes had for their supremacy. Inclining to the Protestant religion, he began to fear, that his own country would prove too hot for him at the last; and therefore, after he had sat in the See of Spalato about fourteen years, he quitted his preferments there, and betook himself for sanctuary to the Church of England, anno 1616. Extremely honoured at his first coming by all sorts of people; entertained in both Universities with solemn speeches; presented, complimented,

the sub-urbicarian regions, which extended 100 miles from the city. That the Roman Bishop was owned as the first or chief Patriarch in order and precedency, in place or vote, was not a regard to the persons of the Bishops or their authority, as if it were more than other Bishops by any Divine or human right, but [it was] a regard to the pristine Majesty of the city, and to the Apostolic eminency of that church in which the two great Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, had not only placed much of their pains but ended their lives. Lay aside the Roman pomp and insolency, no sober man but will allow the Bishop of Rome his civil and ecclesiastical primacy, as King James and other Protestant Princes offered long ago: Nor would any of the great reformers, Luther, or Calvin, or Cranmer, have grudged this, if the Bishop of Rome would have submitted either to a general council, or to the word of Christ."

* It appears from the life of Bishop Bedell, that the Archbishop of Spalato was not acquainted with the productions of the Greek Fathers; for, after being requested to examine the Ten Books of the Archbishop's *Ecclesiastical Republic*, "Mr. Bedell corrected many ill applications of texts of scripture and quotations from the Fathers. For that Prelate, being utterly ignorant of the Greek tongue, could not but be guilty of many mistakes both in the one and the other." Mr. Bedell had been chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, during the nine years of his embassy to the republic of Venice, and was the person who brought De Dominis over into England, and several of the famous Father Paul's manuscripts, particularly his *History of the Council of Trent*. This learned Italian professed, "that he had learnt more from Mr. Bedell in all parts of divinity, whether speculative or practical, than from any one with whom he had ever conversed."

feasted by the great Lords about the Court, the Bishops, and some principal persons about the city; happy was he that could be honoured with his company, and satisfied with beholding his comely presence, though they understood not his discourses! Commended by King James at first for a constant sojourner and guest to Archbishop Abbot, in whose chapel at Lambeth he assisted at the consecration of some English Bishops. Made afterwards by the King the Master of the Savoy, and Dean of Windsor, and by himself made Rector of West-Illesby in the county of Berks; a revenue not so great as to bring him under the suspicion of coming hither out of covetousness, for the sake of filthy lucre; nor so contemptible, but that he might have lived plentifully and contentedly on it. During his stay here, he published his learned and elaborate book, entituled, *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, never yet answered by the Papists, and perhaps unanswerable. He had given great trouble to the Pope by his defection from that Church, and no small countenance to the doctrine of the Protestant churches by his coming over unto ours. The foundering of so great a pillar seemed to prognosticate, that the fabric of that Church was not like to stand. And yet he gave greater blows to them by his pen, than by the defection of his person; the wound so given being conceived to be incurable. In these respects, those of that church bestirred themselves to disgrace his person, devising many other causes by which he might be moved or forced to forsake those parts, wherein he durst no longer tarry: but finding little credit given to their libellous pamphlets, they began to work upon him by more secret practices, insinuating, 'That he had neither that respect nor those 'advancements which might encourage him to stay; that the 'new Pope, Gregory the Fifteenth, was his special friend; 'that he might chuse his own preferments and make his own 'conditions, if he would return.' And, on the other side, they cunningly wrought him out of credit with King James, by the arts of Gundamore,* Ambassador at that time from the King of

* This bold and clever catholic exercised at one period a complete control over the weak mind of King James. The reader will also recollect this ambassador's interference in the case of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the irresolute conduct of the pragmatical monarch. No one acquainted with the history of that period can entertain a doubt concerning the pernicious consequences of Gondemar's residence in England: He and his agents excited within the mind of James the recollections of his royal mother's Catholicism; they brought the infatuated King within the reach of temptation, into which his Majesty would undoubtedly have fallen a willing prey, had all his able counsellors been as wavering in the Protestant Faith as himself; and they then introduced the seeds of Popery into the Royal Family, which were not eradicated even after King James the Second was under the necessity of abdicating the throne and quitting the Kingdom. There cannot be a doubt, that Charles the First was the finest branch of the unfortunate family of the Stuarts: In strength of understanding, quickness of apprehension, and solidity of judg-

Spain; and lessened his esteem amongst the clergy, by some other artifices. So that the poor man, being in a manner lost on both sides, was forced to a necessity of swallowing that accursed bait, by which he was hooked over to his own destruction: For, having solicited King James by several letters, (the last of them bearing date on the 3d of Febrnary, 1623,) to licence his departure home, he was by the King disdainfully turned over

ment, his Majesty excelled his royal father and his own sons. Yet whoever has considered Clarendon's just representation in a preceding page, (344,) and has perused with attention his Majesty's very interesting letters to Queen Henrietta, will find no difficulty in inferring, that the very delicate and *more than gentlemanly* deference there displayed would ultimately have been productive of dangerous consequences to the sound Protestant principles which the King entertained, had the last eventful years of his life been as prosperous as they were adverse. The judicious precautions of Archbishop Laud might in the end have proved unavailing, had the Queen gained by affability and kindness unbounded ascendancy over her royal consort: and when once her Majesty had engrossed the management of the most momentous concerns of the kingdom, and experienced no interruption in the distribution of court-rewards, in which she would have had the aid of Popish advisers, the Protestant interest would have been gradually sapped, and Popery would have struggled hard to gain its ancient supremacy.

These are some of the remote consequences which flowed from Gondemar's reprehensible interference in English affairs; and it was in the same line of operations, at once to render De Dominis suspected at court, and to flatter his vanity by inducing him to undertake the Quixotic expedition of effecting a reconciliation between the Protestants and the Papists.

We are told, in the Life of Bishop Morton, "that the Archbishop's pretence for going to Rome was, to negotiate an unity in religion between the Church of Rome and that of England, upon those moderate grounds which he had laid down in his works printed at London. He thought himself the more likely to execute this design by reason of the seasonable opportunity which he had at that time, when Gregory XV was newly chosen Pope, who had been his old and intimate acquaintance, being brought up in the same school and college with him. Besides, if he failed in the attempt, he hoped he should lose nothing but his labour, since Count Gondamar, the Spanish Embassador in England, who had persuaded him to that journey, had promised him the protection of the King of Spain his master. While he was full of this design and hopes, Bishop Morton came to visit him, and among other discourse with him had the following [in Latin,] which shews of how little authority the Council of Trent would be, if it were not for the terror of the Inquisition:—*Morton.* 'My 'Lord, what is in your mind, [that induces you to go to Rome]? Is it your intention to convert the Pope and the Papal Conclave?'—*De Dominis.* 'Why 'not, my Lord? Do you suppose that they are devils, and incapable of conversion?'—*Morton.* 'I do by no means account them DEVILS; neither do I 'consider his Grace of Spalato to be God and able to effect such a miracle. 'For does not your Lordship know the Council of Trent?'—*De Dominis.* 'I 'am indeed, my Lord, well acquainted with it: and I venture to assure your 'Lordship, that there are thousands of thousands, in Italy itself, who have no 'faith whatever in that Council!' This discourse, and many others having passed between them, they parted in a friendly manner; and not long after, our Bishop wrote a long letter to the Archbishop, to dissuade him from his intended journey, in which, among other arguments for that purpose, he used one, in which he shewed himself a true prophet, concerning the reception which he was likely to meet with at Rome. This fell out accordingly; for Pope Gregory XV, the Archbishop's old friend, died before he came thither; and a successor was chosen in his place, by whom the Archbishop was imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo, where he died, not without strong suspicion of murder or poison: and his body was afterwards burnt, as that of an retic, *in Campo Fiori.*"

to the High Commission, or rather to a special Commission directed to Archbishop Abbot, the Lord Keeper, [Williams Bishop of] Lincoln, the Bishops of London [Mountague], Durham [Neile], and Winchester [Andrews], with certain of the Lords of the Privy Council. These Lords assembling at Lambeth on the 30th of March, and having first heard all his excuses and defences, commanded him to depart the realm within twenty days, or otherwise to expect such punishment as by the laws of the land might be laid upon him, for holding intelligence by letters, messages, &c. with the Pope of Rome. To this sentence he sorrowfully submitted, protesting openly, that he would never speak reproachfully of the Church of England, the Articles whereof he acknowledged to be sound and profitable, and none of them to be heretical, as appears by a book entituled, *Spalato's Shiftings in Religion*, published, as it was conceived, by Laud's especial friend, the Lord Bishop of Durham. How well, or rather how ill, he performed this promise, and what became of him after his return to Rome,* is not now my business."

This celebrated divine in 1617 dedicated the first Four Books of his COMMONWEALTH OF THE CHURCH to the States General; after King James had, for certain reasons, declined that nonour. (See the *Works of Arminius*, vol. 1, p. 412,439.) In acknowledging the splendid present which their High Mightinesses sent him, the Archbishop thus alludes to the dissensions between the Dutch Calvinists and Arminians, which had not been completely allayed by the prudent and conciliatory Edict of 1614: "I wish the two parties would neglect all counsels that are merely human, and would suffer themselves to be directed and instructed by that charity alone which the Holy

* In BAKER'S *Chronicle* the following brief account of his death is given: "He preached publicly divers times before divers Lords of the Council, printed in London the first four of his ten books, intituled, *Of the Commonwealth of the Church*; wherein with great earnestness he maintained the doctrine and discipline of the Protestants. But after all this, whether all he had done was but dissembling from the beginning, or whether out of remorse of conscience he repented him of that he had done, after five years' staying he retracted all he had said or written before: which so incensed King James, that he commanded him (within three days at his peril) to depart the realm; who thereupon went to Rome, and there inveighed as bitterly against the Protestants, as he had done in England against the Papists; hoping at least for pardon, if not for preferment. But, notwithstanding his recantation, according to the law of the Inquisition, (having once revolted, though now returned,) he suffered the death of an heretic, though not the shame; had the punishment of a martyr, but not the honour; and was publicly burnt at Rome: yet not burnt alive, but dying in prison, and then buried, it is said his body was afterwards taken up and burned."—The truth is, he was twice nominally burnt: *The first time*, he was burnt in effigy immediately after leaving Italy, on which occasion he humorously observed to his friends in England, "that he was never colder in his life, than on the day when he was burnt at Rome." *The second time*, according to Baker's description in the preceding paragraph, his disinterred remains alone were consumed.

Spirit infuses into our hearts. Were this course pursued, they would undoubtedly compose all their differences immediately by themselves, without wearying or disturbing foreigners, and would thus each bear the burdens of the other," &c.—In the Seventh Book of his *Respublica Ecclesiastica*, he says: "Those long and tedious Confessions which contain the decisions of many theological controversies, cannot be embraced or proposed as Symbols, Rules and Formularies of Faith: For those that began to be published in almost all the Reformed churches, in order to terminate the differences which had arisen in some or other particular church, are nevertheless and always will be the principal causes of schism.* Who is so dull and stupid as to submit his judgment or his conscience to the doctrines of particular teachers, from whom he can receive no certainty of their faith?" He owned, that the most compendious way to produce a general peace of the church, would be to compose a brief Confession of fundamental and necessary matters,† with

* "We make this offer, 'that whatever proposition we affirm *without 'shewing scripture for it*, and that expounded according to *the interpreta-'tion of the ancient church*, we will presently forego,' and if you would pay us the like offer, and your party make it good, I doubt not but, as turbulent a sea as the state of Christendom is at this time, the whole church might quickly be at peace, or at least the dissentient party not to be considerable. I remember a passage in Saint Hilary, depredicating the Bishops of France as very happy men, 'that they knew no other Confession than that ancient 'and most simple which, through all churches from the Apostles' age, had 'been received:' And I am a little confident that that which first made, and hath ever fomented, the breaches of that precious body, is the multiplying and imposing of new Confessions and Articles of Belief from the suggestion of private or less public spirits, and that hath made the body like Aristotle's *insectills*, which for want of blood run out into a multitude of legs; every such new article so multiplied (above the number of those which scripture in the truly *Catholick* interpretation of it will authorize, not only as *true* but *necessary to be so acknowledged*,) being an effect of some want of blood, I mean of charity, in the authors: For though to teach any man any certain truth be an act of charity, yet to make an article, that is, to require every man to believe *whatever we conceive to be truth*, is a great uncharitableness, and a cause or occasion of more; the adding to the necessary truths, ordinarily, being a forerunner of the abatement of the inventory of the necessary performances, I mean of those which are *indispensably required of us under Christ*." HAMMOND'S *View of the Apology, &c.*

† "Such a grand Catholic convention of able ecclesiastics in these Western Churches might, by the consent of princes and chief magistrates, be so orderly convened with freedom, impartiality, and due authority, as might enable them to consent in *one canon or rule of faith and good manners;* that the clear and concurrent sense of scriptures might be owned by all, in which *all things necessary* are contained, either literally or by just deductions; that what is dark or dubious should be left indifferently to christians' use and judgments; that, as all would agree in the same ancient fundamental articles of faith, contained in primitive creeds, also in the same sacraments or holy mysteries to be devoutly celebrated, so in the same way of good works to be practised; that we might all have the same catechise, the same public liturgies, so composed that all christians might with faith and charity say *Amen* to them, and in their several languages understand them; that a commentary on Scriptures, and sermons containing all christian necessary doctrine, might be agreed upon; that neither curiosities nor controversies should be couched in public prayers or preachings; that all might enjoy the same catholic source and course of ecclesiastic ordination, ministry and authority," &c.—GAUDEN'S *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Suspiria.*

the universal concurrence of all the orthodox Eastern and Western christians,—those of the Greek, Romish, Lutheran and the other Reformed churches. With regard to other differences which are not essentials and which cannot be comprised in such a Formulary, they ought, in his opinion, to be tolerated.—In this very clever man's productions is displayed much christian philanthropy, and he proposed many excellent devices for the peace and the unity of the Church Universal; but his fate was only another warning to real peace-makers, not rashly to venture their persons within the precincts of the Pope's domains.* He had been deceived in his hopes of finding the Church of England "a city that is compact together;" he lamented the spectacle which she then presented through the mismanagement of King James,† who, in fact, was encouraged by Abbot

* Some emissaries of the Roman See, like Gondemar, had been exceedingly active in giving Grotius an invitation to visit Rome. But, though a great promoter of peace and union, he preferred to reside in a country in which the Pope's right *to punish a peace-maker* was not recognized, rather than incur some personal hazard by proceeding to the seat of Antichrist. In a letter addressed to his brother in 1625, he says: "It is also exceedingly desirable, that Pope Urban may be able to produce some degrees of concord in the faith of christianity, which is now in too great a state of discord. But this event is the subject of one's WISHES, rather than of one's HOPES or EXPECTATIONS,—particularly since the memory of Mark Antony De Dominis has been condemned at Rome, by burning his body. And yet there are those who invite me to Rome:

What lure, I ask, is this for me,
That city's famous walls to see?"

In a letter of an earlier date, (1622,) having mentioned "those who had prevented the payment of his pension, and who had hoped that he might possibly by that means be induced to attend Mass," Grotius instantly adds, "I have read some of the productions of Mark Antony De Dominis, who is now celebrating High Mass in Antwerp. On the questions of Grace and Free-will he evidently maintains the same opinions as we do; on other points he is a follower of Cassander, with the exception of his attacking Transubstantiation and other dogmas with greater boldness. I wonder what he will say about this change of his religion: Perhaps he will say, *that he has not altered his religion*, for he considers the Roman Catholic religion and that of Protestants to be alike."

† The king's conduct with respect to the Synod of Dort will be the subject of a future note. I have quoted some animadversions on his encouragement of the Rochelle Calvinists, in pages 291 & 308; and it is to be regretted that in some of his learned productions he proved himself incapable of exercising the same nice degree of discrimination, as the admirable Bishop Bilson had done, in 1585, in his *True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion*.—It is remarkable, that Bishop Bedell alluded to the case of the Rochellers, about that period, in his Letters to Mr. Wadsworth, who had been his fellow-student at Cambridge, and who,—on being appointed chaplain to the anomalous embassy of the Duke of Buckingham when that nobleman accompanied the chivalrous Prince Charles in his disastrous matrimonial excursion to Spain,—was there converted to the Church of Rome. In those Letters the Bishop says: "Do you think subjects are bound to give their throats to be cut by their fellow-subjects, or to their princes, at their mere wills, against their own laws and edicts? You would know *quo jure* the Protestant wars in France and Holland are justified." He then quotes Four brief Reasons, and concludes them thus: "These are the rules of which the Protestants, that have borne arms in France and Flanders, and the Papists also both here and elsewhere, as in Naples, that have stood for the defence of their liberties, have served themselves: How truly, I esteem

himself to exercise the *Archi-episcopal functions* in addition to those of ROYALTY. WISDOM, in the large acceptation of the word, was not one of that monarch's qualifications, but he substituted in

it hard for you and me to determine, unless we are more thoroughly acquainted with the laws and customs of those countries, than I, for my part, am."—Bishop Burnet observes, "that Mr. Bedell's book was so well received, that we may look upon it *as the sense of the Church of England at that time!*" Yet in one part of the pamphlet which he wrote, in reply to the charges of Dr. Hickes against him for certain alleged interpolations in the Letters to Wadsworth, Bishop Burnet expounds a contrary doctrine, by dividing "the point of resistance into two questions, (1) Whether subjects may resist *merely upon the account of religion?* The other is concerning the constitution of states and kingdoms, How far they have *retained* or *lost* their LIBERTIES? The one is a point of Divinity; the other is a point of Law and History. As to *the First*, I do not know one, of all the divines that have sworn to the present government, who are not still of the same opinion that they were formerly of, and that do not still judge RESISTANCE ON THE ACCOUNT OF RELIGION TO BE UNLAWFUL.—Nor does it any way reflect on them, if they should have changed their opinion in the other point, which falls not so properly within their studies. Many might go into wrong notions of our government, and think we had no liberties left us but what were at the discretion of our princes. A great many have not at all changed their opinion, even in this second point," &c. In the same pamphlet he says, that, in republishing Bedell's letters to Wadsworth, "he could not but take notice of the case of subjects resisting their princes fully stated and justified by the author, and this in a book dedicated to King Charles the First, then Prince of Wales; and that this was never once objected to Mr. Bedell, nor was he obliged to retract it, but, instead of that, he was soon afterwards preferred to a Bishopric." This was one of the first indications observed by Bishop Burnet, "which led him to see how late it was before the notion of non-resistance was received as a doctrine of the church, though he had another, which was later as well as more public. For, in the year 1628, during the siege of Rochelle, there was a public Fast appointed upon that account over England; and the besieged were prayed for as *our brethren*, and *success to them* was prayed for by that form." The Bishop had *the Form of Prayer*, which, as he remarks, "shews how far this church was at that time from condemning *resistance* in all cases as *rebellion*."

It would not require any deep or extensive research to discover earlier instances than these, in the reign of King James the First, of the versatility of his political principles. Instead of transmitting a spirited Remonstrance to the Court of France respecting an amelioration in the condition of the Protestants of that kingdom, as Oliver Cromwell subsequently did when they were actually persecuted, the unwise Monarch addressed letters and despatched representatives to the Assemblies of the Reformed as an independent party. How ridiculous such conduct must have appeared to Mark Antony De Dominis, who had been encouraged by the same monarch to publish the following sentiments! "The Church ought not to fight against Princes, even wicked Apostates or Infidels, upon any ecclesiastical, pious or holy account, especially when such Princes do not oppose the christian faith; neither can I imagine how the church can countenance such a war, even though the prince should persecute his christian subjects; being persuaded in my own mind, that the sword is to be used neither in the defence of the faith, nor even for Christ himself: Neither have I ever read, that, in all those ages when the heathen emperors, or any apostate, heretical, cruel and ungodly princes reigned and oppressed the christians, the latter ever took up arms against their persecuting princes, or stirred up others to do it even when it was in their power: And yet I find, at the same time, that the church flourished most of all under these persecutions, and being adorned with all kind of virtues, shined out then most brightly: But, on the contrary, that peace and plenty has made her idle and slothful. I know too, that all christian virtues, such as piety, holiness, zeal for the faith, inward religion, and the best morality, have appeared much more illustrious in many

its place a low species of CUNNING, which, to the degradation of the regal dignity, he designated "king-craft." In the motley garb in which his Majesty was desirous of bedecking the Eng-

of those christians that are subjects to the Grand Seignior, than in the kingdoms of christian princes." Upon the objection of Bellarmine: "*That force may be opposed by force, and that, by the law of war, people may resist the persecutions of the Heathens or of Hereticks, if they are able,*" De Dominis replies, "That a believer may justly save himself by flight, and so avoid persecution; and of this I never doubted, having learned this doctrine not only from the word of God, but also from the actions and apology of Athanasius. But that it is lawful to withstand by force and with arms our own rightful sovereign, though he be a persecutor of the faith, I have never yet learned: and especially have I not been able as yet to satisfy myself that the ministers of Jesus Christ, by virtue of their office or authority, may take up or meddle with arms in order to make any such resistance. I know the opinion of Nazianzen, who speaks thus of Julian the apostate: 'He was 'nevertheless compelled by the grace of God, and the tears of christians, 'many of which were poured out, and by many, since they had no other re-'medy against the persecutor, notwithstanding that his whole army in a man-'ner consisted of christians.' Now if tears and patience be the only remedy, then may we not use any arms, any violence, any deposing of princes, any withdrawing of our fidelity and obedience. Certainly the argument of Bellarmine arms as well heretical subjects against those Catholic princes who have inflicted temporal punishments on them, as Catholic subjects against heretical princes. And by the same argument, all opposition, even the most unjust, may be excited, fomented and defended. For if ill men have the power of opposing force against the magistrates, they will always pretend *that they are unjustly persecuted.* They that were hearers of the apostles (as Andrew Duditius writes to Beza,) brought forth for the most part fruits worthy of the gospel, and of repentance. But they did not publicly arm the people, nor maintain that religion is to be propagated by war or violence. Can we then say that they who do such things, preach and practise things conformable to the apostles' doctrine?"

In the pamphlet which Bishop Burnet wrote against Dr. Hickes, he has not only tendered us his own opinions on the doctrine, but has affected to give us those of Archbishop Tillotson, who was a much more consistent character than the Bishop. But it is safer to receive the Archbishop's testimony from himself. He and Dr. Burnet frequently visited Lord Russel while under condemnation, in 1683, "for his vigorous opposition to Popery and arbitrary government;" and though his Lordship "had once received satisfaction" from them that his principles of resistance were erroneous, yet Dr. Tillotson afterwards expressed his "sorrow at having found a change" in the sentiments which they had inculcated, and therefore addressed an able letter to his Lordship, of which the following is an extract: "I do humbly offer, to your Lordship's deliberate thoughts, these following considerations concerning the points of *resistance if our religion and rights should be invaded,* as your Lordship puts the case. FIRST. That the christian religion doth plainly forbid the resistance of authority. SECONDLY. That though our religion be established by law, (which your lordship urges as a difference between *our case* and that of *the primitive christians,*) yet in the same law which establishes our religion it is declared, *that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms,* &c. Besides that, there is a particular law declaring the power of the militia to be solely in the king; and that ties the hands of subjects, though the law of nature and the general rules of scripture had left us at liberty; which I believe they do not, because the government and peace of human society could not well subsist upon those terms. THIRDLY. Your lordship's opinion is contrary to the declared doctrine of all Protestant churches; and though some particular persons have taught otherwise, yet they have been contradicted herein, and condemned for it by the generality of Protestants."

Old Gerard Brandt was one of the most strenuous defenders of the civil and religious liberties of mankind in Europe, yet, in his Annotations on

lish Church, were many things to disgust the well-informed mind of De Dominis, who, in common with the best of our divines, entertained high ideas of the decisions of a Church United, and held in contempt the awards of mere sects and parties. His admiration of Grotius, and his attachment to the tenets of the Arminians, would not recommend him to the favour of Archbishop Abbot; yet during the whole of that agitated period, he confined himself within the bounds of neutrality far better than the greater part of the divines about the Court of England: And there cannot be a doubt, that his plan of *universal pacification* was in 1622 an object, the adoption of which by the royal knight-errant was nearly as much dreaded by Archbishop Abbot and the Calvinistic party, as it was by Count Gondomar and the Papists. The Venetian Archbishop was therefore made a sacrifice to two contending Court-factions, whose prospects would have been blasted, had he been fostered and his scheme patronized. Who can be surprised if such a man was disgusted with the duplicity of a Court, in which he had been encouraged to write largely in favour of christian *toleration* and *unanimity*, at the very time when they were devising and executing measures for *cutting off* two important members (the Arminians and Lutherans,) from Christ's mystical body, by the arbitrary decisions of the Synod of Dort:* He subsequently

his own *History*, he speaks thus: "*But what then must a subject, a good man, and a christian do, in case the government neglects its duty?* He ought, in my opinion, to wait for a public Reformation of the church, without giving offence by separations or schisms; and ought in the mean while to do all that in him lies towards promoting it, but by such methods alone as become him; that is, by exhorting, advising, and praying; and, whenever the honour of God and the salvation of men's souls require it, by bearing his testimony openly (as often as it is necessary or proper) against those matters and things in religion to which he cannot give his consent, especially against the weightiest of those which he thinks need reformation. But, above all, *let him in the mean time amend that in himself which he finds fault with in others.* This is conformable to the nature of the christian religion; but by no means ought we to use force, or introduce reformation and drive out superstition by tumults or by arms. The churches and public places of worship belong to the magistrates; and they may consign the use of them to whom they please, and take it away again from such as they judge have forfeited it. But if some things be practised in and by the established church, which are against our consciences, then must we quit it: And if such communities as belong to that church will not bear the representation of their abuses, or those mild attempts of reforming them at which we have now hinted, but will excommunicate the representer and eject him, he must bear it, and join himself to other private christians or christian assemblies, that are more godly, reasonable, and moderate, and there hold spiritual communion and exercise external worship. But before we forsake any religious assemblies, whether public or private, we ought to take care not to depart from them causelessly or on slight occasions; and, even if we be cut off or excluded by them, not immediately to imagine that the band of spiritual brotherhood is entirely dissolved."

On this important subject, the reader will find a mass of information in FALKNER'S *Christian Loyalty*, published in 1679.

* The learned Mosheim's remarks on this subject are quoted page 504. But his Majesty's versatility of opinion was conspicuous on many other public

gave utterance to his wounded feelings on this subject, in a Latin letter which he addressed to Bishop Hall, and in which he reproaches that excellent Prelate for the part which he had acted

ocasions: No person would imagine, that one and the same man presided in *the Hampton Court Conference*, gave his sanction to *the Articles of the Church of Ireland*, or directed his *clerical representatives in Holland* to condemn the Arminians! The King knew very well, when he sent his divines to the Synod of Dort, that the Church of England had in her great wisdom not determined any of the points which were then brought under discussion: He was therefore wary enough to order them *to disavow all authority from the English or Scotch church*, as may be seen by Balcanqual's despatch to the Ambassador, quoted page 399, "For they declared," he says, "that, being deputed by his most Serene Majesty, and not by their churches, &c., they had delivered only their own private judgments," &c. In the celebrated "Joint Attestation," signed and published by the Five British Divines in 1626 against Mountagu, they candidly "avow that the DISCIPLINE of the Church of England was not impeached by the Synod of Dort," but that Bishop Carleton openly entered a salvo in favour of Episcopal regimen, and "appealed to the judgment of antiquity and to the judgment of any learned man now living; and craved herein to be satisfied, if any man of learning could speak to the contrary: To this there was no answer made by any." But on the subject of DOCTRINE they express themselves thus cautiously: "As in that Synod our special care and perpetual endeavour, was, to guide our judgments by that sound doctrine which we had received from the Church of England; so were we far, and ever shall be, from usurping *our mother's authority*, or attempting to obtrude upon her children *any of our Synodical conclusions as obligatory to them*: yet remaining *ourselves* nevertheless resolved, that, whatsoever there was assented unto and subscribed by us concerning the Five ARTICLES, either in the joint Synodical judgment, or in our particular collegiate suffrage, is not only warrantable by the Holy Scriptures, but also conformable to the received doctrine of our said venerable mother."

Thus, while they disavowed the act "of usurping their mother's authority," they considered their *own private opinions* to be conformable to the venerable formularies of the English church, under which both Calvinists and Arminians may *consistently* shelter themselves. It is a remarkable circumstance, that, while some modern divines have expended all their energies in proving the doctrine of the Church of England to be similar to the decisions of the Dutch Synod, these more ancient and better-informed divines could not manage that argument at all, without calling to their aid *the Articles of the Church of Ireland*, which, they strenuously asserted, were closely allied to those of the English Church. For instance, ROUS, in his *Testis Veritatis*, when treating of the doctrine of *the assurance of salvation*, says, "We see, that it hath also been sealed up and settled in *the Articles of the Church of Ireland*; between which church and the church of England, to make a contrariety and opposition, is a thing of extreme danger and absurdity." A similar mode of argumentation may be seen in Goad, Featley, Carleton, Prynne, &c. In a preceding page 367 is recorded the Earl of Strafford's judicious advice to Archbishop Usher, about incorporating into the polemic articles of the Church of Ireland the plain and orthodox articles of the Church of England: and for no act of his life did Archbishop Laud incur so much censure, from the Calvinists of that period, as for his very commendable exertions in procuring the requisite alteration.

In Dr. HEYLIN'S *History of the Presbyterians* the following remarks occur: "In the time of King James, some propositions had been offered by him in the Conference at Hampton-court, about sending preachers into Ireland, of which he was but half King, as himself complained, their bodies being subject unto his authority, but their souls and consciences to the Pope. Hereupon followed the plantation of Ulster, first undertaken by the city of London; but it was carried on more vigorously, as more unfortunately withal, by some adventurers of the Scottish nation, who poured themselves into this country as the richer soil. They brought with them hither such a stock of

at the commencement of the Synodical tragedy. The venerable Brandt, after quoting that letter in his admirable History, adds this brief comment: "These were the words of DE DOMINIS, that miracle of learning, whom this Synod furnished, if not with *a true cause*, at least with *a fair pretence* of quitting the Protestant religion, and returning to the Popish which once he had wisely forsaken."

The next grand attempt to bring the doctrine of FUNDAMENTALS into more general notice was early in 1616, when the States of Holland passed a further Resolution in confirmation of the tolerant doctrine contained in their famous Edict. The city

Puritanism, such a contempt of Bishops, such a neglect of the public Liturgy, and other Divine offices of this church, that there was nothing less to be found amongst them, than the government and forms of worship established in the Church of England. Calvinism by degrees had taken such deep root amongst them, that at the last it was received and countenanced as the only doctrine which was to be defended in the Church of Ireland. For, not contented with the Articles of the Church of England, they were resolved to frame a Confession of their own, the drawing up whereof was referred to Dr. James Usher, then Provost of the College of Dublin, and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh and Lord Primate of Ireland; by whom the book was so contrived, that all the Sabbatarian and Calvinian rigors were declared therein to be the doctrines of that church. For the Articles of Lambeth, rejected at the Conference at Hampton-Court, must be inserted into this confession, as the chief parts of it. No power ascribed to the church in making canons, or censuring any of those who either carelessly or maliciously do infringe the same. The Pope made Antichrist, &c. All which, being Usher's own private opinions, were dispersed in several places of the Articles for the Church of Ireland; approved of in the convocation of the year 1615; and finally, confirmed by the Lord Deputy Chichester, in the name of King James.—What might induce King James to confirm these Articles, differing in so many points from his own opinion, is not clearly known; but it is probable, that he might be drawn to it on these following grounds: For, FIRST, he was much governed at that time, in all church-concernments, by Dr. George Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. James Mountague Bishop of Bath and Wells; who, having formerly engaged in maintenance of some or most of those opinions, might find it no hard matter to persuade the King to a like approbation of them. And, SECONDLY, the King had so far declared himself in the cause against Vorstius, and so affectionately had espoused the quarrel of the Prince of Orange against those of the Remonstrant party in the Belgic churches, that he could not handsomely refuse to confirm those doctrines in the Church of Ireland, which he had countenanced in Holland. THIRDLY. The Irish nation at that time were most tenaciously addicted to the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, and therefore must be bended to the other extreme, before they could be straight and orthodox in these points of doctrine. FOURTHLY. It was an usual practice with that king, in the whole course of his government, to balance one extreme by the other; countenancing the Papists against the Puritans, and the Puritans against the Papists; that, betwixt both, the true religion and the professors of it might be kept in safety. But whether I hit right or not, certain it is, that it proved a matter of sad consequence to the Church of England; there being nothing more ordinary amongst those of the Puritan party, when they were pressed in any of the points aforesaid, than to appeal unto the Articles of Ireland, and the infallible judgment of King James, who confirmed the same. And so it stood until the year 1634, when by the power of the Lord Deputy Wentworth [Earl of Strafford,] and the dexterity of Dr. John Bramhall, then Lord Bishop of Derry, the Irish Articles were repealed in a full convocation, and those of England authorised in the place thereof."—The ingenious reply, in PARR'S *Life of Usher*, to some parts of this statement, is worthy of perusal by those who wish to know all that may be consistently said on both sides of a question.

of Amsterdam, in which the most violent of the Calvinistic ministers then resided, was one of the principal parts of the States that refused its sanction to this Resolution for accommodating the differences of the clergy. On that occasion, Grotius, and five other of the deputies of Holland, were sent, as the representatives of the States, to induce the Magistrates of Amsterdam to co-alesce with the majority; when that great man, in the name of his colleagues, delivered a speech, which every Senator ought to peruse for its *political wisdom*, and every Divine for the *accurate knowledge of Theology* which it displays. The following are a few extracts from the first English translation of this document, which does not felicitously express the richness and energy of the original:

"We shall now proceed, Gentlemen, to the second capital Article of the resolution of the States, consisting in an order for preserving unity, by a mutual toleration, *notwithstanding the differences that have arisen in the churches under their jurisdiction, about the business of predestination, and the points which have a relation to it.* This their order is founded upon a fixed rule, which we may justly call one of the pillars of our christian Reformation; for the Reformed Churches, being so taught from the word of God, have always asserted, 'that doctrinal points were of 'two kinds: THE FIRST, of such a nature, that all persons as 'soon as they attained to years of discretion were bound to un-'derstand and embrace them with a sincere faith, at the peril of 'their salvation. These doctrines were called FUNDAMENTALS; 'and the Reformed churches always judged them to be *but few* '*in number*, and *to be clearly and plainly proposed to us in holy* '*Writ*, attended with a promise of salvation to those who believed 'them, and a threatening of damnation to such as did not believe 'them. Whereas ALL OTHER doctrines were judged not to be of 'the FOUNDATION but of the SUPERSTRUCTURE only, which, if 'proposed agreeably to God's Word, might (as the Apostle ex-'presses it, 1 Cor. iii, 11, 12,) be called *gold and silver*; but if 'otherwise, *hay and stubble.*' They further asserted with the same Apostle, that the ministers or teachers who build with such hay and stubble, do not, merely on that account, forfeit their salvation: From whence it follows, that they ought not to be shut out of the church, being owned by Christ himself for his members; but that we, on the contrary, are obliged to bear with the weakness of such persons, and not to judge them but to receive them among us, waiting till the day when the truth shall be revealed. The contrary practice of Popery, (in which communion, in consequence of an ecclesiastical decision, people are anathematized and declared heretics for all sorts of doctrines,) was always affirmed, by our divines, to proceed, not from the Spirit of Christ, but from that of Antichrist. Accordingly, when the Papists reproached our people with the diversity of opinions about cer-

tain points among the Reformed ministers, inferring from thence that we were of different religions, they very justly replied, *That such diversity of opinions did not constitute different religions, nor dissolve the* UNITY *of the church;* alleging the examples of all the doctors of the ancient church, among whom there were scarce two to be found who entirely agreed with each other on all points: and yet, notwithstanding such disagreement, they always continued members of the same Catholic church, maintaining among themselves all christian communion. This forbearance, in matters which are not absolutely necessary to salvation, has not only been preached up by all the chief pastors of the Protestant churches, but actually put in practice. Accordingly we find, that both in the year 1520, and in 1537, during the disputes between Luther and the clergy of Switzerland, about the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there was a sincere brotherhood promised and maintained for a while, though afterwards broken by the heat of some, to the great prejudice of the evangelical churches, and to the joy, advantage, and strength of Popery. The same project of a toleration was again set on foot in the year 1570, in Poland and Lithuania, by the churches of the Augsburg, Bohemian and Swiss Confessions; all which, notwithstanding their disagreement in the business of the sacrament, promised to maintain all christian love and charity with each other, to esteem each other as orthodox churches, and to be ready to shew their unity, both by frequenting the same christian religious worship, and by joining in the communion of the Lord's Supper. Which unity has, through God's special grace, continued among them to this day, and enabled them to make a stand as well against the Papists as the Samosatenians.

"Now as we [the Dutch Reformed] have always offered a toleration of the differences about the sacrament, and of other matters in which the Lutherans dissent from us, so likewise it is well known, that controversies have arisen in England, Switzerland and other parts, about *Christ's descent into hell,* about *Excommunication* and several other points, which are not yet decided; but these things have made no breach in the unity of the church. Franciscus Junius, in his life-time Professor in the University of Leyden, being moved by certain ecclesiastical disputes that had happened at Utrecht, published an exhortation to peace, wherein he most strongly maintains this doctrine of the toleration of different opinions, and recommends it as highly necessary for the good of the church. The Provincial Synod of South Holland, holden in the year 1574,—having been warned by the French churches, that D. Piscator, Professor at Herborn in the county of Nassau, propagated certain errors relating to *conversion, faith, and Christ's active righteousness,*—were pleased to exhort those of the French Churches not to drive on matters

with such heat, as that a schism or quarrel might arise: since which Tilenus, Professor at Sedan, following the opinion of Piscator in the business of justification, (which was always considered by the Reformed Churches as a point of the last importance,) was thereby engaged in a violent dispute with Du Moulin, a famous and excellent minister in France; which dispute was accommodated by the interposition of Monsieur Du Plessis and other learned persons, in such manner, that they reciprocally owned each other for orthodox ministers, and yet each retained his own opinion.

"The same plan of toleration has been practised as well in this as other countries by those who maintain an *unconditional predestination*, some of whom place it *above*, others *below the fall;* insomuch, that the brethren of the Contra-remonstrant persuasion, who were at the Conference of the Hague, expressly declared, that this difference never produced any discord or quarrel in our churches. Now to apply this general rule of toleration to the particular dispute about predestination and its dependencies, as it was canvassed at the said Conference, and from whence (God help us!) such sad divisions have sprung up in our churches, who is so rash as to maintain, 'that the knowledge of it, either on the one side or the other, is *absolutely necessary to salvation?*' For all things that are of such necessity ought to be understood and received by women as well as men, by young as well as old, by the most ignorant as well as by the most learned, at the peril of their eternal welfare. How many plain good men are there in the church of Christ, and even among the clergy themselves, who do not so much as know the state of the difference, much less which side they ought to choose? And dare we refuse salvation to such persons? God forbid that a christian man should entertain so hard a thought! Both opinions agree in this, 'that all the decrees and operations 'of God relating to the salvation of men, are founded in Christ 'Jesus, and accordingly we hold him to be the *only foundation.*' Most of these disputes turn upon THE ORDER which is conceived to be between God's *foreknowledge* and his *decrees*, and yet we allow, that *both* are in him from all eternity. From hence, through the subtilty of disputing, there have arisen such crabbed questions, that the most learned hardly know how to extricate themselves: For which cause, even reason itself teaches us, that a toleration of such points ought to be extended not only to the common members of the congregation, but also to their pastors, since pastors and teachers are not altogether exempt either from ignorance or error, any more than their flocks, and upon that account may be justly included in the number of those with whose weakness we ought to bear; and the constant practice of the Reformed Churches clearly shews it. The *House-Book or Manual* of Bullinger is sufficiently known

in this country. The *Loci Communes* of Melancthon are published not only in Latin but in French, with a noble recommendation of Calvin: Whoever will compare those books with *the Institutions* of the last-mentioned author, or with what Beza has written about predestination and the points relating to it, may plainly enough discover the difference of their opinions about modern controversies. Nevertheless, all these men of learning and piety, excellent instruments in the hand of God, and pillars of the church, did not condemn or excommunicate one another for the sake of such differences; but, on the contrary, treated each other as dear and worthy brothers and fellow-labourers in the Lord's harvest, thus leaving to their successors glorious examples of prudence and moderation. All that we have said above, concerning that toleration and union which our people formerly offered to the Lutherans, is likewise applicable to the case in hand; since the Lutherans, (besides that wherein they differ from us in the business of *the sacrament,*) teach the doctrines of *Universal Grace, Predestination from Faith foreseen,* and that *some true believers, by sinning against light, fall entirely from grace and faith:* So that the Synods and ministers before-mentioned, when they offered such a union to the Lutherans, did by so doing declare, 'That they did not look upon those points as ne-'cessary on either side, but as objects of toleration:' which is likewise expressly shewn by Perkins, an eminent English divine, and one that held with the brethren of the high opinions in the business of predestination and other points, (whom we here call *Contra-Remonstrants,)* who allows, that the Lutheran churches, though maintaining *Universal Grace,* are true churches of God, and that they hold the foundation of salvation uncorrupted; and who ranks the errors about free-will among those points that by no means destroy the fundamentals of religion. With this agrees what was written some years since by Paræus, Professor at Heidelberg, and a Contra-Remonstrant too, since he places the articles of a Divine Predestination, its cause and effects, and the nature of free-will, not among the fundamentals of our faith, but among those theological decisions about which men may disagree without breach of peace or charity; adding, 'that if the Reformed divines would seriously consider 'this, there would be fewer dissensions in the church, and the 'remedies would be at hand to heal our wounds and restore 'unity.' The churches of Anhault, as well as some of the clergy in Denmark, having forsaken the Lutheran doctrine about the sacrament, continue nevertheless in the lower opinion concerning Predestination, and the points belonging to it, as maintained by the brethren in these provinces, whom they call the Remonstrants; and yet it is well known, that the other Reformed Churches maintain all good agreement and fraternal correspondence with those churches and their pastors. In Eng-

land at this very time there are persons of both persuasions, in some of the most eminent stations in the church, without any infringement of ecclesiastical unity.

"Here it ought to be well considered, that these points of controversy are not only *not necessary to salvation,* but also that they are so deep and so difficult, that we cannot find they were ever synodically determined, either in the christian churches of old, or in the Reformed of later times. As for the ancient church, it is well known, that the Fathers and Doctors of the first four centuries which followed the Apostolical age, do all along shew they had no knowledge of these deep points, and consequently the people could not learn any thing of them from their sermons and writings; and, what is more, Calvin, Beza, and others of the same opinion, frankly confess, that the doctors of the primitive times thought and spoke differently from them about these matters: Yet it is no less certain, that christian simplicity never flourished more than in those ages, and that never more martyrs offered up their souls to Christ; a plain indication that both piety and happiness are to be attained without the knowledge of those profound subtilties. Afterwards, when certain heretics began to cry up the natural strength of man, in opposition to grace, St. Austin, a very famous doctor of the church, carrying the matter somewhat higher, maintained the necessity of grace in order to salvation in such a manner as to join with it an absolute predestination; but not without being opposed by many. Now though there were four or five councils held in his time against the mentioned heretics, and though St. Austin was the chief manager in one of those councils that met at Carthage, yet it appears from the Acts of those Councils, that nothing was determined by them on the one or the other side about the doctrine of Absolute Predestination and the points that depend on it; but the substance of the decrees of the said Councils amounts to this, *That all men are corrupted, and that none can do any thing that is spiritually good, without some internal and unmerited grace of God.* And whereas some others afterwards so far acknowledged the efficacy of Divine grace, as to agree, that perseverance or continuance in good proceeds from such grace, (being still of opinion at the same time, *that some men, by the beginnings of a good will, do prevent grace,)* against those there was a Council holden at Orange, in which it was summarily taught, *That the beginnings of good proceed from grace,* but without making any mention of an *absolute predestination to salvation:* and so matters rested for that time.

"We shall not call to our assistance the examples of the Papacy; yet this is worthy our observation, that the points,—about which the scholastic writers, (as they are called,) disagree so much, that the Dominicans dispute upon them with the Jesuits, and even the Jesuits among themselves,—are by no means to be

esteemed causes of our separating from Popery; and though it has been the custom for many hundreds of years, in the Romish church, to proceed very lightly to decisions and condemnations, yet have not the Popes determined the disputes about absolute or conditional predestination, nor concerning the manner how grace acts upon the will of man, either on the one side or the other, but have left liberty of opinion to both parties,* forbidding them to anathematize or to rail at each other. Would to God that the children of light were as wise in this matter as the children of darkness! and that what the Papists do for the support of their temporal kingdom, the Protestants would do for the raising Christ's spiritual kingdom in love and peace!

"If now we will take a view of the times from the beginning of the Reformation down to this day, we shall find, that though these controversies have sufficiently troubled all our churches, they have never yet been determined in any lawful Synod; and how variously the several Confessions speak of this matter, may be easily observed by every one that will take the trouble to read them with attention. Some imagine, that these disputes were synodically determined in England, at Lambeth, in the year, 1595. But that is a great mistake; for the meeting at Lambeth was no Synod, nor ever counted such; neither do the articles that were there agreed upon, denote any thing more

* Some years after the foolish decisions of the Synod of Dort had been fulminated through the Protestant world, a Roman Catholic author addressed a Divine of the Church of England in the following taunting manner; and it must be allowed, that his comparisons between the Predestinarian combatants in his Church and ours have too much truth in them: "The differences amongst those of our Church are not differences in matters of FAITH or RELIGION, as it is evident; but on the other side it is manifest and confessed, that yours are. Our differences are in PHILOSOPHY only, or in some Scholastic and undefined point; and such, in particular, is that now some years agitated between the Dominicans and sundry of their party on the one side, and the Jesuits and Sorbonne Doctors, and many more, on the other. For these contend not, as we do with the Calvinists, namely, *whether we have free will or no?*, all of them agreeing in that verity of faith. But they contend about a question only Philosophical, which hath some relation to it, namely, *whether, with this freedom of will acknowledged by both sides, physical predeterminations or premotions can consist?* which question is no question of faith. Now admitting, as many think, that these predeterminations could not stand with the doctrine of free-will, yet the said doctrine of faith is not hurt thereby: for the opposition between them and free-will is either discovered by the Dominicans, or not: *If not*, then is it dormant, and so, though never so ill, it cannot do hurt to faith, or work it any prejudice: *If it be discovered*, then it can work nothing, forasmuch as thereupon it will be relinquished and abandoned presently; because the doctrine of free-will is received by an assent of faith, and the other but by a philosophical or opinative; the former, being the stronger, must needs command and expel the latter, as soon as they begin to fall at variance. Wherefore it would in that case be a good consequence with them, viz. *Man hath free-will, therefore there is no predetermination;* and not contrarywise, (as it is with the Calvinists,) *there is predetermination, therefore no free-will.* Therefore in the holding of predeterminations there is a vast difference between a Calvinist and a Dominican, even as much as between an obedient Catholic, and a perverse and obstinate Heretic, and that is difference enough."

than a declaration of the opinions and advice of the divines assembled at that place. And besides, they are drawn up in such a manner, as that both the high and low men may receive them without changing their own opinions. But that which is most remarkable of all, is, that the late Queen of glorious memory did by her own authority forbid the publication of the aforesaid Articles of Lambeth; and that the King [James I.] who now reigns, being desired by some divines to cause those Articles to be inserted into the Confession of the English Church, refused his consent, thinking it would be of no use to stuff the said book of confession with theological conclusions.

"If the toleration be rejected, one of these three things will necessarily follow; either all the clergy must be brought to one and the same opinion with respect to these points: or else one part of them must be excluded the ministry: or lastly, there must be two Reformed Churches in these provinces.—*To bring all the clergy to be of the same mind,* is impossible: for both parties quote several passages of Holy Writ in their favour, produce many plausible arguments, and boast of many great men of the Primitive as well as of the Reformed churches.—*To turn out of the ministry those of either of the opinions,* is neither christian nor practicable:* *It is not christian,* because the doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ teaches more moderation and temper, than to allow that any man's talents should be rendered useless, for no other reason but because they disagree with us in opinions which by many are so difficultly understood: *Neither is it practicable,* for the number as well of the clergy as of the people, on each side, is too great to bring about such a business, without putting the nation in a flame.—*The Reformed*

* In alluding to the Toleration here claimed for both parties, the artful Historical Preface to the Dort Acts says: "It was to be feared, if opinions so discordant to each other were permitted to be propounded from the same pulpits to the same congregations, the peace of the Churches would be still further disturbed, as had been previously proved by experience." What is the sage comment of the late Rev. Thomas Scott on this permission, granted by the Civil Magistrates, for the Dutch Calvinists and Arminians to enjoy an equal liberty of preaching the gospel, according to their own peculiar tenets, provided each party restrained itself within the limits which the States prescribed? He says, "Let it be recollected, that all the parties were strict Presbyterians as to church government. The toleration here described is entirely different from any thing known in Britain, or indeed at present thought of. The general sentiment,—even of those who claim not only the fullest toleration, but something beyond toleration, as their indisputable right,—is, at least, *separate places of worship for those of discordant opinions.*" Now, the case of the Arminian Pastors was this,—their brethren the Calvinists had entered into a compact not to allow the pulpits which they occupied to be defiled with Arminian doctrines,—and the States of Holland had passed an Act, that neither party should have *separate places of worship.* What course then was to be taken? Why, that which was ultimately pursued,—the poor Arminian ministers, being then through political events the weaker party, were not only excluded from the ministry, but by the same Calvinistic association were banished out of the country.

But Mr. Scott says, with his wonted forgetfulness, "The toleration here described is entirely different from any thing known in Britain," after hav-

Church of these provinces (which, God be praised, has hitherto been uniform,) *may indeed be rent or divided,* but it will be dangerous to the last degree. It is true, Gentlemen, we connive at some conventicles, or private meetings of Martinists and Mennonites, but you know this is quite a different case; since the States have not taken upon them the defence of such sectaries, but only that of the true Reformed churches, which they ought to preserve undivided, as when they received them under their patronage. The schism between the Lutherans and the Reformed had its beginning about the year 1530, increasing more and more till it was entirely formed in 1575; since which many pious divines have laboured to cure the wound, but in vain. So much easier is it to divide than to unite! And therefore the beginning of such evils ought to be obviated with the utmost industry; and the rather, since schism is of such a nature that there spring from it in time many errors which are much worse than the pretended causes of the schism itself. Accordingly we find, that both the Novatians and Donatists, after their separation from the orthodox, departed still more and more from the truth, as have the Lutherans by falling into the Ubiquitarian error. The reason of this, next to the just judgment of God, is, because, by schism, all order and discipline is destroyed, and each party, apprehending further divisions, is afraid to use the proper remedies. If it be lawful to make a schism on account of the articles in question, why not on account of others which equally regard the business of predestination, and with reference to which even the Contra-Remonstrants differ among themselves? Is it allowable to separate for these? then why not, much more, for the points that concern justification, such as those which are canvassed by Piscator and Tilenus on one side, and Du Moulin and many more with him on the other? The Lutherans, after having separated from the rest of the Protestant churches, were immediately split into Flaccians,

ing told us "that all the parties were strict Presbyterians as to church-government." On the contrary, a similar toleration is to this day practised in the Church of England. I know many large towns in England, and several parishes in London, the inhabitants of which are favoured with a sermon in the afternoon or evening from a lecturer, chosen by the parishioners, who either gives them some Calvinistic doctrine, or (which is now more fashionable,) something Baxterian, though he generally makes it apparent that he has never studied Baxter's *Aphorisms on Justification!* This is frequently done in churches, in which other two sermons are preached every Sunday of a gracious Arminian aspect. If, therefore, the vicars or rectors of such parishes do not utter any lamentations about "permitting opinions so discordant to each other to be propounded from the same pulpit to the same congregation,"—by allowing both Calvinists and Arminians to have a portion of meat in due season,—they shew themselves to be far more charitable than those Dutch Calvinists whose sentiments are recorded at the commencement of this note. But if these beneficed clergymen were to exert their authority and influence, and prevent the introduction of such Calvinistic afternoon or evening-lecturers, they could incur no blame from those defenders of "toleration" who are governed by the principles which Mr. Scott has here avowed and approved.

Osiandrians, and the like. We see the English Puritans are separating from the church and from one another every day; but, above all, the Anabaptists are remarkable on this account, who have so many sects swarming among them, that scarce any can reckon their number or names. From hence, Gentlemen, we may justly conclude, that if we once suffer a separation, we can expect nothing else but greater devastations in the Reformed churches, to the hurt of the true religion and to the joy and victory of the Papists; and what mischiefs it may introduce into the state, is not unknown to our civil governors. If the plague of schism be spread in the churches, it will soon infect the state; especially in a nation where the chief band of union is religion. In kingdoms themselves, diversity in the public exercise of religion is extremely prejudicial; but, to republics, it is utterly destructive.* On the other hand, if we embrace

* I quote these few sentences at the close of the Oration, to shew that those persons who praise the tolerant views of Grotius and the Dutch Arminians, at the expence of Archbishop Laud and his friends, know nothing at all about the matter. Uniformity in religion appeared so desirable as to induce both those great man to argue that, for its sake, several minor differences ought to be sacrificed. The only difference between the means which each of them adopted to effect the same purpose, was this,—Grotius and his friends procured the enactment of an admirable statute, at the time when it was particularly needed, for allaying the dissensions of two contending parties in the Church,—while Archbishop Laud only exercised those large ecclesiastical powers which the Constitution *as it then stood* had vested in his Archi-episcopal predecessors. I have the means of proving, that Laud executed those powers with more equity than any former Archbishop, and with more mildness too, if we consider the opprobrious epithets bestowed upon him and his high function, and the gross libels upon his administration of affairs ecclesiastical which were published by the Calvinists, who, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, seemed to glory in their unholy combination for his destruction. Yet, amidst all these personal provocations, which were far greater than those which had been endured by the whole of his Protestant predecessors in the Archi-episcopal see, he maintained that "toleration" in the Church for which Grotius here pleads, and between two parties that stood nearly in the same relation towards each other as their respective brethren did in the United Provinces. Indeed, it is a fact which easily admits of proof, that, during the period when he had the disposal of ecclesiastical patronage, more Calvinistic clergymen obtained dignities in the Church than Arminian clergymen did under the rule of Archbishop Abbot.

Such were the commendable though unproductive efforts of two great pleaders for UNIFORMITY *in the public worship of God*, but *not in doctrine:* For each of them wished the Dutch and the English National Churches to shelter both Arminians and Calvinists. What was the conduct pursued by another great European peace-maker, at the period when Episcopacy was abolished, and when Presbyterianism, though not absolutely *the established religion*, was the only one which enjoyed the advantages of *formal Parliamentary sanction?* At that juncture,—when Arminianism had no existence either in the numerous separate congregations or in the Presbytery, but was crushed under the ruins of the Episcopal Church and its professors were excluded from all offices of honour or emolument by every vexatious and tyrannical method that could be devised,—at that juncture when the successful Calvinists had only to legislate for their own dear Predestinarian brethren, the famous John DURY, better known by his Latin name DURÆUS, a member of the Westminster *Assembly of Divines*, on the request of the INDEPENDENTS to be permitted "to have a few churches according to their own model," spoke thus: "It would lay the foundation of strife and

christian moderation and allow of a toleration with reasonable restrictions, we shall first attain that which is most necessary for us in this burning fever,—rest and quietness; all doctrines contradictory to the universal faith of the Reformed churches will be unanimously expelled out of our churches."

These sentiments are worthy of the great man by whom they were pronounced, and are highly indicative of the enlarged philanthropy which filled the breast of this true disciple of Arminius; but it is a subject of lamentation, that they were addressed to persons that were resolved to punish real peace-makers, which purpose of theirs was soon afterwards effected in the Synod of Dort. I refer the reader to what Mosheim has said respecting that Synod in a preceding page, (151,) and every man who knows the history of its proceedings will give it the appellation which it merits, if, with that learned historian, he calls it "an Assembly destructive of sacred peace!" The only trace of liberal feeling, with respect to *Fundamental Articles,* is to be found in the sentiments of the Bremen divines,* who endured the most cruel treatment from the majority of that Calvinistic Council, and much obloquy and persecution after their return to Bremen,—only because they displayed greater benevolence of disposition and uttered more correct opinions about *the goodness of God to all men,* than were indulged by several of

division in the kingdom to have two ways of church-government: Which may agree with some Machiavilian, but no Christian, policy. And therefore it will be no wisdom in the state, to yield to the suit of the [Independent] brethren; except it be induced thereto by the necessity of avoiding some greater inconveniency, than is the admitting of a seed of perpetual divison within itself, which is in my apprehension *the greatest of all other,* and most opposite to the kingdom of Christ."

It would require the display of much greater finesse, even than that which is usually employed, to produce any plausible point of comparison between the Arminian Archbishop's conduct and that of DURY the intolerant Presbyterian!

* Louis Crocius thus describes the pacific exertions of the Bremen deputies, in the Preface to a work which he published after the death of Martinius, who was one of his colleagues at the Synod of Dort: "It cannot easily have escaped the recollection of any of the Synodical Fathers, that the deputies from Bremen took uncommon pains with the English, Hessian, and other divines in that Assembly, to prevent the deadly schism of the churches, and openly to disapprove of the inconvenient and rigid opinions and phrases of certain persons; by which method, not only the Remonstrants in Holland, but the Lutherans in Germany, might the more readily have been induced to unite with us. The desire of promoting and establishing such a union, was seriously inculcated by their Honours, the magistrates.—That man of consummate wisdom [Martinius] remembered the designs and the cautions entrusted to us when we were deputed to the Synod; which were,—that the moderate doctrine, to which the church of Bremen had been accustomed from the commencement of the Reformation up to that period, should not be rendered more difficult by the rigid speeches and opinions of some foreigners,—and that the consciences of the more infirm should not through disgust be turned aside from our congregations: So that whenever princes or other individuals enquired of us respecting the state of religion, we might be able to shew, by the principles which we taught, that without the least disguise or fraud WE WERE REAL ADHERENTS TO THE AUGSBURGH CONFESSION!"

their violent and churlish associates.* The confused and multifarious decisions of that Predestinarian Council are in direct opposition to this plan of *Fundamental Articles;* any proposal

* At the conclusion of their decision on the Fifth Article *on Perseverance*, the divines of Bremen thus recorded some of their judicious reflections :— "This is the sum of the whole matter, we are not pleased with any doctrine which engenders *mean and little ideas about God*, while it *elevates man and renders him great*, but which does not at all times resolve itself into this sentiment, *He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord!* There are in this world many secret things, the knowledge of which we might with great personal benefit defer to *the heavenly Assembly of the spirits of just men made perfect;* and we ought, in the mean time, to worship God in purity of heart and with constant affection. We must undoubtedly stand upon our guard, lest, under the title of *liberty of prophesying*, licentiousness should transgress all just boundaries, and should drown and suffocate the tender and fruitful plants of the Church. The word of God itself admonishes us, that we must treat controversies about religion in a religious manner, and with all due discrimination and caution; not for the purpose of doing any thing to grieve each other, but that we may mutually favour each other's labours, and may distinguish *things that are necessary* from those which are *unnecessary*, *and such as are probable* from those which are *less probable*. For, unless we practise THIS EQUITY, we can never hope for any peace either in the Churches or in the Universities."

The tolerant conclusion of this extract, which strongly marks the character of the upright and intelligent Martinius, reminds me of an excellent passage respecting this pious man's death, in a letter which Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, addressed to the venerable Gerard Vossius in 1630 :— "But I the more deeply lament the death of Matthias Martinius, because the Church is in greater want of THAT EQUITY which flourished in him, and which, I still hope, is not entirely buried in his tomb. I say, *I hope it is not* ENTIRELY *buried;* yet, I am afraid, it is much more rare and uncommon than becomes the clerical profession. That History, from which Martinius professed to have derived this EQUITY, contains within itself ample stores, and from them such readers as are not too unworthy may obtain the same virtue. Again I tender you my thanks for that production; and now, since you have promised it more than once, prepare yourself for writing another History, the History of the Ancient Church. For, if it please God, I have a great desire to behold Baronius [the Popish Annalist] falling under the force of your weapons before the destinies open the tomb for me: You cannot therefore expect to receive any letter from me, without a repetition of this stimulus," &c.

The book to which the Bishop here refers, and which had proved beneficial to Martinius, was the famous PELAGIAN HISTORY of the learned Vossius, written a short time before the convention of the Synod of Dort, to afford the reverend members of that Council an impartial view of the opinions of the Ancient Christian Fathers on the matters in controversy between the Calvinists and Arminians. But though both parties own its authority, I know no Calvinist who in those days of ecclesiastical tyranny durst openly acknowledge his obligations to it, or who was enlightened by it in the same manner as this celebrated Bremen divine.

It is known, that the opinions of the British Divines *on the extent of Christ's redemption* were more expansive and scriptural than those of their associates, with the exception of the enlarged sentiments of Martinius, concerning whom it is related, in one of HALES's *Letters* to Sir D. Carleton, "My Lord Bishop of late hath taken some pains with Martinius of Breme, to bring him from his opinion of UNIVERSAL GRACE: By chance I came to see his letter written to Martinius, in which he expounded that place in the third of John, *So God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son*, &c; Which is the strongest ground upon which Martinius rests himself." I am inclined to believe, that this anecdote is the foundation of another related thus by the Rev. Anthony Farindon: "You may please to take notice, that in his younger days he was a Calvinist, and even then when he was employed at that

therefore of a more brief and comprehensive description must have encountered much opposition. Such a pacific proposal was, at the King of England's own suggestion, conveyed to the

Synod; and at the well pressing of the Sixteenth verse of the Third Chapter of Saint John's Gospel, by Episcopius,—'*There I bid John Calvin* GOOD NIGHT!' as he has often told me." This account has puzzled several authors beside Mosheim, who, in the *Life, Fate, and Labours of the Ever Memorable John Hales*, says: "Yet I feel a difficulty in persuading myself into a belief of the circumstance as thus narrated. For every one thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the Synod must know, that Episcopius never expounded at Dort that saying of our Saviour which is recorded by St. John, or defended the doctrines of his sect from the sacred writings. Neither does Hales himself, in his letters to the Ambassador, give the slightest intimation from which to elicit the fact that he was rendered more equitable in his judgment toward the Remonstrants during his residence at Dort. On the contrary, although he does not conceal the blemishes of the Calvinists, there is not a single passage, in which he refrains from expressing his entire disapproval of the cause of the Remonstrants even after Episcopius had delivered his speeches. I think therefore, that Farindon has misunderstood his friend's meaning, who, I suspect, only wished to say, *that he had been impelled to desert Calvin's party on perusing a certain book by Episcopius.* But whatever the ultimate occasion might be of this change in his sentiments, it is an undoubted fact that he renounced the FATE and other RIGID DOCTRINES taught by Calvin: Not only do his writings prove this, but it is also confirmed by the answer which he is said to have returned to one of his friends, who on a certain occasion found him reading CALVIN'S *Institutes*, and asked him 'if he was not yet past that book?' To whom he pleasantly replied, 'In my younger days I read it to *inform* MYSELF; but now I read it 'to *reform* HIM [Calvin.]' I wish this eminent man had refrained from the faults of those persons who imagine that their former opinions are to be entirely discarded; and bad not, by avoiding one extreme, run into its opposite, which was equally pernicious! His opinion concerning the Lord's Supper is sufficient to demonstrate, were there not plenty of other evidence, that the antipathy which he had once conceived against Calvin led him further than was lawful."

Now, the very objections which I have quoted from Mosheim are all answered, by supposing the name of EPISCOPIUS to have been uttered by Mr. Farindon instead of MARTINIUS. For, after the letter in which reference is made to the discussion of the passage in question, Hales wrote only other two to the Ambassador, in neither of which does a single sarcastic expression against the Remonstrants escape, but both contain direct proofs of some sudden change in his sentiments. In the very next letter, without any previous intimation, he tells the Ambassador, "I lately writ unto Mr. Collwall, to know what order was to be taken for *the discharge of my lodging*, whether your Honour were to answer it, or the public purse. I would willingly be resolved of it, *because I have a desire to return to the Hague;* FIRST, because the Synod proceeding as it doth, I do not see that it is *operæ pretium* for me here to abide; and, THEN, because I have sundry private occasions that call upon me to return." One of the concluding paragraphs in his last letter, is the following: "There hath not been any stay made amongst the Foreign Divines, but only in this Second Article; *out of which if they can well and clearly wrest themselves*, their passage out of the rest will be more smooth. I lately told your Honour, that Martinius of Breme made some doubts, amongst the rest, concerning UNIVERSAL GRACE: Not Martinius only, but D. Ward in this point. For the composing the doubts of both these, that they brake not out to any public inconvenience, there hath been of late *many private meetings in my Lord Bishop's lodging;* where, upon Wednesday morning, were drawn certain Theses *in very suspense and wary terms:* to what end, whether to give content to all parties, or to exhibit to the Synod, or what else, I know not. By chance, I had a view of them, but no opportunity to transcribe them." If Hales were not present at "these private meetings in my Lord Bishop's lodgings," it appears that he had other means of becoming acquainted with the nature and result of

Synod, by that complete court-sycophant, Du Moulin, at the very time when, with consummate hypocrisy, he had his *Ana-*

the discussions which there took place. In the first extract which I have given from him, he says that it was "*by chance*" he "came to see the Bishop's letter written to Martinius;" in the last extract he employs the same phrase, "*by chance* I had a view of the Theses;" and these *chances* were undoubtedly the opportunities of private intercourse which Martinius afforded to the Ambassador's youthful and ingenuous chaplain, who had previously distinguished himself in the learned world, by important contributions to Sir Henry Saville's superb edition of St. Chrysostom's Works, and in his situation of Greek Professor in the University of Oxford.

This note, already too prolix, is not the proper place for adducing other collateral evidence in favour of this conjecture. I have translated the entire paragraph from Mosheim, for the sake of the two last sentences in it, which contain an allusion to one of those extraordinary phenomena occasionally exhibited, even by the strongest human intellect,—a kind of moral revulsion or shock, which, forcing the mind from the moorings to which it had been previously fastened, hurries it impetuously down the raging currents of contending human opinions, and drives it either on the dangerous shoals of indifference, or dashes it against the frightful rocks of baneful errors. The latter was the unhappy fate of "the Ever Memorable Hales," after his mind had been disgusted with the proceedings of the Dort Synodists, and after he had embraced the more scriptural creed of Martinius. Des Maizeaux and Mosheim have satisfactorily vindicated him from the charge of being the author of those two Socinian publications, *Brevis Disquisitio* and *Dissertatio de Pace et Concordia Ecclesiæ*, both of which in an English dress may be seen in the PHŒNIX, *or Revival of scarce and valuable Pieces*. But his aberrations were only temporary, and his recovery from them is generally attributed to the powerful arguments of Archbishop Laud: And though some Dissenting historians, after their usual method of *unfounded aspersion*, have imputed corrupt motives to Hales for this partial *retracing of his steps*, yet no man ever displayed stronger proofs of ingenuousness and sincerity; and, on the very points on which these partial narrators of facts had supposed him to be a deserter, he never subsequently altered his opinion, which was favourable to some of their views of church-government. Indeed, it is a remarkable circumstance and deserving of more special notice than I can here give it, that two of the most able divines of that age, HALES and CHILLINGWORTH, from whose productions the Dissenters selected some of their most plausible reasons against Episcopacy, were gained over to the service of the Church of England by that eminent Archbishop, who shewed, by his forbearing conduct towards them, how much he was capable of enduring when he perceived *uprightness of intention* unmixed with malevolence, and *a strong desire to promote practical religion* without employing the specious pretence of instructing men in the unrevealed will of heaven, concerning the high mysteries of absolute election and unconditional reprobation. The intelligent reader will quickly appreciate the extent of the Archbishop's patience by the following extract from HALES's *Tract on Schism*, the most obnoxious parts of which he modestly defended in a letter to his magnanimous patron:

"Consider of all the Liturgies that are and ever have been, and remove from them whatever is scandalous to any party, and leave nothing but what all agree on; and the evil shall be, that the public service and honour of God shall no ways suffer. Whereas, to load our public forms with the private fancies upon which we differ, is the most sovereign way to perpetuate Schism unto the world's end. Prayer, confession, thanksgiving, reading of scriptures in the plainest and simplest manner, were matter enough to furnish out a sufficient Liturgy; though nothing either of private opinion or of church pomp, of garments or prescribed gestures, of imagery, of music, of matter concerning the dead, of many superfluities which creep into the church under the name of *order* and *decency*, did interpose its self. To charge churches and Liturgies with things unnecessary, was the first beginning of all superstition; and when scruple of conscience began to be made, or pretended, there Schism began to break in."

tomy of Arminianism in the press and almost ready for publication.* By that vile performance, and by a letter to the Synod nearly equal to it in virulence, he endeavoured to heal the wound which to common observers he might seem by his *peaceful labours* to have made in his Calvinian orthodoxy. The English Ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton, wished Mr. Hales, during his residence at Dort, to transmit his opinion about Du Moulin's scheme, which was not in substance different from that of 1614, and which has been detailed in page 555; and to ask Bogerman's views on the same subject. Mr. Hales soon ten-

* In other parts of this volume, I have exposed the intolerant views and actions of this pragmatical Calvinist; I now proceed to quote the following brief character of him from the impartial Mosheim's notes to HALES's *Letters*:—"Peter Du Moulin, who was without controversy a great man, obtained by his writings of various kinds a larger portion of glory than has fallen to the lot of many of the Reformed Divines. Let those who are desirous of knowing the circumstances of his eventful life consult, among the rest, BATES's *Vitæ Selector. August. Viror.*, FREHERE's *Theatrum Viror. Erudit.*, PARAVICIN's *Singularia de Viris Erudit.*, and others. But the same individual is said to have betrayed great inconstancy in these controversies, and does not appear always to have followed that rule which ought to be observed by a divine. Prior to the convening of the Synod, he frequently exhorted each of the parties to peace and concord, and at that time his opinion about the Arminians was not very low: See his letter to D'Aerssen, in *the Letters of the Remonstrants*, and compare it with the famous TURRETIN'S *Cloud of Witnesses*. But afterwards, when he perceived how the affair would terminate, he united himself to the party that hated the Remonstrants, so as not to seem far removed from injustice or unfair dealing. For, being prohibited by the command of the King of France from making his appearance among the Fathers of that Council, he not only transmitted to the Dort Assembly his judgment on the *Five Points*, which was full of harshness and asperity, and which may be seen in the first part of *the Acts of the Synod*; but he likewise published a very celebrated book, which he entitled *the Anatomy of Arminianism*, and in it openly proclaimed a dreadful war against the Remonstrants, who have generally complained of the acrimony of that performance. Among other authorities on this subject, consult the preface to the *Synodical Acts of the Remonstrants*, and in their letters is *an Epistle addressed to him by the banished Arminians*. Neither were there wanting those who attempted to refute Du Moulin's book; among them Corvinus is the most eminent, whose work, entitled *The unskilful handling of Peter Du Moulin, the new Anatomist, or a Censure on his Anatomy of Arminianism*, was published in Quarto, at Frankfort, in 1622.

"To every one who considers this matter it must seem wonderful, that when this man was bearing proposals for establishing peace between the Lutherans and the Calvinists, he was at the very time condemning and proscribing certain of the doctrines of the Lutherans, while engaged in attacking the Arminians. For, if we attend solely to *the Five Points*, who can avoid observing, that our [the Lutheran] opinions about them are nearly the same as those of the early followers of Arminius? But Du Moulin appears afterwards to have again mitigated what he had expressed with rather too much harshness: For, in the defence of what he calls *the orthodox cause*, he asserts, that God reprobates no men except those who are unbelievers and are impenitent to the close of life. On this account he could not escape reprehension from the more rigid Calvinists, among whom the very famous William Twisse styles Du Moulin's book, which I have now described, *a prevarication*, and does not hesitate to assert that 'Du Moulin had not only 'promoted the cause of the Arminians beyond what was right, but had 'entirely overturned all his previous orthodox conclusions about election.'"

Such were Mosheim's remarks on the reasoning of Hales contained in the next note.

dered his own opinion,* and, a few posts afterwards, sent the Ambassador the following account of Bogerman's: "I spake upon Tuesday with Mr. Præses concerning Moulin's project. His answer to me was this, 'That he communicated the thing 'with some of the discreeter of the Synod, and that he had 'required my lord Bishop and Scultetus to conceive a form of 'public confession. Which as soon as it should be conceived and 'allowed of by those who should in that behalf be consulted 'withal, he would send a copy of it to your honour, to be sent to 'his Majesty, by him to be revised and altered according to his 'pleasure, and so from him to be commended to the Synod pub-

* "Concerning Monsieur Moulin's proposition, of which your honour required my opinion, thus I think: His project consists of two heads, of a *General Confession*, and of a *Peaceable Treaty for union with the Lutheran Churches*.—I imagine, that the GENERALITY *of the Confessions* must not include the Lutheran. For if it doth, then are both parts of his proposition the same: it being the same thing, to procure one general Confession of Faith, and a union. Supposing then, that this Confession stretches not to them, I will do as Jupiter doth in Homer, 'I will grant him one part, and 'deny him the other.' For a general Confession of Faith, (at least so far as those churches stretch who have delegates here in the Synod,) I think his project very possible, *there being no point of faith in which they differ*. If therefore the churches shall give power to their delegates to propose it to the Synod, I see no reason but it should pass. But I did not like the intimation concerning church-government. It had, I think, been better not mentioned: not that I think it possible that all churches can be governed alike, (for the French church being *sub cruce*, cannot well set up Episcopal Jurisdiction,) but because it may seem to his Majesty of Great Britain, that his excepting the point of government might not proceed so much from the consideration of the impossibility of the thing, as from want of love and liking of it in the person.

"Now for that part of the proposition which concerns the Lutheran, either it aims at an *union in opinion* or a *mutual toleration*.—The first is, without all question, impossible: For, in the point of the sacrament and the dependencies from it, as *the Ubiquity of Christ's manhood, the person of Christ, the Communicatio idiomatum*, &c., either they must yield to us, or we to them, neither of which is probable. Their opinions have now obtained for a hundred years, ever since the beginning of the Reformation, and are derived from the chief author of the Reformation. It is not likely, therefore, that they will easily fall, that have such authority and so many years to uphold them.—But I suppose Monsieur Moulin intended only *a mutual toleration;* and be it no more, yet if we consider the indisposition of the persons with whom we are to deal, I take this likewise to be impossible. The Lutherans are divided into two sorts, either they are *molliores*, as they call them, or *rigidi*. What hope there may be of moderation in the first, I know not, but in the second we may well despair of. For they so bear themselves as that it is evident, *they would rather agree with the Church of Rome than with the Calvinist*.—He that is conversant in the writings of Hunnius and Grawerus, will quickly think as I do: The first of which hath so bitterly written against Calvin, that Parsons the Jesuit furnished himself by compiling Hunnius his book. If the whole lump [of Lutheranism] be leavened, as those two pieces which I but now named, they are certainly too sour for moderate men to deal with. The French wits are naturally active and projecting, and, withal, carry evermore a favourable conceit to *the possibility of their projects*. Out of this French conceit, I suppose, proceeded this of M. Moulin."

It would be an agreeable occupation to trace the very preceptible difference between the sentiments here expressed by one of the greatest men of that age, and the more enlarged views of toleration which he embraced and defended on becoming an Arminian.

'licly.' Which course, he thinks, will take good success. As touching the point concerning the Lutherans, *he thinks it not fit that any word at all be made.*" See in page 153, what a mild Lutheran divine has very justly observed on this last sentence. On the receipt of these opinions, Sir Dudley dispatched a letter to Archbishop Abbot, in which the following paragraph occurs: "There hath been an overture made to his Majesty by Du Moulin the minister at Paris, of a *General Confession* to be composed by this Synod for all the Reformed Churches, a form whereof is, *by his Majesty's order*, privately conceived by some select persons in the Synod, which, when it is perfected, it will be then sent to his Majesty, to be by him governed as shall seem best to his wisdom, either by suffering the same to go no farther, or, if he approve thereof, with such change and alteration therein as he shall think fit, to recommend the same publicly to the Synod, and by consequence to the several churches which have their deputies there. Du Moulin doth recommend further a project of *mutual toleration betwixt the Calvinists and Lutherans ;* which doth ill suit with our present business of suppressing the Arminians; and therefore, I believe, it will not be thought fit to make mention thereof in the Synod." In this very letter are to be found stronger indications of the premeditated design of the Synodists "to suppress the Arminians;" and the inference deduced by Mosheim is exceedingly just, "It was scarcely possible therefore, that peace could have been refused to the Arminians, if the Lutherans had been received into covenant and sacred alliance."

The pernicious effects of the unhallowed zeal and injustice of the Dort Calvinists will be cursorily noted in succeeding parts of this narrative. After Grotius had, through the intrepidity and conjugal devotedness of his excellent wife,* effected

* The following account of this circumstance from Du MAURIER'S *Memoires de Hollande*, though not the most correct, is entertaining: "It was by the advice and contrivance of Mary de Reygersbergen his wife, who, observing that, after his keepers had fatigued themselves with often searching and examining a great trunk full of books and foul linen which used to be washed at Gorcum, a town not far from the castle [of Louvestein] where he was imprisoned, they allowed it at length to pass without opening it, as had formerly been their custom. She advised her husband to get into the trunk, having bored holes with a wimble in the place where the fore-part of De Groot's head lay, that he might breathe and not be stifled. He complied with her advice and was carried in this manner to a friend's house in Gorcum whence he went to Antwerp in the common waggon, having crossed the great square, in the disguise of a joiner, holding a rule in his hand. This artful woman feigned, that her husband was extremely ill, in order to give him time to make his escape. But when she thought he was got into a place of safety, she laughed at the keepers and cried, *The birds are flown!* At first it was intended to prosecute her; and some judges were of opinion, that she ought to be kept in prison instead of her husband: However, she was released by a plurality of voices, and applauded universally for having, by her wit and artifice, procured her husband's liberty."—Bayle's remark on this affair is also worthy of insertion: "Such an excellent wife merited, from the commonwealth of learning, not only to have a statue erected to her honour, but

his escape from prison, to which he had been unjustly doomed by the dominant Calvinistic faction, he applied himself on his arrival at Paris to the task of promoting the peace of the Church.

even to be canonized. For to her we owe the great number of excellent works which her husband has published, and which would never have emerged out of the gloom of Louvestein, had he been confined there his whole life,—as some judges, chosen by his enemies, intended."

The following extract from a congratulatory letter addressed to Grotius, by Erycius Puteanus, one of the greatest wits of that age, is exceedingly amusing: "You have opened a passage for yourself when every avenue was closed; and who would have believed, that in the chest a man was concealed? When you were in that manner lifted up [on the shoulders of the guards] you would appear like a corpse inclosed in a coffin; but the comparison will not hold, for you were then coming out from your sepulchre. All men may wonder at this: The whole of Grotius was not contained in that chest. Your body was in the chest, the chest in the boat, the boat in the river; you seemed to me to be in all these, and yet beyond them all, for you had filled the world. This was the reason why your *genius* could not be detained in the prison in which your *body* was confined. Inclosed within walls, immured in a dungeon, and surrounded with guards, you shewed yourself free though in such circumstances of difficulty, and proved that no obstacle can successfully oppose the progress of virtue. Proceed, great man! You have performed an achievement in the course of a few hours, that will more than counterbalance all the sufferings which you endured in the three years preceding; for, the hands of those who employed the most strenuous endeavours to detain you, were the very hands that were raised up to effect your deliverance. They believed the whole of their burden to consist of books: and in this conjecture they were correct,—for your genius is a library in itself. While others therefore call you *a learned and famous individual*, I style you *a brave man*, worthy not only to be saved [from the wrath of your enemies,] but to obtain glory and immortality. Have you not already related the splendid acts of other men? Other men will now describe this feat of yours, which will not suffer when placed in comparison with that of Dædalus. Wings bore him out of the place of his confinement, but books served you instead of pinions: He led forth his own son [Icarus] with him, but it proved destructive to the youth; you have left your wife behind you, but it is with the intention of preserving her existence. For she could not endure any longer to witness your confinement; but now, when she beholds you at large, she blesses her shackles. Alas! that true conjugal affection should thus be dissevered! She was delighted as soon as she ceased to be at liberty, and has thus undoubtedly shewn herself worthy of regaining her freedom. Cherish the firm persuasion, that she will soon again enjoy her liberty; and that she, who has not been afraid of the horrors of a prison, will never attempt to avoid any of the inconveniences of exile,—for she will consider the place of her banishment *her country*, because it contains her husband! And you will yourself acknowledge, that the country from which you fled was not *your mother*; but that it was *a harsh step-mother*, from whom you were compelled to escape."

The answer of Grotius to this ingenious effusion is among the finest modern specimens of chaste and elegant Latin composition with which I am acquainted: It is necessary to premise this remark, that Grotius may not suffer through my inability to transfuse his spirit into this translation of that part which relates to the conduct of Madam De Groot: "Literature possesses the property of powerfully recommending even those who are in a moderate degree imbued with its spirit (among whom I wish I were worthy to be ranked!) to others who are completely subject to its influence, in which number you have attained to deserved eminence. Yet I think the very injustice of a few individuals has served still more effectually [than Literature] to ingratiate me into the affections of several of the best of mankind: For that is not a foolish proverb which says, 'A man under misfortunes, especially an innocent man, 'is a sacred object.' But look how propitiously the providence of God has recompenced my troubles with blessings of an opposite description! I have

Among the numerous congratulatory epistles which he received on that occasion from some of the most learned and eminent persons in Europe, the following, which was written in June 1621, by the famous Du Vair, Chancellor of France, will be perused with interest:—"Sir, Well-bred and ingenuous men, like yourself, feel themselves to stand little in need of the professions of politeness. At all times,—or, to express myself with greater propriety, *ever since I heard others talk about you*,—I have admired your eminent genius and rare erudition; and I afterwards pitied your calamity, when I saw your sufferings on account of your excessive attachment to the liberties of your

found in *my wife* that fidelity which I had myself displayed towards *my country*. While I was striving to maintain the liberty of the people, I lost my own; and my good wife in return lost her freedom in securing my enlargement. And it is not without reason you are surprised at the manner in which my escape was effected. For who could hope to gain his liberty from a well-guarded prison; or to enjoy again the unconstrained and heavenly draughts of vital air, after being pent up within such narrow bounds as scarcely admitted air enough for respiration? Who could have indulged hopes of the practicability of avoiding the keen inspection of such a number of guards, by means of the hands and the feet of those very guards themselves? In another respect, however, it was just, that a person, who had been oppressed with such an unexpected calamity, should be preserved in a manner that was equally unexpected.—For who would ever have believed that such acts as these would have been perpetrated? I had endeavoured with my best powers, both in prose and verse, to elevate to the skies the glory of my native land, and of the most eminent of my countrymen: For this meritorious attempt my fellow-citizens have rewarded me with extreme ignominy. By my patronage I defended the wealth of the Republic, and by my counsels I augmented its resources, while I lost my own private property. I have acted as guardian to the liberty of my country, which has cost me a most afflicting imprisonment.—In one view it is a fortunate occurrence that I have left my wife in durance, and guarded with greater strictness on account of my emancipation; for no one will now indulge a doubt concerning the seizure and captivity of innocent persons, and of such as have the greatest claims on the gratitude of their friends. When I was conveyed out of prison, that was the only circumstance with which my wife was acquainted; and while the issue of the enterprize remained undetermined, in a state of the most exquisite anxiety she revolved within her breast various conjectures, and breathed forth *such wishes* as no one would expect from a wife who is passionately attached to her husband,—*she wished that husband to be then at the greatest possible distance from her!* It was at that juncture too I first perfectly understood from what an excellent wife I had taken my departure; and I began to feel such grief at her absence, that, rather than be any longer deprived of her company, I preferred a return to my former confinement. It is matter of congratulation to the age, that shame, and the reverence entertained for its own reputation, have potency enough to wrest a defenceless female out of the hands of those men who have now no other object on which to wreak their vengeance. But she is entitled to the greater commendation for this very reason,—because, after she had suffered me to be carried away, she dared not to hope for such an easy exit and prosperous termination; for she was as conscious as myself of my innocence, and understood from that fact the kind of men into whose hands we should have fallen, had her scheme miscarried. To no other woman could the following verses be so appropriately applied:

> For *me* thou didst not fear *thyself* to pledge,
> And in a certain risk thy life engage;
> This act, if aught from death could hope to free,
> Deserves to screen thee from mortality."

country, and the patronage which you extended to those who had begun to recal the truth from obscurity. In the situation which I hold, and as far as the service of my master has permitted, I have solaced your distress and obtained your deliverance. It is the will of God, that you should be indebted entirely to HIM for this your enlargement, and not to the intervention of any merely human powers; and the Divine Purpose in this seems to be, that, since you are thus separated from human cares, you should employ the mass of uncommon endowments He has bestowed on you in advancing that work which is without doubt most pleasing to HIM—the common peace of Christendom, by the re-union of the members that have separated themselves from their spiritual mother,* in whom either they or their fathers were conceived and born again unto salvation. Therefore, since I perceive this to be a matter about

* That such a remark as this should escape from Du Vair, will excite no surprise, when it is recollected, that he was a French Bishop, and that there was at that period a great apparent desire on the part of the Gallican Church to be still more independent of the Papal See. However, the note in page 550 will shew the sound views of Grotius respecting the Popish religion.

It is not improbable that the custom of placing Protestant ecclesiastics in some of the higher offices of state, was, among other bad fashions, imported from the Court of France when our Charles the First married the beautiful daughter of Henry the Fourth, and with his royal bride introduced many novelties. In this, as well as in some other things, there was too great a conformity to the practice of Popish courts, which was checked before it had become a great evil; and it undoubtedly was one of the chief circumstances which excited the odium of the Nobility against Archbishop Laud, and accelerated his downfall. His Majesty had indeed been cursed with many unfaithful servants; and the Archbishop in the unsuspecting integrity of his soul, forgetting that the proper business of Churchmen lies in matters ecclesiastical, thought he could find among those who officiated before the altar some excellent men, who would prove faithful both to their God and their king, and who would thus be qualified to execute the highest duties of government. In conformity with this opinion, he recommended Dr. Juxon, then Bishop of London, to be Lord High Treasurer of England, to whose acceptance of office a curious allusion is made in page 286, and who did as great credit by his upright conduct to his patron's discernment, as Archbishop Williams had previously been a discredit to the Duke of Buckingham by his pragmatical behaviour as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the stigma of which was not effaced by his subsequent republican achievements at Conway Castle during the Civil Wars. Laud's solicitude for the honour of the Church is well expressed in his *Diary*, under the date of March 6, 1635: "William Juxon, Lord Bishop of London, made Lord High-Treasurer of England. No Church-man had it since Henry the Seventh's time. I pray God bless him to carry it so, that the Church may have honour, and the King and the State service and contentment by it. And now if the Church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more."

The Archbishop's pious wishes were ultimately answered in this exemplary Prelate, who survived the civil troubles, was elevated at the Restoration to the see of Canterbury, died three years afterwards, and was buried in St. John's College Oxford. One of the historians of that period says: "The king of Spain is not prouder of *the sun's rising and setting in his dominions*, than that house may be *that Dr. Juxon and Dr. Laud were bred there*. As he [Juxon] had gone on in the same course, acted on the same principles, enjoyed the same honours, so he lieth in the same grave, with his friend and patron Archbishop Laud."

which all men of reputation form large expectations from you, I cannot avoid uniting with them in rejoicings on this account, and accelerating by my plaudits such a blessed pursuit." This letter, composed with consummate art, concludes with a promise of the king's bounty, and of an honourable employment in the State, the latter of which was never fulfilled, because the independence of this illustrious exile could never be purchased. Grotius returned the following very elegant reply: "I do not know whether I ought to manifest a greater degree of pleasure or of displeasure towards fame, since she has traduced my character in my own country by imputing to me false crimes, while she has ennobled me in foreign countries with praises which I have never deserved. I have always felt a desire to devote myself to literary pursuits; but the authority of my friends prevented the attainment of my wishes, and before my studies had reached any degree of maturity, the application of them was at first directed to the bar and afterwards to the affairs of government. But when called into the service of the Republic, it was my infelicity to be employed at such a juncture as would not allow a man, who loved repose, to indulge himself in that security without which it is scarcely possible to make progress in learning. But my mind bears testimony to the truth of the judgment which you have formed—'that the public liberty was defended by me according to those 'laws which I had received,* and that neither by the promises

* "In vain did Monsieur De Barneveldt complain to his natural and only sovereigns the States of Holland and West Frizeland; and in vain did these take him under their protection. The Prince was deaf to privileges that opposed his designs, and resolved to make his own power, which he cunningly masqued under the name of *the States General*, superior to that of the particular provinces. Agreeable to this, Monsieur De Barneveldt was arrested by an extraordinary order in the name of the States General, signed only by eight members of that assembly, all of them dependents and creatures of Prince Maurice. Three of his friends were seized at the same time, and committed to different prisons; Monsieur HOGERBEIS, Pensionary of Leyden, a man of known capacity and integrity; Monsieur LEYDENBERG, Secretary to the Provincial States of Utrecht; and the great Hugo GROTIUS, Pensionary of Rotterdam. They were accused of enormous crimes against the State, and, amongst the rest, of having formed a design to plunge the country in blood, and deliver it up to the Spaniard. This heavy charge was posted up at every corner, in order to render them odious to the people; but their real crime was that of *having opposed the ambitious designs of Prince Maurice*, who, a little before their detention, had entirely broken through the constitution of the republic, by arbitrarily changing the magistrates of several places in Holland, as well as in the city of Utrecht where he likewise disbanded the garrison, newly raised and maintained by that town agreeable to her privileges. This he did in the name of the States General as conservators of the Republic, which was no more than a veil artfully drawn, to hide the truth of his designs from the populace at home, and the neighbouring Princes abroad; who, *being ignorant of the constitution*, might falsely imagine the sovereignty of the seven provinces to be lodged in that assembly.

"Whilst the above-mentioned gentlemen were in prison, the Prince and his party convened a general Synod at Dort, which they termed NATIONAL, as if the Seven Provinces made but one people, in prejudice to their distinct

'nor the threatenings with which I was assailed, could I be in-
'duced to become accessary to the oppression of those who held
'correct sentiments, and such as accord with the ancient creeds,
'on the subjects of Grace and Free-will.' God will, I hope, pre-
serve me in this spirit,—not to be seduced by any hope or fear to swerve either in words or deeds from the real sentiments of my heart. But should I be deceived in these particulars, my confidence is, that the same gracious God will either instruct his erring child, or will pardon my ignorance. He is acquainted with the grief which I formerly felt, as often as I instituted a comparison between this our degenerate age, and the early days of PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY—a name which is full of importance in itself! For, in this age, persons who perfectly agree with each other in the chief articles of belief, but who differ in some rites and opinions, are forced into factions, and into wars of which even the profane heathen would be ashamed. Yet it cannot be doubted, that many, who are weary of these evils, cherish within their breasts charity towards all christians, and ardently desire an external appearance of unity, —being prepared, for the sake of such a good cause, to accommodate themselves to the infirmities of the weak, according to the apostolic exhortation, and to extend their patience and moderation as far as the extreme limits of the Divine Law will admit. But, it seems, there are some men who oppose and frustrate these attempts, and whose desire of receding to the farthest possible distance from others drives them onward to the greatest extremes. My prayer is, that God would be pleased

liberties, *which reserve to each of them the right of regulating religion within their respective districts.* This assembly, to outward appearance, was extremely solemn. Besides the members of the several provinces, it consisted of deputies from our King James I, from the Elector Palatine, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, and the towns of Geneva, Bremen and Embden. But it was soon evident, from the conduct of these Divines, that they met together to *condemn* their opponents rather than *refute* them; and accordingly the doctrines of Arminius were declared heretical and scandalous, tending to introduce Popery into the United Provinces; and, in consequence of this, all those Divines who were either known to be Arminians, or suspected for such, were suspended from officiating in their functions, banished the United Provinces, and forbid to return under severe penalties.

"The decisions of the Synod of Dort may justly be said to have fixed the fate of Monsieur De Barneveldt, who was now brought to his trial and condemned to death on the 12th of May, 1619, by a set of Commissioners, chosen in reality by the Prince of Orange, though nominated by the States General, in manifest violation of the rights and privileges of the Provincial States of Holland, his natural and lawful judges. And, to prevent the complaints of that Assembly, (who some time before, by an authentic resolution of State, had taken Monsieur De Barneveldt into their protection,) the Prince, *by another insult on their privileges*, removed several of their members, and substituted others in their room that were entirely devoted to him. In pursuance of this sentence, Monsieur De Barneveldt was beheaded at the Hague, in the 76th year of his age, after having long served the State with great abilities, and been the principal means of Prince Maurice's early elevation."—*Batavia Illustrata by Onslow* BURRISH *Esq.*

to grant to the rulers of the Church, to Kings and to Supreme Governours, a plentiful supply of his Spirit, the Spirit of charity and gentleness, so as to overcome all opposing difficulties, and to restore to the Church, as far as possible without prejudice to the truth, her primitive beauty, but especially that solid peace which she formerly enjoyed. I devoutly wish to be numbered among that company of men which consists of many thousands, whose pious vows will accompany this holy purpose, and who will assemble together in crowds around the standard of victory whenever it is unfurled. When I look about and inspect myself, I discover abundant tokens of my almost total incapacity to render my services efficient; yet I greatly desire to possess the requisite qualifications for employment, and not to abuse his Majesty's kindness through inactivity or supineness. In the mean time, if any services of mine can be made available, it will be *your duty* to command them, while it will be *mine* either to obey, or to shew that I am not deficient in willingness to ensure success, but that my powers are inadequate," &c.

Such was the prudent and pious answer of the illustrious Grotius to the politic and ensnaring patronage which was then extended to him by the French Government. That great man was eminently a *citizen of the world*, and delighted, from his very youth, in every thing that had a tendency to promote the general welfare of mankind. Yet he had particular reasons for his attachment to the French nation, which feeling was only surpassed by his unsubdued affection for his native land, whose interests he zealously espoused and advocated, at the very time when those who administered its government were his most inveterate personal adversaries.* When only fifteen years of age, he had accompanied the celebrated John Barnevelt in his embassy to the Court of France, and had received from that great monarch, HENRY THE FOURTH, several tokens of high regard: His Majesty placed around the neck of the youthful scholar and future statesman, a chain of gold and a valuable medal

* The following anecdote, from Dr. Bates's Life of our author, deserves to be recorded: While Grotius resided in Paris, "he always shewed himself intent on performing all possible good offices to his native land and to his countrymen, when there was any business to be transacted with the Court of France in which his services could be available, by his advice and assistance, or by the favour and influence which he possessed among some of the King's ministers. Yet he was not ignorant of the evil machinations of those who were entrusted at Paris with the management of the affairs of the United Provinces, and who left nothing unattempted by which they might exasperate the King's mind against him: But their labours were ill-bestowed on a Prince [Louis XIII] who was well acquainted with the transactions of Holland in 1618 and 1619. For that monarch is reported to have declared, on more occasions than one, 'that he admired the virtue of the man, who, after having endured such 'cruel treatment in his own country, could not cease from wishing well to it 'and its inhabitants, and from conferring upon it all the benefits which he 'could devise!'"—Of this fact innumerable instances occur in the letters of Grotius.

containing the King's portrait. Before his return to Holland, Grotius became acquainted with Casaubon, and several of his learned co-temporaries, who caused the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws to be conferred upon him, with other flattering distinctions. In the subsequent troubles which agitated the United Provinces, the Remonstrant party received countenance from the French Court; while the Contra-Remonstrants were powerfully supported by King James of England.* During that turbulent period, Grotius evinced the greatest moderation towards both the contending parties; and, though his predilections for the Arminians were well known, yet no public man ever manifested less of the meanness of a party spirit. There can be no doubt, that the French assisted him in obtaining his freedom from perpetual imprisonment, to which he had been most iniquitously doomed; and he was ready, on all proper occasions, to give proofs of his gratitude for this favour. Finding himself neglected by the French ministers, he applied his mental energies to the composition of various useful treatises which he published during the first eleven years of his banishment from Holland.

Dr. Bates tells us, "The first work published by Grotius after he had regained his liberty, was an *Apology* or *Defence*, not so much for himself, (who could have committed no offence, in executing those commands which had issued from his superiors,) as for those magistrates who, after having been lawfully created, had, in the years 1618 and 1619, managed the affairs of the province of Holland according to its fundamental laws and constitution. When the deputies of the United Provinces had discovered this publication, they perceived the complete exposure of their disgraceful artifices which it contained, and of the violence which they had offered to the constitution of their country; and since they had nothing by which they could effectually weaken or refute the true account of affairs which it gave, they employed their former violence, and attempted again to persecute him by proscriptions. But all their efforts were rendered impotent, through the protection afforded by his Most Christian Majesty, who had received him under his immediate patronage," &c.—At that period too, he translated out of Dutch verse into Latin prose, with large additions, his book *On the Truth of the Christian Religion*,† which he had originally

* Some of the politic considerations which swayed the conduct of the two Courts, will be found in the succeeding Appendix F.

† I have said something in praise of this book, in page 279. Perhaps there is not another religious publication in the world, with the exception of the Bible itself, that has been translated into so many languages, or has been so extensively circulated among different denominations of Christians, as Grotius *on the Truth of the Christian Religion*. Among ourselves, this excellent work is now studied as a text-book, not only by all those who intend to present themselves before the Examining Chaplains of the Right Reverend the English Bishops, as candidates for holy orders, but by all the scholars in the

composed principally for the instruction of the Dutch seamen, who, captivated with the charms of the poetry, might be tempted to the further study of that noble subject, and thus be furnished with arguments in favour of Christianity for the confutation of infidels and heathens.—In 1625 he published his incomparable work *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, and dedicated it to his Majesty Louis the Thirteenth. For this production he was applauded by the greatest literary characters in Europe;* but it experienced the fate of many of the best books that have been written for the benefit of mankind,—it was inserted two years afterwards in the Index Expurgatorius at Rome, and thus became a prohibited book and of little utility in Popish countries.

These were the principal works composed by Grotius during his residence in Paris, in which he advocated the same pacific and liberal principles as appear in his subsequent publications; indeed on this point he was throughout life the patron of unity and concord. But those works were not produced without much care, vexation and anxiety, as will be apparent to those who peruse his letters to his friends at that period. His invincible attachment to the Protestant religion was no recommendation to official employment in those days of real bigotry and confusion. He wished to free himself from the irksome situation of a dependant on the French Court, and to practise at the bar as a counsellor in some of the Protestant States of Germany. It appears, that soon after his escape from confinement, he had been invited to accept some public office in Denmark; for, in a letter addressed to his father, in February, 1624, he says:—"For your extreme diligence, my most excellent father and brother, I return you my best acknowledgments. I remain confirmed in the persuasion, that no better plan can be adopted than this,—I must sit down in some corner or other among the evangelical professors of the Augsburgh Confession, where I may

most celebrated Dissenting Academies in the kingdom. This fact is in itself no slight commendation, and may be quoted as a good proof of the Catholic and tolerant principles of its admirable author.

* "The rules of morality and practice, which were laid down in the sacred writings by Christ and his Apostles, assumed an advantageous form, received new illustrations, and were supported upon new and solid principles, when that GREAT SYSTEM OF LAW, that results from *the constitution of nature and the dictates of right reason*, began to be studied with more diligence and investigated with more accuracy and perspicuity than had been the case in preceding ages. In this sublime study of the law of nature the IMMORTAL GROTIUS led the way in his excellent book *Concerning the Rights of War and Peace;* and such was the dignity and importance of the subject, that his labours excited the zeal and emulation of men of the most eminent genius and abilities, who turned their principal attention to this noble science. How much the labours of these great men contributed to assist the ministers of the Gospel, both in their discourses and writings concerning the duties and obligations of christians, may be easily seen by comparing the books of a practical kind that have been published since the period now under consideration, with those that were in vogue before that time."—MOSHEIM'S *Eccl. Hist.*

indulge the hope of maintaining my family in a frugal manner without consuming more of my private property, and there await the return of brighter days, if such a change should ever occur. For I am fatigued with the frequent solicitations which I have received to attend Mass; and the state of uncertainty in which the affairs of this kingdom stand, adds much to my mental disquietude. Besides, I perceive nothing here upon which my concerns can securely depend. But this business must be managed with the greatest prudence, lest I should suffer in my reputation both in France and in other countries. It will be quite sufficient if my well-wishers know, that I am not so firmly settled here as to be rendered incapable of being easily removed. Should any situation offer itself, we can deliberate about it. In the meantime I desire you to continue your enquiries about Spires,—what description of men are admitted into the faculty of Advocates,—what hopes of success may be indulged if I there apply myself to pleading," &c.*—At the close of the same year, 1624, he utters the following complaint to his brother respecting his Annotations on the Gospels, which he could not publish in France: "It is an occurrence greatly to my injury, that, when I have interpreted every thing according to the sentiments of primitive antiquity, and when I have proved myself free from party-influence, I cannot find a place in which my labours can be printed: And if I could find one, I am afraid I should be rendered still more vile [to the Papists] by the pains I have taken in explaining certain passages on which particular [Popish] dogmas are founded, and which, though publicly

* In a preceding letter of Jan. 16, he thus describes his situation and feelings: "Since I last wrote to you I have seen the new Keeper of the Seals, who will hereafter become Chancellor, if he survive the present occupant of that high situation. He made far larger promises than I had expected. But I have now become hardened at the repetition of these verbal services: we shall soon perceive what kind of performances will follow. Nothing must be done in the Danish affair, except through friends of approved fidelity; and it must on no account be intimated, as though it originated with me. Some friends advise me to repair to the city of Spires, and to devote my talents to the legal profession; for the pleadings are there conducted in the Latin language, and the old Roman jurisprudence is in great request and reduced to practice: Equal toleration is likewise extended to the Lutherans and to the Roman Catholics. If you can gain any information respecting the expences of living in that city, either from some of the inhabitants whom you know, or from those who have been there, I beg you will acquaint me with the particulars. For I must come to some determination about myself, as this state of uncertainty consumes all my family property."

On the 12th of July, 1623, he thus expressed himself: "The payment of all pensions is here suspended: This circumstance, and the design of being more frugal of the King's treasure, create me much anxiety. Should any potentate be desirous of engaging my services,—for instance, the King of Denmark, the Duke of Saxony, or any one who is competent to grant me his patronage and an honorable maintenance,—I should account it a matter worthy of consideration. At present, all seem to have forgotten me, because they consider me in the employment of this potent monarch. I have lost some great friends. Those who are now in office wish me well; but they have too many claims on their attention, and I am no teasing parasite."

approved in this kingdom, I cannot persuade myself ever to have been pleasing to christian antiquity."—In January, 1630, the same causes of dissatisfaction existed, for he thus unbosomed himself to his brother: "As to my own affairs, my attention will be principally directed to obtain that liberty which is the most valuable object with regard to religious matters: And, of those princes who have signified their pleasure to engage me in their service, there is no one who has not made large promises to me of such a liberty, and of other privileges considerably more important than any I have ever had in France, or can possibly expect. May God inspire us with salutary counsels! I will not become a suppliant to any man living. You are aware that the Emperor of Germany employs many noblemen who are Lutherans, in his own Council, in the Senate at Spires, and at other places. Buchovius, who is a decided Calvinist, openly teaches the civil law at Heidelberg under the Duke of Bavaria. What reason therefore can be given why we [Arminians] can obtain no situation, when all the Universities that adhere to the Augsburgh Confession have expressed their approbation of our sentiments by condemning those of the Synod of Dort?"*

* The first of the following extracts from the Letters of Grotius was written in April the same year, and proves, that all his literary labours after his exile were directed to a pacific object: "There are conclusions in the Canons of the Synod of Dort, of which, if good Melancthon were again to make his appearance, he would express his disapprobation, and with which Bullinger would be no less grieved; there are others which alienate all the Lutherans from the Calvinists, although amity and concord between them and us is desirable at this juncture. There are some points in them which forbid the Greek Churches from uniting with us, although in many more particulars they are very favourable to us; but there are others of the Dort Canons which admit of no controversy, that is, such of them as agree with the second Council of Orange, in which the whole matter concerning Grace and the Liberty of the human will was treated with the greatest prudence. Those persons who are acquainted with these distinctions, have their minds in a state of preparation for peace, and will easily discover an equitable method of laying a foundation. It is possible that they may recal to mind my labours for unity; even those writings, which I published after my calamity, have not been diverted from the same peaceful object."

The necessity of pacific counsels at that period, among all those who were reformed from Popery, will appear to every one who recollects the brief account of the state of Europe in 1630, which is recorded in page 248. The great Protestant powers began to perceive the folly of their mutual contentions, which were most artfully fomented under various disguises by the Papists; and when they saw several of the smaller States fall into the hands of their arch-enemy, they awoke from their supineness, and seemed inclined to imitate the noble intrepidity of Gustavus Adolphus, who, by a series of wonderful successes in Germany, gave a severe check to the ambitious projects of the Emperor Ferdinand.—To this state of public affairs Grotius refers in the preceding letter; and the subjoined extract will convey its own meaning on the same subject: "St. Augustine says, 'Preceding Councils have been frequently corrected by those which were afterwards convened, as that of Ephesus which received the appellation of *robber* from the Council of Chalcedon.' Under the auspices of Great Britain, Denmark and Sweden, a convention might now be summoned to establish peace among all Protestants: when this is once effected, our controversies will all subside. If this affair be transacted with those who are entirely Lutherans, no subject of contest will remain between them and the Remonstrants, who are, in reality, Semi-

These letters are sufficient to prove, that France was not the place in which such a liberal-minded and philanthropic individual as Grotius would choose to reside. He could not stoop to those servile practices to which the sycophants of a despotic court have recourse; and as this circumstance did not serve to elevate him in the esteem of Cardinal Richelieu, his stipend was irregularly paid and at length totally stopped, under the pretext *that the exhausted condition of the King's treasury required him to retrench his liberalities.* Presuming on the strong professions of

Lutherans. For you know, that the Dort Canons have been condemned by all the Protestant Universities in Germany, and that the Predestinarian controversy is now the principal cause of dissension, since the Ubiquitarian dogma has among all of them nearly become extinct. Indeed, the pastors of this place may well desire to see such a plan completed."

The last sentence alludes to the followers of Cameron, whose peculiar situation and trials have been described in the preceding Appendix C. Grotius here styles the Church of England, as well as that of Denmark and Sweden, *completely Lutheran*; various parts of his learned works shew that he was better acquainted with the constitution of this Church, than many natives are, who, without any previous deep research on this point, pronounce it *a Calvinistic Church*, from the mere assertion of some eminent man that is *as well-informed* as themselves.

* The following brief extract, from a letter which Grotius addressed from Hamburgh in 1632 to Lusson First President of the French Mint, will shew, that the French Court were ashamed of their recent behaviour and made distant overtures to induce him again to reside at Paris: "Illustrious man, respecting the King's money my determination remains fixed, and I feel no desire to have any motion made about it; for I consider myself as much obliged by the gifts which I have received, as if I had been dismissed under a load of them. While this continues to be my resolution, to what region soever I may hereafter proceed, I shall carry with me, in the inmost recesses of my heart, not merely a sense of the benefits which that most excellent king has conferred on me, and on which I place a high value, but likewise a sense of his singular good-will towards me, of which I possess most indubitable tokens, not so much in his liberality towards me which is often extorted by unblushing effrontery, as in his CONTENANCE and his CONVERSATION; both of which are the more worthy of credence, on account of the dignified gravity of *the former*, that is as great a stranger to the *wish* of deceiving, as the majesty of *the latter* is exempted from the *necessity* of practising deceit."

In a subsequent letter to the same gentleman, after describing a pleasant villa on the Elbe, at which he spent the autum of 1632, Grotius adds: "But what in the mean time are you doing? Are you still occupied in founding, fusing and stamping gold, silver and brass? Does not the Cardinal's favour call you to better avocations? It will be a grievous mortification to me, if, in opposition to the provisions of a very wise and salutary law, you should continue, as a horse, any longer to plough in the same yoke with asses. To whatever better situation you may be promoted, it cannot be so elevated as to make me account it a sufficient recompence to your well-tried probity, or to your very correct and refined judgment."

In another letter from Hamburgh he thus alludes again to the *minting* operations in which his friend Lusson was employed: "You will pardon me if I do not reject all the kind declarations which you are pleased to make concerning me, and if I assume to myself those concerning which I have an approving conscience,—my desire to pass a life of innocence, and my faithful but unfortunate attachment to that [free] condition which, as a native of Holland, is my inheritance. I rejoice, in behalf of learning, that Salmasius has obtained an honourable reception from the very men who have ejected me with disgrace. The Dutch territory will now, instead of France, become his country; while I have been forced to quit Holland and repair to Hamburgh, and probably after a while I must proceed to some other corner of the world.

attachment to him which had been made by the Prince of Orange, Frederic Henry* successor to Prince Maurice, and yielding to the concurring solicitations of his most prudent friends, Grotius returned to Holland at the close of the year 1631: but, instead of being received with that cordiality and distinction which his virtues and talents entitled him to expect, he was, through the machinations of his enemies, again refused an asylum in the land of his birth, and forced to retire to the city of Hamburgh.* Dr Bates gives a brief but satisfactory explanation of this affair thus: "After the death of Maurice,†

I return my grateful acknowledgments to his most excellent Majesty, and shall continue to own my obligations, for his wish to make me a partaker of his liberality. Let it suffice for me, to have been burdensome to you while I lived in France, in which I did not *exhibit* any proofs of my services; for it was *impossible* for me to do that, although *I made a tender of them.* Now, when I am an absentee, shall I, like a lazy drone, consume the provender of others? Such a course would be highly improper. Yet I shall ever account myself a debtor to the kind intentions of a most benevolent monarch, and of my numerous friends; especially to you, most honourable man, whose morals, formed of the purest metal, and whose spirit, which is the coin that imparts value to the most celebrated actions, I deservedly estimate far beyond all the gold which either *passes through* the hands of De Fayette, or *adheres to them.*"

* The history of this affair is very curious; but, as the details of it would occupy too much space, I must refer the reader to the letter of Vossius in the next note. The following extract of a letter from Grotius, after his arrival in Holland, to Du Maurier, will explain some of his views and feelings: "Illustrious man, your conjecture is correct, that I have already found plenty of waves in this sea to which I have returned. Indeed, they had been previously contemplated by me; yet I had hoped to discover a little courage in those who are either good, or sufficiently good. I now behold liberty of speech destroyed in most men, through a recollection of the evils which we have been compelled to endure. I am therefore still undetermined, whether I ought to remain a little longer among those to whom I am not an unwelcome visitant, and wait in expectation of a favourable change in the minds of others, or whether I should remove to some other places of abode, to which I am invited on honourable conditions. The affairs of the King of Sweden are so prosperous, as to have raised fresh hopes even in the Elector Palatine, who has long been drooping and inactive; for he has gone to pay a visit to those who were formerly his own subjects, and is attended by our cavalry: And the ears of all those who expressed the most doleful forebodings of the war, are now closed against the bare mention of a cessation from hostilities."

† The following extract from Burrish, descriptive of the death of Prince Maurice, is a continuation of the paragraph quoted page 587:

"It cannot be doubted, that through all this scene of violence and injustice, the Prince [Maurice] acted by CÆSAR's maxim, with a view to make himself sovereign of his country. But because he did not execute this when it was in his power, after having destroyed Monsieur De Barneveldt and his adherents, the friends of the House of Orange took occasion to deny that it had ever been his intention; in hopes, no doubt, to obviate the general odium which the avowal of such a design would cast upon his memory. But the Prince's actions were of too strong a dye to admit so favourable an interpretation. The truth is, that, after Monsieur De Barneveldt's death, his Highness met with more obstacles to his design than he had foreseen. Even those who had assisted to bring on the fate of that minister, were, upon the whole, as much averse to the loss of their liberty, as the deceased. And on the other hand, the Prince saw but too visibly, that by the death, imprisonment, and exile of so many persons, who were well allied and had served the State with fidelity and honour, he had entirely lost the affections of the people. In proportion as his real designs came to be discovered, the odium

Prince of Orange, his brother Frederic Henry was raised to the government of the Republic, and had then afforded hopes not only of a milder species of regimen, but likewise of the restoration of the liberty which was formerly enjoyed in the administration of public affairs. He had [in 1622] a long time before, testified in a letter the affection of his heart toward Grotius; in consequence of which, many persons believed that he would afterwards endeavour to acquire glory to himself, by reversing the iniquitous sentence which had been pronounced against that great man, and by restoring to his former blameless condition one who had been most unjustly condemned. But it too frequently happens in the Courts of Princes, that the minds of those who preside in their Councils are more under the influence of what they account *useful*, than under that which is *honourable:* Of these some were not wanting who sug-

that had been artfully raised against Monsieur De Barneveldt was changed into pity; and the Prince, who was considered as the author of all the injustice that had been done him, from being the darling of the public, became its aversion. Such was the state of domestic affairs in the United Provinces; and the situation of things abroad was still more averse to the Prince's undertaking. The Elector Palatine, upon whom he had a very great dependance, was so entirely reduced by the battle of Prague, that instead of being in a condition to assist Prince Maurice upon any extremity, he was forced to be obliged to him for part of his own subsistence. And on the other hand, the Emperor, Ferdinand II, was become so absolute over the Princes and free towns of the Empire, that the Prince lost all hopes of the least assistance from Germany.

"Chagrined with these disappointments, and penetrated, it may be, with remorse for his injustice to Monsieur De Barneveldt, Prince Maurice, from being fat, robust, and indefatigable, became lean, languished, and died in the beginning of the year 1625. Breda was at that time besieged by the famous Spinola. The Prince had taken it by surprize from the Spaniards, thirty four years before, when he was yet young in the command of the army; and it being a city of his own patrimony, a report was spread that he died of grief, for not being able to relieve it; but others, with more probability, ascribed his death to the disquiet and chagrine he had conceived upon the ill success of the schemes he had formed to acquire the sovereignty of his country."

Judge not that ye be not judged, is a Divine Command, which it would be well for all men to observe. I do not consider it a breach of this command, but rather a great and allowable source of instruction, when judicious historians invite their readers to behold the striking retaliative acts of God's Providence, in punishing the sins of public men; which become *national crimes* when they obtain the sanction, and are perpetrated in the name, of the government of any country. But it requires the exercise of a sound discretion, to distinguish such acts of Divine Justice from others which do not bear that character. Some modern writers,—who have called public attention to the marked chastisement which the House of Bourbon received, in a long banishment from their paternal dominions,—seem, in the warmth of their just animadversions, to have forgotten, that the very country which afforded an asylum to the scattered remains of the French Royal Family, contained at the same time another illustrious exile, who is now King of the Netherlands, and whose ancestors treated the innocent Arminians in a most harsh and cruel manner. But while we, as Britons, admire some of the blessings of liberty which, in 1688, were wafted over from Holland in the gales which conveyed the person of the intrepid Stadtholder, we may very naturally forget, in our admiration of a generous William, that the House of Orange likewise produced a tyrannical Maurice.

gested to the Prince, how dangerous it might be to his affairs again to admit into the Republic a man who was such a tenacious lover both of liberty and of his country.* In compliance with these insinuations, he preferred to consult the security of his power before the permanence of his reputation; and when, at the close of 1632, it was debated in the Assembly of the Nobles, *whether Grotius, who had returned to Holland, should be suffered any longer to remain*, Prince Henry Frederic united with those who voted *that Grotius should be prohibited from residing any longer in the country!"*†

* Grotius was indeed a passionate lover of his native soil, and he had flattered himself with the expectation of spending the remainder of his days among the dearest of his friends, some of whom had been long imprisoned, and an order had then recently been given for their emancipation. When these his just hopes were frustrated, his lacerated feelings found relief in such effusions as the following to his friend Vossius. "Most excellent man among the learned, and the most learned among the excellent, the arrival of my wife and the sight of your writing not only served to relieve my solitude, but produced great gladness. For, while I am thus oppressed with such a host of enemies, to whom can I more properly betake myself, than to that exemplary woman who has been my companion in every variation of fortune, and to you whose fidelity to me, unsullied by a doubt, has illumined so many of my misfortunes, and has never been with-held from me in any of my preceding adversities?—I have not yet determined any thing about my own affairs; but so far as I can estimate my prospects, I shall have some diversity on which to exercise my power of choosing. I ought not to consider it a hardship to live under the dominion of a master, when I behold my countrymen, who have expended so much for their liberties, retain little else except the name. I undoubtedly think I must adopt any plan sooner than that of supplicating those individuals to whom, after a patience which I have practised these many years, I appear worthy of being again traduced and defamed: I cannot esteem that man who has wasted all his natural generosity. I wish Pontanus, and others whose names flourish in the annals of literature, to allow me to live in their remembrance; not that I can hereafter account this as my *country*, but that whatever part of the world may be chosen for a residence, it may prove agreeable, especially to those who are the victims of undeserved hatred."

† A few weeks prior to this decision, Daniel Tilenus addressed to Grotius the following letter of condolence, which breathes much of the generous indignation of friendship: "Most eminent man, I cannot do otherwise than approve of your determination, in preferring to bid a final farewell to that cruel country, rather than stain your innocence by unbecoming supplication, or make yourself the object of unworthy rumours. Nay, the ungrateful land, which has spurned to receive your extraordinary endowments, does not deserve to hold your bones or to cover your remains. I venture to prognosticate, that those who hate the virtuous man, when he is present and alive, will enquire for him in vain when he is removed out of their sight. What a dignified State [is Holland] which contains no other inhabitants than Jews and Manichees, and which rejects from its bosom those with whom piety itself may justly seem to take its departure! Yet the period will arrive, when those who have been unwilling to render due rewards to the men who have merited them, will suffer the just punishment incurred by the injuries which they have inflicted. What, I pray, could you do in those provinces in which the most eminent honour and integrity are exposed to the deepest disgrace, and in which virtue not only receives no reward, but is subjected to punishment? What could you do among men, who have not a particle of humanity in their composition? Yet it is not my intention to account that man *an exile from his country* who will be most affectionately entertained, and cherished with avidity, in any region of the globe that is not entirely excluded from the rays of the sun: For you will find no want of Holland, but

As some readers may wish to know why he did not come over to England at that juncture, when, many of our historians pretend, *vast encouragement* was afforded to Arminians, I subjoin the following extract of a letter from Dr. Laud, Bishop of London, in answer to one from the learned Gerard Vossius,* describing the ungrateful reception which had been given to his intimate friend: "I have a few things to communicate to you respecting that famous and learned individual, Hugh Grotius;

Holland will feel her want of you! It is a source of grief to me, to perceive that I must hereafter be deprived of your most delightful converse and company. But my hope is, that neither this dolorous circumstance, nor the pain arising from the gout, my old and now too intimate acquaintance, will be perpetual: for *I know, that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle.* (2 Pet. i, 14.)"—This personal allusion to his own case was too soon verified; for Tilenus died about a year afterwards, to the deep regret of Grotius, who had, twelve years before, been welcomed by his fellow exile (from Sedan) on his arrival in France, and the two friends and their families had for some time afterwards resided together in the same house in Paris. Tilenus had been for several years a martyr to the gout: In a letter to Du Maurier in 1633, Grotius said: "In Tilenus, each of us has lost a great friend. Yet we might congratulate him on his liberation, even by death, from his murderous disorder."

* The following is the portion of his letter which relates to Grotius,—and bears the date of Feb. 13, 1632: "At the persuasion of several eminent men, some of whom occupy dignified stations in the Republic, that right honourable person, Hugh Grotius, has returned to his native land. But this was done without the privity of those who, twelve years before, had sentenced him to perpetual imprisonment; and it was not communicated to the individuals, who, in the days of faction, had attained to the highest honours in the State, after they had ejected the former occupants: All these persons, with very few exceptions, consider themselves personally interested in not suffering a man, with whose celebrity and endowments they are well acquainted, to enjoy among his fellow-citizens the light of heaven which is common to all men. They have therefore contended against him in the Assembly of the States, with great warmth and asperity. Yet Grotius has not been destitute of patronage either among the order of the Nobility, or among the three great cities—of Rotterdam of which he was formerly pensionary,—of Delft the place of his birth,—and of Amsterdam which now excels, not more in riches and power, than it does in prudence. But the greater the interest thus created in his favour, the more strenuous were the exertions of the members for Leyden, the first Counsellor of which had been one of his judges; and of those for Haerlem, who were under the influence of a cause not much dissimilar. Some of the members for the other cities confine themselves within the bounds of neutrality; but there are more of them who unite with the Leyden members, especially those who are deputed by the little towns and whose votes are generally considered to depend on the opinions of their pastors. Wherefore I cannot easily say what kind of termination this affair will have: Grotius has the flower of all Holland in his favour; but it is no uncommon circumstance among us, for the zealots, such as the more rigid kind of Puritans in England, to overcome by threats and clamours the modesty of the better party. Should matters proceed onward in this course, I am afraid this very great and excellent man will be wearied and disgusted with his grievances, and will again spontaneously depart out of his ungrateful country: I dread this event the more, because I know very well what a great desire some kings and several princes have expressed about engaging him in their service, and they endeavour to entice him into their dominions by promises of vast honours and advantages. But if he be compelled to reside in a foreign land, I had almost said I should envy his abode in all other countries except Great Britain, where I foresee how exceedingly useful he might become to our royal master, his most serene Majesty king Charles, and to the whole kingdom."

I beg you to salute him in my name. Let him also know how agreeable it is to me, who am very undeserving of his notice, to have been honoured with the most worthy tender of his approbation, of which I have been informed by his letters to Casaubon.* But, I must confess, his return to his native land

* This was Meric Casaubon, whose well-tried loyalty is described in page 380, and from whom Grotius had received nearly a similar communication to that which Bishop Laud transmitted to Vossius: Of that communication he speaks thus to the latter: "I am much pleased with the letter of Meric Casaubon, which affords abundant proofs both of his own friendly disposition and of the good-will of that great Bishop."

Strange as it may at first sight appear, Grotius and Laud held no intercourse together, till the autumn of 1631, a few months prior to his retiring from France. But those who know the state of European affairs about that time, will express no kind of surprise at this circumstance: For, through the *favouritism* of the Duke of Buckingham, the most pernicious legacy that his royal father had bequeathed to King Charles, a war had been declared by the English against Spain, ostensibly for the recovery of the Palatinate, but not improbably, (as it was then reported,) in revenge for the public affront which Buckingham had received while in Spain, on the romantic expedition to obtain the hand of the Infanta for his royal companion. Scarcely had this contest begun, when the kingdom was embroiled in a fresh war with the King of France, whose sister had been only a few months married to King Charles the First. The commencement of this impolitic family squabble in 1626, and the termination of it and of the war with Spain, which stand as monitory warnings of the sad consequences of conducting the affairs of a great kingdom on unsettled or irrational principles, are thus briefly related in PHILLIPS's *Continuation of Baker's Chronicle*:

"The French Priests and domestics of that nation, which came into England with the Queen, were grown so insolent and put so many affronts upon the King, that he was forced to send them home: In which he did no more than what the French King had done before him, in sending back all the Spanish courtiers, which his Queen brought with her. But that King, not looking on his own example, and knowing on what ill terms the King stood both at home and abroad, *first* seized on all the merchants' ships which lay on the river of Bourdeaux; and *then* the peace, lately patched up, was turned into an open war, so that the King was fain to make use of those forces against the French which were designed to have been used against the Spaniard, and comply with the desires of the Rochellers, who humbly sued to him at this time for his protection and defence.—In the spring of this year [1629] the Queen, being affrighted, aborted of a son, which added something to the King's troubles at home, though abroad matters succeeded well: For the King of France, being in a trans-alpine expedition at Susa for the relief of Casal, was so intent on that war, that he was very inclinable to peace with us; and, by the intervention of the States of Venice, a peace was concluded.—In the month of January, Don Carlos de Colomas, sent Ambassador from Spain, arrived at London, and had audience six days after. His business was to treat of a peace betwixt the two crowns, which was a while after concluded, all things being left on both sides in the same condition in which they were before the war, and the Spaniard did engage that he would make use of all his interest with the Emperor for restoring the Prince Elector Palatine to his lost estate."

During the whole of this agitated period, Grotius resided in Paris, and expressed his strong disapprobation of the principles on which the Rochelle Calvinists had taken up arms against their lawful sovereign. See pages 208—216, 265 & 290. During the same period, Laud was solicitous for the success of the Rochellers, and of his patron the Duke of Buckingham, who was sent to their assistance; and, paradoxical though it may seem, he was one of the five Episcopal Commissioners, who, in exercise of the Archi-episcopal functions from which Dr. Abbot had been previously suspended, gave their advice for the appointment of the public Fast in 1628, and assisted in the

has always appeared to me one of those things which are scarcely credible, by whose persuasion soever it may have been undertaken: I have reasons for my opinion about that enterprize, although they must not be inserted in this letter on the present occasion. Should he again spontaneously leave his country, he is happy in having so many kings and princes who wish to secure his services;* in one point alone lies his infelicity, —he cannot choose his employer with such ease and safety as he can be chosen. I am truly glad, that you would not envy his residence in Great Britain so much as in any other kingdom; and I cannot know his capabilities with greater accuracy than I can appreciate the value of his services: But as affairs now stand among us, not a thought must be indulged on that subject."†

Grotius felt a desire to reside in England,‡ but the laconic and uncourteous reply of Laud to Vossius relieved him from the

composition of *The Form of Prayer* which Bishop Burnet has quoted with such triumph in a preceding page, (562,) though, like many other of the Bishop's inconsequent *collateral proofs*, it tends little to confirm his previous statement.—While in such very opposite circumstances, it is not wonderful that the celebrated Dutch exile and the English Bishop remained at a distance from each other, though they were in another view well acquainted through their common friend Gerard Vossius, to whom Grotius thus announced, in 1631, his boldness in having written for the first time in his life to Laud:—"Our Junius is now in England, which, notwithstanding the unhandsome treatment he received, he does not cease to love. I gave him a letter to the Bishop of London. You perceive what confidence I have reposed in Literature, which I have always cultivated, thus to have the daring to write to a person to whom I am unknown.—I am absent in the sweeter part of myself [Madame De Groot], to whom I hope speedily to be united, that I may again become what Plato calls *an Androgynus*. I bid FAREWELL to you and to *your better half*, with your very happy and numerous progeny.—August 29th, twelve years after the commencement of many adversities to myself and my country."

Immediately after his arrival at Paris in the capacity of Swedish Ambassador, Grotius transmitted a letter of congratulation to Laud on his recent promotion to the See of Canterbury, which is quoted in page 600; and soon after he addressed a letter of recommendation to his Grace in behalf of the Rev. Sampson Johnson, who had accompanied Sir Robert Anstruther in his embassy to the Diet of Ratisbon, and with whom Grotius had become acquainted during his abode at Hamburgh. See page 216. Such was the commencement of their epistolary intercourse, which was never subsequently cultivated to any great extent, except through the intervention of Vossius, Casaubon, Junius, and others; for after Laud's exaltation to the Metropolitan dignity, he found abundance of occupation for his extraordinary talents, in attempting to retrieve the affairs of the kingdom from the deplorable condition into which they had been plunged by the profligacy or the misconduct of some who had been his predecessors at the King's Council-board.

* We are told by Niceron, that, "during the stay which Grotius made in Hamburgh, the kings of Denmark, Poland and Spain invited him into their respective dominions; but, not thinking the proposals which they offered to be suitable, he persisted in his first design of serving the crown of Sweden."

† An interesting enquiry might here be raised, respecting the cause of thus declining the offer, which Vossius had tendered of his friend's services in the Court of England. The reader will find, in a subsequent note, an attempt to solve this difficulty.

‡ The subjoined letter, containing an allusion to England, was written by Grotius to his brother, five days after Vossius had addressed his to Bishop Laud, and will serve as an exposition of his prospects at that juncture: "I have again heard some discourse concerning the King of Sweden; but in the present situation of my affairs the information has been conveyed to me by

anxiety of expectation.* He had not, however, been long a resident at Hamburgh before he obtained the honourable employment to

several messengers. The origin of it is ascribed to Oxenstern, who is now ambassador at the Hague. You and others know in what high estimation I hold that king. It is imprudent for me to change the place of my abode, on account of hopes that may prove uncertain: The despatch of the affair is not the only thing which ought to be considered, for we must likewise have some regard to dignity. Those who were commanded to acquaint me with this business, thought the king was desirous of engaging my services to the Court of France; if this be done with the title of *Ambassador*, and with those perquisites and advantages which will enable one to maintain the dignity, it might prove to be an object worthy of my deliberation. But I have likewise been greeted with a sort of favourable breeze from England. We must deliberate long about that which can only once be done. If you know any thing which will aid our consultations, I beg you to impart it. You need not be reminded, that all must be transacted so as not to make us appear like anxious candidates."

* Though to my mind the Bishop's letter seems uncourteous, yet much of this appearance arose from the studied brevity of his style, and the multiplicity and importance of his occupations. Grotius himself understood the Bishop's reasons for declining to invite him into England, and manifested no signs of offence at the disappointment: On the contrary, as soon as he had entered Paris in the quality of *Swedish Ambassador to the Court of France*, he addressed the subjoined to the newly-elected Archbishop of Canterbury: "Most reverend and illustrious Lord, I think there is scarcely an individual among your own countrymen who was so much overjoyed as I was, when I received the first intelligence of your Grace's elevation to that highest Patriarchal dignity;—not because I was ignorant of the magnitude of your spirit, which soars far above all things that are frail and liable to decay, and which therefore expends no portion of its admiration upon those splendid titles or the eminence of the station;—but because I sincerely congratulated the Church of England on having obtained a true Governor and Protector, who will, as far as circumstances permit, recal all things to the purest state of Christian Antiquity. I should have been mistaken had I supposed this benefit [of Uniformity] was to be granted to the churches of one kingdom only, or even to those of all the [three] British kingdoms, since its latitude is still more extensive, and belongs to the whole body of the Christian Church which is widely spread over the face of the earth, and which, however torn and lacerated, is still held together by a few ligaments and fibres. I have long desired to have some favourable opportunity of testifying my respect and veneration for you; and now, having been honoured with an embassy to France in the name of the Queen of Sweden, I considered the charge committed to my trust was not so confined within the French boundaries, as to render it impossible to transmit it to the neighbouring kingdoms, which are only separated from me by a narrow strait; and I beseech your most reverend Lordship to allow the welfare and good success of the kingdom of Sweden, and of the affairs in which the Swedes are engaged, to form a part of your Grace's care and solicitude. If I may add any private request to this public one, it is to pray, that you will not suffer me to be excluded from the operation of your benevolence and good-will, which are so freely bestowed upon all, and to which a long time ago I sought to gain access," &c.

In a letter addressed to the Swedish Chancellor Oxenstern two months afterwards, Grotius thus alludes to the Archbishop's reply: "I have received a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, which is full of kindness to me. He says, 'that he will both say and do every thing that is proper in behalf of 'the affairs of Sweden, which I had recommended to his notice, as soon as he 'has more fully understood what may be the principal advantages that the 'King and kingdom of England will obtain.' Thus he gives an indefinite answer to an equally general request." This is in the true diplomatic style, and shews how Archbishop Laud had profited by his residence at Court, in refraining from making large promises which he might never be able to fulfil.

which allusion is made in a preceding page, (599) and the origin of which* is thus described by Du Maurier: "Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, having read and admired the Treatise

But the urgent nature of domestic affairs prevented Laud from cultivating any new acquaintance abroad, though he maintained an interesting correspondence with his old and worthy friend, Gerard Vossius.

Nor must this letter be viewed as a mere complimentary effusion. It spoke the genuine sentiments of the writer's heart respecting that great but persecuted individual, in language which Grotius repeated on several other occasions when corresponding with his friends, who had no acquaintance with the Archbishop, or who had but a faint or distorted knowledge of his character from his enemies. Consult the preceding pages 231—239. The following unbiassed testimony in his favour, is quoted from a letter which Grotius addressed, while at Hamburgh in 1634, to the celebrated Ruarus, and which contains a strong and explicit approval of Laud's design to produce uniformity in the public worship of God throughout Great Britain: "In England, he who had been Bishop of London, being now raised to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, has obtained supreme authority in the affairs of the kingdom and of the Church: He is a man of prudence, who has regard to the model of the Ancient Church, as far as the times will permit. Among the things indifferent adopted by the English Church, no part of the Popish rites is introduced; but, with regard to those things which have been received as the public customs of the kingdom, an attempt is made to render them in every place uniform and alike. The harsher dogmas, which rivet with nails of adamant men's salvation or destruction, are now become still more obsolete in England, and find few defenders."—Let it be recollected, that this and similar passages are no common authorities: They proceed from a man who was better acquainted with the constitution of the Church of England and with the writings of the Christian Fathers, when he was only twenty-five years old, than many excellent and learned divines are at sixty. His testimony is the more valuable, because, as it is said in page 217, he had the best opportunity in the world to know the designs and deeds of both the parties, that had then made their appearance in the political *arena;* and his absence from the scene of action, his elevated rank, and his friendly intercourse with men of all persuasions, constituted him as impartial a witness in these affairs, as it was possible for a man to be who was not *an absolute indifferent*, that is a real Deist.

* To remain so long in a state of uncertainty respecting his ulterior destination, must have been extremely painful to the mind of Grotius, who in allusion to this sort of feeling writes thus to his friend Vossius from Hamburgh: "My wife passes one day after another in hoping for better times. In the interim, age creeps on apace, time flies, and, I am afraid, even those opportunities which present themselves in various directions, will all vanish. It is miserable to be long in suspence!"

From the same place he addressed the following lines to his friend Lusson on the 14th of May 1633: "I humbly intreat you, illustrious man, not to account the withdrawing of my hand from the munificence of the King of France, as any proof of the small estimation in which I may be thought to hold his Majesty's favours, or your aid in this business who have always been one of the best of my friends. * * * I have been asked by the ministers of some princes *whether I was engaged to any one;* and because the report of these enquiries has been circulated, I have always declared, 'that 'I should continue mindful as long as I lived of those benefits of which I 'partook in France, but, since my departure out of that kingdom, I am 'disengaged and entirely at my own disposal.' Opportunities of being employed present themselves from more than one quarter, and they are of a kind not to be despised whether regard to had to dignity or to advantage. But that sentiment constantly suggests itself to my mind: 'It is necessary 'to deliberate a long time about that which can only once be determined.' Yet I hope my future condition will be such as to allow me occasionally to revisit France and my dear friends, and to return my personal thanks to you, dear sir, to Thuanus, Cordesius, the Puteani, and Pelletier, whose names I

De Jure Belli et Pacis, resolved to employ the Author; for he concluded, from this production, that he was a great politician. The Chancellor Oxenstern, who was prime minister to that triumphant Monarch, confirmed him in the design, as he highly valued the work, which he was almost constantly perusing.—But this Prince having been killed at the battle of Lutzen in 1632,* the Chancellor Oxenstern, agreeably to his own inclination and the late King's intentions,† nominated Grotius Ambas-

carry with me deeply engraven on my heart, and I will bear them about to whatever regions I may be called by Providence."—This letter will also serve further to illustrate the note in pages 591 & 593.

* In a letter to his brother, dated Dec. 8, 1632, Grotius says: "It is amazing to behold the dejection of mind which is evinced by the Swedish and German Protestants, especially by those of them who had more openly engaged in that cause, on the death of the great Gustavus, whom they had already destined to possess the Empire [of Germany], as mortal men, who flatter themselves, are accustomed to exceed moderation in the hopes which they conceive."

† To his friend Lusson, Grotius writes thus on the 26th of June 1634: "I am now at Frankfort, having been invited here, more than once, by the Chancellor of the kingdom of Sweden, a man who is worthy of being compared with any of the ancients, and whose pleasure it has been to draw me out of the umbrageous bowers of literature in which I lay concealed, to bring me to the light and to employ me in great affairs. But my strongest fear is, that my services will not fully answer the expectations which such a great man has conceived." In a letter to J. Puteanus, he says: "This change of my residence, from Hamburgh to Frankfort, is caused by the Chancellor of Sweden, the greatest man of our age, who has, by a letter highly honourable and flattering, retained me in the service of that kingdom, and has received me with the greatest benignity." And in another, addressed to Du Maurier, he says: "I might sometime ago have come to the very illustrious Chancellor of Sweden, who is the chief of the Evangelical League, at a juncture that would have been more favourable to these affairs as well as to myself. But since his great mind shines forth with the greater lustre in difficult circumstances, it is equitable for us also to follow the example of such a great leader."

The particulars in the subjoined letter addressed from Paris, in 1637, to John Frischman, will be perused with interest, especially that part of it which relates his design in composing the work *on the Rights of War and Peace:* "Most *learned* and *polite* man, I address you by this double title according to your great merits, since I have your letter in proof of your possessing in a high degree both those accomplishments: Learning cannot possibly be too abundant; it is politeness that transgresses the limits of moderation. You are aware, that those unbounded applauses, when credited by aged men, possess the power of enchantment, and injure the individuals on whom they are bestowed, unless the force of the charm be averted by words composed in due form. I embrace that part of your eulogy in which your mind forms a proper estimate and a grateful recollection of the extraordinary virtues of king Gustavus the Great, and of his truly royal purpose of relieving and elevating the afflicted. Having endured many adversities, I am chiefly consoled and elated with this consideration, that after the king of Sweden had felt something like a Divine presentiment that his end was approaching and had in consequence delivered a number of orders to his confidants, that great monarch, among other things, then commanded them to engage me in the service of the kingdom of Sweden. His royal pleasure was executed by my Lord Oxenstern, the only substitute to be found who was equal to support the immense weight which devolved on his shoulders, after that greatest of monarchs was freed from the burden. The affection which these two great personages have evinced towards me, or even the judgment which they have formed concerning me, will easily confirm me in despising both the

sador from the Court of Sweden to that of France" in 1634. He made his public entry into Paris in 1635, and, in the first audience which he had with the French Monarch, he received some distinguished tokens of his Majesty's personal regard, which are described in two of his letters, but which could not compensate for the loss of his daughter Mary, whose sudden death, just after his first appearance at Court, "he and her mother bore with the feelings of those who are familiar with misfortune."*—On the 23d of March he thus addressed Gerard

detraction and hatred of men, who, in no point whatever, can admit of a comparison with them.—I am also glad that you have correctly ascertained the purpose which I had in view, when I wrote my treatise *De Jure Belli Pacisque*. For I proposed two objects to myself: (1.) To withdraw the men in authority from that ferocious cruelty in conducting a war which is disgraceful to men, but, most of all, to christians, concerning whom it has been matter of doubt with some good people whether they have any permission whatever to engage in warfare. But no good man can entertain a single doubt respecting the unlawfulness of waging war in a savage manner.—(2.) The other object was, to provide for the exigences of those who, to employ a simile, were ready to set sail in the study of the laws,—and particularly those to whom leisure and youth supply prosperous breezes,—by marking out certain points, like stars, according to which they might steer and direct their course. If the book contains any thing remarkable for its excellence, I am indebted for that to the writers whose authority I have followed and extolled." &c.

* My veneration for the memory of Grotius, who was highly estimable both in his public and private character, will not suffer me to with-hold from my readers the following beautiful letter, which he addressed to his Father on that mournful occasion. "Dearest and best of Parents, while I deferred writing to you until I had surmounted the impediments that were raised [by Cardinal Richelieu] *first* against the embassy itself, and *afterwards* against the dignity of my embassy, behold a fresh wound is inflicted on me, which has torn open the scars that had begun to be healed! I was received by the King of France with declarations of the greatest benevolence, both to the Queen in whose name I have come, and towards myself: I had scarcely returned home from my first audience, when, in a manner which I cannot describe, almost without pain, and affording indubitable proofs of piety with her last breath, our Maria was snatched away, not from us who are following her, but from this life of misery. She had been indisposed in her old complaint in the bowels, which was contracted by the cold to which she had been exposed on her journey, and from which the Physician expected a lingering and tedious disorder. I and my wife bear this disaster, as people do who are inured to misfortunes. But why should I call this a disaster, if God resume in his own right the gift which he had bestowed, and if he send our daughter before us to partake of those heavenly delights after the enjoyment of which young people should as ardently aspire as those who are older! This catastrophe frees us from the great anxiety of finding a husband, who would please her father and mother as well as herself—a combination which seldom occurs! And even if she had found a suitable husband, there might have been some danger lest their dispositions, which were previously concealed under a slight covering, should differ, and thus prove to be a mutual cross and an incessant trouble. But, granting all these events to have occurred according to our wishes, how many and great troubles are connected with child-bearing, the maintenance of the infants and their education, and with that anxiety for the welfare of the progeny, from which we are now liberated as it regards our daughter! Our dear Maria will not tread in the sorrowful footsteps of her mother: She will not behold the countenances of a company of packed judges, bloating with rage against her innocent husband, and the more so on account of that very innocence: She will not purchase a sight of her husband at the expence of partaking of the horrors of

Vossius: "Most learned Vossius, the best of my friends! The fact of my coming to Paris in the name of the Queen and the States of Sweden, has, I suppose, been related at Amsterdam, either by those who wish me well, or by my enemies who behold what they dislike, not only in matters that transpire in their own presence, but likewise in those which occur at a distance. But omitting all mention of this, I will inform you that the kindness of the French Monarch towards me has been extreme: and that he has given me strong proofs of the very high gratification which he experiences at this my return into his dominions with no common honour. Bignonius, Thuanus, and Cordesius are causes sufficiently powerful to induce one to reside as a private individual at Paris, rather than loaded with honours in any other city: They love you, and make mention of you whenever I converse with them. Let me know what engages your attention at present, and thus we shall all know. Six of the principal of the Calvinist Pastors have already tendered me their congratulations: It is marvellous to perceive the great alteration of mind which they have learnt in the school of adversity.† They wish to see the union of all evange-

his prison: The faithful companion of his long exile, she will not exchange one country for another. We may congratulate the spirit of our departed child on her removal from this world, before she had become too well acquainted either with those things which are called *the blessings of the world*, or with those which are poignantly felt as its evils. We may also congratulate ourselves, who have been permitted to enjoy her society while it was all sweetness and had in it no tendency to bitterness. What is there now throughout Christendom,—agitated as it is by sects, dissensions and wars,—that can make it desirable to live? How many wounds are inflicted in every direction, what a multitude of reproaches are cast upon the weaker sex, what a number of sudden and cruel deaths have occurred, and how manifold and diversified are the roads which lead to indigence! All the inhabitants of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia are in a state of banishment; and the heirs of the most noble families live by the bounty of others,—if that can be called *life* which consists of passing one day after another in continual desire of death. Most excellent parent, I have transmitted to you these cogitations of my mind, with the design that you and my dear mother, who have always acted the part of father and mother towards my children rather than that of grandfather and grandmother, may enjoy them with me; and that, if you have any other consoling reflections to add, you may in return make me a partaker. I pray God to be present with you and my mother, in his saving power, to the very close of life!—Paris, 23 March, 1635."

† The reader must be reminded, that Grotius left France soon after the fate of Rochelle had been decided, as related in page 266, and consequently had scarcely any opportunity of observing the better temper and altered tone of the Calvinistic pastors, many of whom then imbibed the more scriptural opinions of Cameron and Amyraut both on politics and Religion.† (See pages 220-225.) But though a great change had been effected in them, and the free exercise of their religion had been insured to those who remained peaceable and loyal subjects, yet a few extracts from the letters of Grotius will shew the insidious policy of the Church of Rome, which never relaxed in its efforts to have the kingdom of France rid of *the Protestant heretics*. Louis the Thirteenth would not listen to such a dishonourable proposal; but his ambitious successor, who was not so scrupulous, became the willing instrument of the Papal hatred to every thing which bore the marks of Protestantism.

In a letter to his brother, dated the 9th of January, 1629, he says:—"Montmorency considers it sufficient, with the small number of his forces, to prevent Rohan from attempting any further enterprise. If he can succeed in his design, that matter will be easily delayed till the Italian war be finished;

lical professors; and they promote that good object as far as possible, both in their discourses and their writings. Some of them are now more moderate in their sentiments on the doctrines in controversy, so as not to deny that they are more favourable to Melancthon. But these men picture to themselves most wonderful accounts concerning England, from reports with the origin of which I am unacquainted. They say, 'that images are 'restored, and superstitions which had been long abolished; 'and the difference remaining between Protestantism and Po-'pery is now exceedingly trifling.'* I refute these rumours, and say, that they proceed from the excessive hatred which the Puritans indulge against the Bishops. The authors of their own credulity speak highly in commendation of the letters of Soubise. I receive intelligence quite of an opposite description, from the persons who manage the English affairs in Paris; and I insist that the representation which these persons [the English Ambassadors] give, is more worthy of belief."

The Calvinistic pastors soon afterwards waited upon Grotius, and invited him to join in communion with them at Charenton, as the reader will see in a preceding page, (222,) but the result

for the conclusion of which the Pope is desirous, on account of his solicitude for Italy, and has written a letter to the King of France, extolling his victory [at the siege of Rochelle], and recommending his Majesty *to purge his kingdom from the remains of sectarian poison.* But the King has distinguished the limits of the obedience which is due to him and to God, and has framed an edict, not yet published, in which he threatens all possible severity against those who retain their arms, and gives his sacred promise, that the rest of the Protestants shall continue to enjoy their religious liberties according to the edicts."

At the close of the year 1637, Grotius transmitted the following information to the Chancellor Oxenstern: "A new coalition, which has been formed among the Popish ecclesiastics of this kingdom, excites great apprehensions in the breasts of the French Protestants: It is called *the Congregation for propagating the Faith.* The Protestants are afraid, that by degrees this contrivance may be turned against them, and thus become an engine of compulsion. I think nothing of magnitude will arise from it; but that the Court of Rome seeks to gain favour [among the French ecclesiastics] by every plausible method. Some of the same Protestants suspect, that something beyond a mere fault has been committed in the loss of the fortifications on the Rhine; that the French government act thus, in order to remove the Protestants as far as possible from the neighbourhood and the sight of France; that it is the Cardinal [Richelieu] to whom the King has transferred not only the collation to all ecclesiastical benefices, (for his Majesty acknowledges this himself,) but also in some degree the management of the kingdom itself; and the two persons next in power to the Cardinal are Father Joseph and Noyere, both of whom are candidates for the same purple,"&c.—Grotius does not say, that the French Reformed were wrong in these remarks; and the subsequent history of that unfortunate race of Christians proves them to have been more than bare conjectures. For the coalition, of which they were then afraid, ultimately became the instrument of dragooning them either into the ranks of Popery or out of their native country. Whatever the deeds of their predecessors had been, those sufferers after the rise of Amyraut had generally been loyal subjects, and were undoubtedly entitled to better treatment.

* How untrue these rumours were, the reader need not be told who has perused Mr. Mede's modest account of them in pages 517—540.

of that application is not there narrated. After Grotius had consented to attend the services of their church, in his quality of Swedish Ambassador, he required to have a pew or seat appropriated to him, as is the custom with all those who are the public representatives of their sovereigns in foreign countries. That distinction the Consistory of Charenton refused to grant, though it was allowed to the Protestant Ambassadors of other countries, whose religious establishments differed, as much as that of Sweden, from the Calvinist church at Charenton.* On this subject he thus addressed his brother in October, 1635:—

"I have in a former letter acquainted you with my reasons for

* The English Ambassador, prior to the death of Charles the First, had a distinct seat assigned for his use in the Reformed Church at Charenton; but after that mournful catastrophe, the presence of the usurper's ambassador was preferred to that of his Majesty's, according to the following very curious extract from one of Sir Richard Browne's letters in 1656 to Lord Clarendon:

"In the conversation I have had abroad in my travail, as well as here in Paris since my return had with the French Protestants, I find them generally much involved in Cromwell's interests, he having dexterously insinuated into their belief that he will maintain them in the enjoyment of their privileges: a more manifest demonstration of their good inclinations to him may also doubtless be, their having, since Locker's arrival, effaced the name of *King* out of the inscription of the seat for the English Ambassadors at Charenton, and left only '*pour les Ambassadeurs de la Grande Bretagne.*'

Olim tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum Epigraphen.

And in their discourse upon all occasions, they fervently declare their great good wishes of the prosperity of the army of the King of Sweden, as abetting upon that hand in order to the ruin of Antichrist, under that King and Cromwell's banners."

Some persons may suppose in charity, that this petty act of malice towards royalty in exile was done out of subserviency to the known predilection of the French ministry for the usurper Cromwell; but on referring to page 313, the reader will find, that the Presbyterians throughout Europe were nearly unanimous in expressing their approbation of their English brethren. Amyraut and his connections form an honourable exception. After such an exposition as that of Sir Richard Browne, one cannot avoid wondering at the following expressions, in a letter from Daille, one of the pastors of Charenton, in 1660, at the Restoration of King Charles the Second, whom he recommended to his Presbyterian friends in England as a monarch untinctured with Popery:

"I cannot but rejoice with you for the happy news which is conveyed to us from the place where you are; whereby we are informed, that the universal desire of the people seems with a common voice to recall their natural and lawful King. Besides, that generosity and equity itself obliges us to wish, that this prince may return into his own kingdom and inheritance of which he hath been unjustly deprived, we ought also to desire it for the honour of our religion, which should be more dear to us than any other interest. For when our adversaries formerly would charge the blame of the death of the late King of England on our religion, you know we could very well guard ourselves from this reproach, *by casting it entirely upon the sectaries*, who indeed were only guilty of that horrible crime. But at present we do not stand upon the same terms, since there is such a change of affairs; the sectarians having lost their credit, or at least being fallen from that sovereign power which they had grasped; and on the contrary the Presbyterian party, which is ours, now governing in England. So that if they let slip the fair opportunity which God seems to open to them, for the re-establishing of the King of Great Britain in his dominion, and to re-advance him to the throne of his ancestors, it is most apparent there will be no further ground to excuse themselves upon the sectaries, nor to wash our holy religion from that spot from which, by the grace of God, it hath always been preserved pure and

not yet appearing in the church of Charenton. I am amazed at the inconstancy of the men, who, after having invited the Lutherans to them,† now deny that they can admit the Swedish

clean to this present. It is objected against this, that during the whole space of time which the King of Great Britain passed in the Court of France, he never came to our religious assemblies, and that amongst others he never came to Charenton in the days of our worship. But although this may at first view appear strange to those who know not the reason of it, nevertheless, as we are better informed of this than any one, we can testify that religion was not the cause of it, and that he abstained from coming *upon politic and prudential considerations, which may be peculiar to our Church.* And the proof of this appears in that, when the King of England hath been out of Paris, he hath willingly gone to sermon in the churches of our brethren; as for instance in Caen and some other towns; and in Holland also, he hath several times heard the sermons of thefamous Monsieur More, who at present is our colleague." See pages 379—391.

As a complete contrast to this pliable sycophancy, for which the Calvinists of that period were famous, I subjoin an extract from an able Arminian letter, addressed by Poelenburgh to Professor Hartsoecker at Amsterdam in 1651, soon after the unfortunate battle of Worcester. Having described the youthful monarch's flight, and his concealment in the umbrageous foliage of an oak, he proceeds to observe concerning the Independents and the Presbyterians, "They are raised up on high, in order to suffer a more grievous fall. And it would be no cause of amazement to me, if, after these wicked men had sufficiently fulfilled their lusts in shedding the blood of the King and extirpating those who are attached to the royal party, they should then turn their rage against each other, and should fall down together wounded by their own mutual violence and cruelty: Such is the usual fate of robbers, upon whom by this method God in just judgment exercises his vengeance, when they treat all the laws with contempt and are not afraid of other judges. ——Many indeed among us have fallen into error, and principally those who call themselves *the purely Reformed*, though they dislike to be styled *Puritans*, and who openly in their sermons beseech God 'to bless the arms of the 'Parliament which have been justly taken up for the cause of religion.' And there were not wanting men who manifested the greatest pleasure, when they perceived the late King to be near the close of his sufferings: Whether such villainy as this may be excused under the simple term of *an error*, I cannot easily determine. They are undoubtedly imprudent mortals, not to call them *foolish or stupid*, who do not suppose that sometimes the greatest wickedness is concealed under the pretext of religion. But what has rendered these men thus excessively hostile to the King's party? Does a difference in religion? That cannot be, for the King openly professes the Reformed Religion. Is it a difference in the mode of church-government? That is exactly the point. For, as they relate, Calvin was perpetually complaining that *the English had left the floor [of the Church] besmeared with this nastiness* [rites and ceremonies]! To whom, on the contrary, the English Prelates replied, 'We must sweep and cleanse the house of God, so 'as not at the same time to pull up the stones with which it is paved.' Was this a matter of such consequence, that, on account of a difference in ecclesiastical regimen they should be desirous of taking up arms against the King, of shedding such a profusion of blood, and of perpetrating shameful and degrading acts?, particularly when the Episcopal order has been established from times the most ancient. But since Cromwell is wholly intent on occupying the palace and seizing the kingdom for himself, after having expelled the royal owner and wretchedly murdered him upon his own threshold, the anger which in the minds of many persons rankled [against the late King] is turned into pity and commiseration. I am likewise afraid, that in process of time these our own countrymen may acknowledge a kindred feeling in themselves, if by chance the English gladiators should some time or other turn against us [the Dutch] the violence of their fury.————Whatever the event may be, we [the Arminians] must never favour those men who take up arms against their lawful rulers under any pretext."—This is the characteristic boast of GENUINE ARMINIANISM throughout the world!

† This refers to the liberal proposals which the French Protestants had transmitted to the Convention at Frankfort in 1634, at which Duræus was

Ambassador, *in his quality of Ambassador*, on account of the difference which subsists between the religious sentiments which they maintain, and those professed by the kingdom of which he is the representative." And in another, a few days later in its date, he says: "The reason why I was unwilling to be seen among the Charenton congregation in another quality than that of Ambassador, is, not only because that dignity cannot be laid aside in public, but because, when I had gone there, I should have carried with me as Ambassador from Sweden, the authority of the Augsburgh Confession,—and *what is comprehended in that document* you need not be told."† The truth is, had Grotius been received in the capacity of a Lutheran Ambassador, it would have been viewed, by the men who invited him to Charenton, as virtually the triumph of Arminianism:—This dreadful concession they were desirous to avoid.

Arrived at Paris as the representative of Majesty, Grotius immediately engaged with spirit in the arduous duties which his dignified office required him to perform, and of which the affairs of the Christian Church formed no inconsiderable portion. Gustavus Adolphus had, from the commencement of his Germanic expedition, perceived the absolute necessity of

present, and of which Grotius makes the following mention in a letter from that city: "The sentiments of three Bishops, *concerning the methods of effecting peace and concord among the professors of the gospel*, have been published in England. The pamphlet contains many things, which, if our countrymen [the Dutch] were possessed of wisdom, they might convert to their own profit. I have also seen a manuscript composed by the pastors of the Church at Paris or Charenton, which is withheld from publication lest it should prove injurious to them [at the French Court]. Nothing can with propriety be advanced on this subject [of unity] which will not militate against the laboured attempts of the Synod of Dort."

Both these tracts appear to have been embodied into one pamphlet and printed together in 1634, under the title of *Aliquot Theologorum Galliæ, et trium Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Episcoporum, Sententia de pacis rationibus inter Evangelicos usurpandis*. The names of the three English Bishops were Morton, Davenant and Hall: the two latter had been deputed to Dort, and strenuously endeavoured afterwards to undo all that they had assisted to effect at that Synod. Bishop Morton was a Prelate remarkable on many accounts, but more particularly for being one of the advisers of king James when his majesty issued his royal "declaration concerning lawful sports to be used," which ultimately became a disgrace to our country, and the cause of much disunion. The account which his biographer Dr. Barwick gives of that transaction is exceedingly interesting; but every impartial person must own, that the disease, bad as it was, could not be worse than the remedy. In perusing the account, the reader must recollect that the good Bishop's advice was not asked till "the king had willed to give" the inhabitants of Lancashire "the satisfaction" which they required; and that when he found the king thus determined, "he considered of six limitations or restrictions, by way of condition, to be imposed upon every man who should enjoy the benefit of that liberty; his Majesty added a seventh, saying only, 'that he 'would alter them from the words of a Bishop to the words of a king.'" This exonerates Bishop Morton in a great measure from being the author of that obnoxious measure.

† In one of his letters Grotius calls Arminianism, with great propriety, *Semi-Lutheranism*. In the conversation between him and the French pastors, (page 222,) of which this is the result, they candidly stated that they had written to Rivet at Leyden "about receiving the Dutch Remonstrants into communion with them;" and the sudden and otherwise unaccountable

cementing together in a religious union all the Protestant States and Communities in the North of Europe; for as long as they stood at that great distance from each other to which the Synod of Dort had driven them, they not only became severally a prey to the ravaging tyranny of the Church of Rome in the person of the Emperor Ferdinand, but, as *disunion is weakness*, they suffered their Protestant neighbours to fall into the hands of the common enemy, while they remained in a state of Pharisaic quiescence, and virtually said to them, "Stand by yourselves, come not near to us; for we are holier than you." (Isai. lxv, 5.) In a very interesting letter addressed from Paris, in 1635, to his friend Holing, who was on a tour in Abyssinia, and had previously visited various countries in the East, Grotius thus relates the benevolent labours of the King of Sweden and of his successor: "I cannot sufficiently admire the magnanimity of your spirit, who have subjected yourself to such a number of inconveniencies through an ardent desire of knowing the state of distant nations, and especially the condition of their christian inhabitants. In those countries you behold, what is obvious enough in our part of the globe, how difficult it is to heal the ancient divisions of the Churches. Gustavus the great King of Sweden, for whose daughter the Queen I am now Ambassador at the Court of France, convened at Leipsic not long before his death an assembly of the Protestants of both persuasions, [that is, Lutherans and Calvinists,] between whom, you know, the subjects in controversy are not very numerous, but are much of the same slight description as those about which the christians of the Greek and Coptic Churches in the districts around Egypt profess themselves at disagreement. By his authority, the King caused both parties to separate amicably, and with fair hopes of restoring unity. But the lamented decease of that great monarch hindered the further execution of the salutary measure which had been thus auspiciously commenced. Neither was England backward in transmitting her recommendation of this blessed undertaking, in the person of Duræus,* who came to Frankfort

change in their conduct is in proof of the kind of *pacific advice* which that individual had given. This is the true solution to all their demurs, about assigning a separate seat to Grotius as a Lutheran ambassador.

* Grotius there became personally acquainted with Duræus, Calixtus, Bergius, and other peace-makers, and derived exquisite pleasure from their society and conversation. In a letter to Duræus in 1637, Grotius thus relates his own early predilection for promoting union and concord in the churches of Christ: "Reverend Man, The object which you pursue with such labour and assiduity, is that which, from the time when I first gained some knowledge of good things, I have always desired to pursue, and I still indulge the same wishes: That object is, to effect a closer union, in heart and by plain and conspicuous proofs of friendly feeling, between those churches which for very weighty reasons have seceded from the Roman Pontiff. From my personal experience I am fully aware of the great difficulties which present themselves against the execution of this laborious undertaking; some of them arising from political considerations or the suspicions of divines; others of them, from the self-complacency with which every one looks upon his own opinions, or from a desire to exalt private opinions too highly, and

on the Maine, with letters of introduction from many of the English Bishops, at the very time when another Convention of the Protestant States were holding their deliberations in that city. But this affair, which was in itself sufficiently difficult, was rendered still more complicated by the harsh and intolerant answer which Dr. Hoë [a Lutheran] from the Court of Saxony, returned to those whom he called Calvinians. Yet the great body of the Ambassadors who had been deputed to that Convention, promised that they would so manage this affair in their several countries, as to make the sincerity of their wishes for such a union apparent.—The ministers of Charenton have not only abated from much of their former rigour, but have in a letter confirmed Duræus in his sacred design, by adducing a number of powerful arguments. They likewise invite me to their communion, though they know that I have generally adopted the doctrinal sentiments of Melancthon. I will not refuse this invitation, if I can accept it on such equitable terms as are not repugnant to christian liberty: For I am quite ready to unite with another denomination of Protestants in offering after the same manner [at the altar of God] our joint tokens of brotherly love, provided I shall find their minds equally well-prepared. This I shall do, not without some hopes of the example spreading itself still more extensively. The present Primate of England is a man of the greatest learning and prudence, and kindly lends his authority and advice to promote this general christian union."

Grotius had been present at the Frankfort convention with the Chancellor Oxenstern, whom he soon afterwards accompanied to Magdeburgh, as he was then retained in the service of Sweden, but had not received his appointment to any particular office. In a letter from that city, after severely animadverting on the intemperate conduct of Doctor Hoë, he thus addresses James Puteanus: "How much more correctly do your Frenchmen act, who promise themselves to become our helpers equally in peace as in war, and undertake at the same time the management of the affairs of the Elector of Saxony, of the Swedes, and of the Roman Catholics, and, beside all this, pay large subsides annually to Calvinistic princes." This short paragraph is the key to all the ulterior exertions of Grotius, to insure the peace of the Church, and to promote union among all denominations of Christians. This pacific project became a favourite measure with Cardinal Richelieu, who, to

under the appearance of piety to withdraw themselves as far as possible from others. But none of these circumstances ought to terrify a man from performing a most excellent service, if it can be effected; if it cannot, he may undoubtedly enjoy the consciousness of such an upright and sublime intention. I will not cease to do what I have hitherto done,—to recommend to that great man, the Chancellor Oxenstern, your piety and learning, and the pureness and sincerity of the desires of your heart in trying to accomplish this purpose. I will ardently pray for your success, and shall be glad at all times to know the degree of progress you are making."

humble the pride of Spain, had prevailed on the king of France to join the Protestant Confederacy; to which the king of England had formerly become a party, for the sake of assisting his relative the Elector Palatine in recovering his hereditary dominions.* No method seemed so likely to keep together and to

* A stronger proof of the crooked and vacillating policy pursued by the early ministers of King Charles, is not on record, than that which they adopted for the restoration of the Elector Palatine, whose cause was first patronized on account of the insulting conduct of the Court of Spain. See page 598. The kings of France and Denmark and the Dutch Republic entered with spirit into the views of the British Court in the first year of King Charles's reign, and concluded a treaty for restoring the liberties of Germany; but the unfortunate attempts of the King of Denmark in the North of Europe, those of the English on the coast of Spain, and the absurd breach with France the year afterwards, destroyed all hopes of immediate success, and left the Emperor Ferdinand and the other members of the Catholic league completely at liberty to proceed vigorously in the work of devastation and refined proselytism. The King's subsequent application to the Emperor at Ratisbon, by Sir Robert Anstruther, was equally unsuccessful. When Gustavus Adolphus arose in splendour, the King of England elected him into the noble order of the Garter, and formed great hopes from the exertions of that royal warrior. Two of the most treacherous servants that Charles possessed, were employed to assist in the Swedish expedition —Sir Henry Vane as Ambassador to Gustavus,—and the Marquis of Hamilton as commander of the English forces, which were sent for his succour.— At that period the Protestant confederacy seemed to be very near the accomplishment of its wishes in Germany, and was strengthened by the accession of new allies: But the death of Gustavus the Great at Lutzen quashed the sanguine expectations of the Elector Palatine, who had for ten years been feeding on false hopes; and to that catastrophe were ascribed his sudden indisposition and decease, within three weeks after that of his royal friend and patron.

The ministers of King Charles might consider it good policy to display their abilities at counter-plotting, by their frequent yet fruitless applications to the Emperor of Germany and the King of Spain in behalf of the Elector. But this subserviency to the House of Austria was made the ostensible ground of the French King's apathy in the affairs of England, when they were brought to a crisis; and Grotius often alludes to it in his letters:

On the 13th of July, 1641, he writes thus: "If the Bishops be removed in England, it is certain that several of the nobility will be offended at the change of church-government, and will unite themselves in communion with the Church of Rome. The lower orders wish it to be believed, that, after the death of the Earl of Strafford, a new conspiracy was formed, to which France became a party. Though I think the King of France wishes well to his sister, the Queen of England, and is displeased at beholding such a near example of the lowering of the regal dignity, yet I am compelled to doubt whether he be willing to do any thing for the King of England, before he has fully withdrawn him from the Emperor and the King of Spain."

Phillips's brief account of the fluctuating affairs of the Palatinate is worthy of being perused. "There was an Imperial Diet held this year, [1636] for the electing of a king of the Romans; and the king sent thither the Earl of Arundel, his Ambassador, to treat with the Emperor and the Princes for the restitution of the Palatine to the Palsgrave. But that embassy could effect nothing; for the Duke of Bavaria, who had in his possession the Upper Palatinate and the electoral dignity, would by no means hear of any propositions to part with either. But the Lower Palatinate he might have had upon some terms which the emperor proposed; but our Ambassador was not instructed to accept of any thing in diminution of the Elector's Right: So that the Palsgrave had no fruit of this embassy. Yet were his hopes a little raised by an overture of marriage made at this time betwixt the king of Poland and one of his sisters, which was almost effected by the

render effective the discordant materials of which that grand confederacy was formed, as a religious union; and Grotius had instructions to promote that object in France, in every way

legation of Prince Radzovil here in England. But the emperor privately obstructed it, and, by the insinuation of the Jesuits, so instigated the clergy of Poland against it, because of her religion, that the treaty was broken off, and the King afterwards married the lady Cecilia, second sister to the Emperor.—The Prince Elector and his brother Prince Rupert went to Holland about this time, in order to a design which was put in practice the next year to attempt something with an army in the Palatinate. The assistance and credit of the king's purse, did so prevail under-hand with the prince of Orange and the States of the United Provinces, that a small beginning of an army was raised, with which they advanced into Westphalia and besieged Lemmingen. But Hatsfield, one of the Emperor's Generals, came so soon upon them, that they effected nothing, but were forced to fight to great disadvantage, having had 2000 men slain, and most of the rest dispersed, and many prisoners taken, amongst which were Prince Rupert and the Lord Craven; the Prince Elector himself escaped by flight, and retired to the Hague.

"The Prince Elector, in July this year, [1639] arrived at the Court of England in prosecution of a design he had, to get command of the army of Duke Bernard Saxon Weymar lately dead, which consisted of a gallant number of Swedes, Germans, and other nations. The king did like very well of the business, and proposed it to the French Embassador, offering that the Prince should join in perpetual league with France, and that he would contribute what he could to his assistance. The Embassador seemed to be very well pleased with the offer, and told the king that he doubted not but his master would approve of it; and that Cardinal Richlieu, the chief minister of that State, would be willing to serve the king and the prince therein: and thereupon he dispatched a messenger to Paris, to acquaint the French king with the matter. But in the mean while it was suggested to the king, that Richlieu under-hand fomented the troubles of Scotland, whereby the confederate covenanters had been encouraged to write a letter to that king for assistance; so that the reality of Richlieu was so much suspected, that the prince was advised to go privately through France to Duke Bernard's army, of which it was believed he might by his appearance easily get the command. The Prince therefore in November passed over to Bullen, and from thence endeavoured to pass by disguise through France, but at Lyons he was discovered and taken prisoner. And the King of France interpreted this action of the Prince of no fair intentions towards him, because it was done in a time of treaty, so that he was kept under a strict guard."

In a subsequent note I shall prove Grotius to have been a consummate politician as well as a man of piety. In several of his letters he notes it as a sad defect in the policy of England, that the cause of the Palatinate, which offered a good pretext for a foreign war, was not undertaken with greater spirit, for the purpose of allowing the fury of the religious malcontents to expend itself abroad, instead of overturning the government at home. Besides, it is known to those who are conversant with that eventful period of our history, that a war in favour of the Elector's claims in Germany would have been exceedingly popular, and not the less so on account of its being at first made a party question by the Puritans,—though none of them were more zealous or sincere in their endeavours to obtain an acknowledgment of that unfortunate family's just rights, than were Archbishop Laud and the English Arminians. But the execution of this scheme was prevented by two powerful causes already specified in this note,—the plotting of Cardinal Richelieu, and the treachery of two of the King's ministers whose design can be proved to have been the discomfiture of his best-concerted projects. Another lay in the want of adequate supplies, which, in consequence of his quarrel with the Parliament, his Majesty was unable to obtain.—But Grotius was a more powerful and efficient friend to the exiled Queen of Bohemia and her family, than any other man in Europe. It was through his influence with the French Court, that the imprudent young Elector was released from

that was lawful and honourable. This he could do with a far better grace as the Ambassador of a great Queen, than when he was waiting for employment at the Court of France, and manfully refused to listen to the solicitations, with which he was constantly pestered, to change his religion.* Though he

his confinement; on which occasion Grotius addressed a very able despatch to the British Ministry, through Lord Scudamore, in behalf of the Elector's affairs, to which he alluded on the 14th of August 1640, in the following letter to Camerarius, the Swedish Ambassador at the Hague: "The Prince Elector is liberated on his parole of honour, yet in such a way as to be restrained, in the judgment of the French ministry, (by a bond which he executed and has left in the King's hand,) from doing any thing contrary to the interest of France. He has proceeded on his journey to his mother and the Dutch, to wait among them and see what the English and the Danes will do for him in Germany. I am exceedingly grieved at the vicissitudes of a prince who has been so long a time contending with adverse fortune; and I wrote into England, to Viscount Scudamore, who was formerly Ambassador at this Court and is high in favour with the Archbishop of Canterbury. I suggested to him, that it might be worthy of consideration, whether, on entering into a treaty with Sweden, that House might be restored to a better condition; and whether, by the same means, the wild and ferocious spirits of the Scots might not be softened, combustible materials be withdrawn from internal commotions, and a way opened for procuring the liberty of Germany and a good peace to Christendom.—The Viscount replied, 'that both himself and 'other Englishmen desired nothing with greater earnestness than to behold 'some relief afforded to the Electoral house; but that no great hopes were 'yet entertained of concord with the Scots; and that, before the King could 'apply his mind to the care of foreign concerns, every attempt must be 'made to induce his subjects to return to their duty.' The rest of the letter was politely expressed."

In a subsequent letter to the same individual, Grotius says: "I pity the fate of the excellent king of Great Britain in having the Scots his enemies, and the English as subjects but little inclined to yield obedience. When England had it in her power to assist the Prince Palatine, she refused; and now, when she is extremely willing, she is prevented by her domestic troubles from rendering him any assistance. I am likewise afraid, that the same prince will be forced to wait a long time in expectation of some sincerity from the king of Denmark. We must beseech God to explain this matter by his own power, which we are unable to solve by human counsels." On the 29th of Sept. Grotius records an observation made by one of the French ministers to him: "If the king of Great Britain had entered into our treaty, he would not only have consulted the welfare of the Electoral Family and the affairs of Germany, but would likewise have found at home more obedient subjects, who suspect the existence of Spanish influence at the Court of England."

During the troubles in England, the Electoral family, in imitation of many others, became divided: The Queen of Bohemia, and her two sons, Prince Rupert and Maurice, adhered to the cause and the fortunes of the Royal party. The young Elector, who had undoubtedly, in his own person and in that of his father, experienced great apparent neglect from the English Court, joined the ranks of the Parliamentarians; and it is related of him with triumph, that he often sat as a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. His morbid feelings against the royal family of England were encouraged by the republican party to which he had attached himself; but after all the boasted exploits of Oliver Cromwell in his favour, he only obtained by the treaty of Westphalia the possession of the Lower Palatinate,—a portion of his hereditary dominions which had been offered many years before, through his royal uncle's ambassador, but which was then refused.

* I have given some account, in page 591, of the troubles which Grotius was called to suffer during his exile in France. The following extracts from his letters will more fully develope this part of his misfortunes. In one

never forsook the cause or the interests of the Arminians, yet his peculiar situation had prevented him during many years from uniting in communion with them, and he now considered

addressed to his friend Du Maurier in 1626 he says: "At the time when I received your letter, my wife, after an unsettled state of health of some months' continuance, was under medical treatment and in imminent hazard of her life: Before such a prudent estimator of human affairs as yourself, it is unnecessary to expatiate on the augmentation of suffering when endured in a foreign land, in which it is a work of the greatest difficulty to find a single friend on whom to place dependence. Eight long years have now elapsed since we have been debarred, partly by a prison and partly by exile, from the sight of our parents, and of every other object which, next to our parents, is dear to us in our native country. In the mean time our enemies not only hold possession of the government, but offer their insults to us at this distance; and the very men who have risen to power by their scurrilous invectives against the French name, now abuse the power which they have gained in oppressing us in France itself. The second year is nearly completed since any regard has been paid to me in Paris, except that all those seductive arts are practised towards me which have a tendency to cast down a generous mind from its high station. I find no solace against these numerous adversities, except in the sight and company of my wife and children, whom my infelicity has brought into this state of misery. Time will shew what the Prince of Orange will do; he complains, that he is incapable of doing much. But if our portion of good fortune is dependent on his, we are deprived even of this ground of hope, for he has been"—unsuccessful in some of his enterprizes, &c. The remainder of the letter is composed in a less desponding style, and breathes more of the spirit of the christian hero, a character which peculiarly belonged to Grotius.

In a letter addressed to the same friend a year afterwards, he thus alludes to the prospects of his return to Holland, to which his affectionate wife had repaired for the purpose of reconnoitring: "I perused your letter with that sort of feeling which possesses me whenever I see your writing; it was also read with no less affection by my wife, who has now been nearly two months with me. In our native land she found multitudes of friends. She would not become a suppliant to any one for my return; for she was afraid that the bare expression of such a desire might be interpreted into an acknowledgment of guilt. This circumstance inflamed those men who are hostile to me, for no other reason than *because they once begun to injure me;* and to such a height have they carried their hatred, as to revive the old slander, with which they formerly charged my relative Reigersberg, of having addressed letters to me."

In 1629, Grotius gave the same friend the following information: "It is my disposition to rejoice at *the welfare of* MY COUNTRY without any regard to my own advantage; because I have learnt, in books and by experience, that all the charities are contained in that title: For I am as ignorant as yourself of what will be my future condition. I am aware that both the goodness and the power of the Prince of Orange are increased with his prosperity; but I know, at the same time, Princes are frequently lavish in promising to do many things which they would not wish to be done, and to abstain from the performance of other things of which they would approve when completed. Whatever the Prince may do or not do, I am prepared to give the most favourable interpretation to his conduct, and will inure myself to bear disasters, if any yet await me after ten years of sorrow. There are some among the nobles and chief men in Paris, who honour me with their countenance and society. In reference to my pension, if it does not proceed exactly according to my wishes, I have some ground of consolation in the common misfortune of many beside myself. I lament to live here in a state of inactivity, and of no use to the king and kingdom of France, in which I have found a safe abode; yet I will not on this account swerve in the least point from the ancient institutions," that is, he refused to yield to the pressing importunities of those who wished him to become a Papist.

himself a member of the Lutheran Church, by being a subject of the Queen of Sweden. Those who have carefully perused the Augsburgh Confession, especially the *twelfth* and *fifteenth Articles of Belief*, those on the *abuses of the Mass, and other Popish traditions*, will not require to be informed, that the ambassador of a Lutheran nation had, in the execution of such an excellent undertaking as the reconciliation of Protestants with Papists, fewer prejudices to renounce than a member of any other Protestant community. It was his full persuasion, that the Providence of God had placed him in this high situaton, "that he might speak with freedom, and not be afraid of the virulent pens of Marets, Du Moulin, and others." (See pages 279, 281.) Besides, the accurate knowledge of antiquity which Grotius possessed enabled him to distinguish between the precious and the vile, the innocent and the hurtful, of the Romish rites and ceremonies. His views and exertions in this sacred cause have been amply detailed in the preceding pages of this Appendix, (269—293,) and I will here add only a few elucidations of the earnestness and good faith with which he embarked in the enterprize.

On the 24th of March 1640, he writes thus to his brother: "Nothing has excited christian princes to cruelty so much as those harsh sayings about *the Pope being Antichrist, the Papists denying the merits of Christ*, and *their idolatry*. Wherefore we must often and carefully examine whether those assertions be correct. Unless this be done, what hope remains of restoring *the unity of the church*, which we profess in the Apostles' Creed, and which Christ has commanded? I disdain to admit into my calculation the odium which I shall incur in the prosecution of such a pious purpose. What man, that was afraid of this, ever healed confirmed and inveterate vices? There are some persons in what is called *the Romish Church*, who fall into errors, but all of them are not of that class; and their errors do not consist either of those doctrines which are generally received, or of those which were confirmed at the Council of Trent. If on some of these you entertain any doubt, I will most willingly compare my reasons with yours or with those of others. But

In 1630, Grotius addressed the following lines to his old friend Gerard Vossius: "I do not know whether the wishes which you express for me ought to be indulged as objects of my desire. I have a country in my parents, my relatives, and in such friends as yourself and others of your mould; of whose presence with me I feel no doubt, by their affection for me and their kind remembrance. But it forms no great portion of my wishes, to behold other individuals, through whom Holland, instead of being my native land, is become a cruel step-mother; and you know it to be one of the properties of the human heart, to hate those whom it has deeply injured. I can scarcely therefore be induced to expect any equity from those who have treated us in such an unworthy manner, when it would neither have been unjust nor unreasonable in us to hope for some rewards from the public. In the mean time, my books continue to extort commendations from good men; and they also serve to shew bad men what kind of person I have been and now am."

I am certain, that even in this part the Prostestants exceed all moderation; for, in their desire to accuse the Papists, they accuse the whole of the Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, and Coptic churches, for many ages past; and thus, by their imprudence, they spontaneously array and arm their adversaries. Let us not therefore confound those things which antiquity has kept distinct; let us not remove the ancient land-marks."

On the 8th of April 1640, he again addresses him thus: "If on any subject we may be allowed to exercise a freedom of opinion, it ought certainly to be on the prophecies; particularly, since the Protestants have published nearly a hundred books about them, which are greatly discordant with each other, and of which eighty have been printed in England alone, as I have been informed by the English ambassadors.* In such circumstances, while it is shameful to keep silence, it is the act of an imprudent man to be induced to deliver his opinion. I am not grieved at common report, for pointing me out as the author [of the *Appendix* to his tract *on Antichrist*]; that rumour will make the book so much the more saleable. But I wish particularly to know, whether the books be every where on sale, and whether they are forwarded into France and England: If this be not done, I wish nothing more of mine to be delivered to the De Bleaus. I am in search of a publisher, who will obey me, and who will not gratify other people at my expence and contrary to my inclinations. For there cannot be a doubt, that enemies and pretended friends will expend all their energies to stifle this production in its birth; on this account therefore it is the more reasonable for me, and for those who really love me, to exert ourselves in preserving, cherishing and rendering it vigorous. I shall never consider the sentiments of those men to be orthodox, who wish to defend and propagate religion by arms and sedition."

On the 14th of the same month he addressed the following expressive lines to his brother: "I remain confirmed in my purpose of seeking peace, or at least a way that may lead to it. It is frequently necessary to strive against the current. But I am not the only person that has engaged in such an arduous undertaking: Erasmus, Cassander, Vecelius, and Casaubon have stemmed the torrent before me, and De Milletiere is now running against the stream. The Cardinal [Richelieu]

* This was written in 1640. In the succeeding twenty years of civil broils and religious confusion, I think it would not be difficult to enumerate nearly two hundred new books and pamphlets on different portions of the prophetical scriptures, that were within that period published in Great Britain. Modern readers would be surprised at the number of learned and sensible men, who attempted to give their own interpretation to various scriptural predictions; but how fanciful soever those interpretations might be, all of them arrived at the same conclusion—the prosperity of the Calvinistic interest throughout Europe, and the downfall of Popery and Arminianism which were generally associated with each other. I have a copy of a small treatise entitled "THE

professes himself to be the patron of this business; he is so fortunate a man as never yet to have attempted any enterprize in which he has not succeeded. Even Veron, [the Jesuit] who has hi-

Revelation, &c. *written by a German D. D. and, for the rareness of the subject and benefit of the English nation, translated out of High Dutch,*" &c. 1651. The translator of this curious book was the celebrated Samuel Hartlib, whom Evelyn in 1655 styled "an honest and learned, a public-spirited and ingenious person, who had propagated many useful things and arts." He seems to have been by birth a Lithuanian, and was intimate with all the eminent literary characters of that period. He was one of Joseph Mede's best correspondents; and Milton honoured him by dedicating his *Tractate of Education* to him. Comenius also, the famous manufacturer of prophecies for all occasions, (pages 258-262) was his particular friend, and transmitted this treatise "from Lissa in Poland, where most of the exiled Bohemians have had their residence since the time of their banishment." Hartlib dedicates his translation "to the right honourable Oliver St. John," and tells him, among other things, "In public you have owned me towards the Parliament, and procured an aspect from that high and honourable Court towards me, to set me apart as an agent for the advancement of Universal Learning and the Public Good, which, I confess, is an employment whereunto from my youth God hath naturalized my affections."

But this is not the sole curiosity in the small volume: It contains, "by way of Preface thereunto, an epistolical Discourse [in 79 crowded pages] from Mr. John Durie," the christian pacificator. The following extract from the commencement of Dury's Preface will confirm the observations in pages 264 & 266, respecting the extraordinary fanaticism which was then excited among the Calvinists in England and on the Continent.

Concerning the author he says: "He doth not arrogate unto himself any infallibility, but only hath offered that which seemeth most likely to him to be the mind of God in the prophecy; whereof the truth will soon be known, whether his conjecture be right or no; because he brings the matter within the compass of five years to be tried by the event: which is no long time of expectation; and whether he hath hit right in this or not, it can be no prejudice to us to take warning to be ready always: for we are sure the time is not far.

"I look then upon this book, (which doth open, to the Bohemian exiled and German churches, the counsel of God foretold so long ago in the Revelation, and now shortly to be accomplished,) as a special cordial sent unto them from heaven in their present affliction and to support their hearts against the approaching visitation, wherewith God's providence will farther visit those parts, before he make an end of his work amongst them. And that it is now also at this juncture of time sent from thence unto us, to me it doth signify that which is very considerable in several respects, which I shall briefly point at before I come to speak of the treatise itself.

"First, then, we may observe from hence, that the same Spirit who doth raise the expectation of the saints in these parts, doth also work the like thoughts elsewhere. As it is observable, that, about the time of Christ's coming in the flesh, there was much waiting for the consolation of Israel, and looking for the redemption of Jerusalem, as Luke doth intimate; (ii, 25, 38,) so it is now worth our consideration, that there is more than an ordinary looking out for the accomplishment of the promises, wherein the Revelation of Jesus Christ hath caused us to hope. You know, that, some months ago, one came of purpose (as he said) out of Germany, through the Low Countries, into this city, to make inquiries *whether any were here who did look after the fulfilling of the Revelation.* His design by the enquiry was, that some ground of communication and good intelligence might be entertained amongst us, for the better understanding of God's ways, and the observation of his footsteps in working out his great work for the churches. And to this effect he left some books here with him whom you know; and, since his return into the Low Countries, he hath by letters promised a further communication with us upon that subject, in the name of his colleague. Thus we have had a call both from Germany and Poland, to entertain these thoughts.

therto evinced the greatest hostility to the Reformed, explains the dogma of Transubstantiation, and some others, in such a man-

As for the Low Countries, you know that there are many there, whose eyes are opened to look this way; and in France I know some, (though not so many as elsewhere,) whose heads are lifted up because their deliverance is at hand. Nor do we christians only expect shortly some great change of affairs, but even the Jews almost every where are also made sensible of the approaching change of their condition. So that, seeing there is *an universal concurrence of thoughts towards this object*, we may rationally conclude, that the Lord is hastening to finish his work in righteousness: And because it is apparent, that on all sides the enemy is about to lift himself up like a flood, we may also see it herein manifest that 'the Spirit of the Lord,' according to his promise, is preparing 'to lift up a standard against him.' (Isa. lix, 19.)

"SECONDLY. This call, which is given to us from so far, doth signify unto me two things:—*First*, somewhat of God's way to accomplish his design,—*Secondly*, somewhat of our duty in subordination therennto. *God's way to accomplish his design*, according to the Scriptures, is and will be the communion of saints in the mystery of godliness, when every member, acted by the same spirit towards God and each to other, shall draw from him, and supply one to another that which he will give to every one for the edifying of the whole in love. And although they have not such an exact contrivance of correspondency settled one with another, as the politic Jesuits have in their way, yet the Spirit by which they are led, acting the same thing in them all, will make the effect of their counsels and actings to correspond, without any special contrivance of their own; that the work in the issue may appear to be of God, and not of men: For Sion, as soon as she travaileth, nay before she travaileth, and her pain comes, she shall be delivered and bring forth a nation at once. (Isa. lxvi, 7, 8.) God, by the communion of saints in one and the same Spirit, shall do this, by his contrivance of his own way amongst them: Nor shall any gathering together of enemies, (which shall not be wanting,) nor any violent attempts or destructive weapons and endeavours, which will be set a foot, be able to obstruct the effect of this communion which will bring the body of Christ to the stature of a perfect man.

"The THIRD thing, which the sending of this book from Poland hither to be translated, and the calling upon us to communicate our thoughts to them concerning it, doth signify unto me, is a warning unto us, as from the Spirit of God, to waken us from security, and to move us to expect, as those of Poland say they do, both a further trial of our faith and patience, and also a gracious deliverance to follow thereupon, whereof we shall partake if we hold fast the beginning and confidence of our hope firm unto the end with joy. We know that no man shall be crowned but he that strives first lawfully, and that none shall reign with Christ but he that suffers with him. As for me, I cannot see that our warfare is yet, as some would have it, (and to their own particular station think it to be,) at an end; those upon that account having embraced the pleasures of brutishness and sensuality in this present world, have also made it a part of their happiness to dethrone God and Christ in their ranting and blasphemous imagination, and so are justly given over unto a reprobate mind. But as I have cause to grieve at the dishonour which they do to God and to the holy profession, and at the certainty of their endless misery under the notion of a present perfection and felicity; so I am awakened thereby to wait for the overflowing scourge and the storm of hail, which shall sweep away the refuge of such lies, and the flood of waters which shall drown the hiding-places thereof. I am therefore inclined to expect still, before the times of refreshment, which shall come from the presence of the Lord, the last assault of the power of darkness and of this world against the saints, which shall be, of all other, the heaviest and fiercest. And this I am induced to believe from the analogy which is to be between the sufferings of Christ in the flesh, and the sufferings of his members under the power of Antichrist, before he comes to his end. Christ's last sufferings, immediately before his unchangeable state of glory, were the greatest which befel unto him in all his life; nor was he raised by the power of God to sit at his right hand, till he was first laid in the grave: so must it also fare with his body the church."

ner as to make them not only quite harmless but very useful. My book *on the Truth of the Christian Religion*, which contains many passages relative to peace-makers, has been favourably received by the Cardinal and the principal men, and is now published under the auspices of the king's authority. In addition to these facts, consider,—that the Spaniards and the French, encouraged by the example of the Venetians, the Tuscans, and even the inhabitants of the small republic of Lucca, are affixing bounds to the Pontifical power,—and that the Greeks, Armenians, and Maronites, are received into communion by the Church of Rome, and allowed to retain their own rites:—When you have considered all these things, say, ought they not to inspire us with some hopes? And even if there were now no hope at all, is it not our duty to plant trees for the benefit of future generations? Besides, since we have received a command from Christ to procure, by every method that is not offensive to God,* the unity of the church, even in the common sacraments, is it not our duty to labour against hope, and to say, 'Hath not God now pointed out a way by 'which his sacred purposes may be accomplished?' But if we

* The piety of Grotius displayed itself on all occasions; and those who have perused his works with attention must know, that his integrity was such as to prevent him from employing in the accomplishment of his purposes "any method that he deemed to be offensive to God." But he had seen more of the world than several of those who reprehended his conduct; and he was evidently aware, that if more scriptural principles could once be introduced into the Romish Church, they would soon "leaven the whole lump," and assimilate to their own purity the gradually impregnated mixture. This was the true reason why he made those large concessions with regard to some of the peculiar rites and dogmas of the Roman Catholics, which must have appeared very alarming to all who were not apprised of his design. The Rev. Mr. Twells, in his Life of Dr. Pocock, says, in continuation of the paragraph quoted page 280:

"Upon this occasion, these two learned men entered into a long discourse concerning the state of things in the East, and the reasons why the holy religion of Jesus Christ was so far from gaining ground in those countries, that it was treated there, by unbelievers, with great contempt. Mr. Pocock mentioned several things, which he observed to be thus fatally mischievous: 'But amongst them all,' he told him, 'there was nothing more 'so, than *the many schisms and divisions of those that own the name of Christ*, 'who ought to be as *one fold under one shepherd*.' As Grotius very easily believed what Mr. Pocock thus reported, so it inspired him with new resolution and courage to pursue the design he was engaged in, to promote as far as he was able *the peace and union of the christian world:* A glorious undertaking, and such as highly deserves the most zealous endeavours and the most fervent prayers of all that love the Lord Jesus Christ with sincerity; though some of the measures which were followed by that most learned man, are not to be justified. For, though we are to do what lies in us for the sake of christian peace, we are not to yield up the truth even for obtaining that most desirable blessing: We must not, we cannot, part with truth."

On a review of the whole question, these sentiments are more correct than those of the unguarded admirers of Grotius, who deserves to be venerated by all good men for his arduous though unsuccessful attempts to cure the maladies of the Romish Church by the feasible scheme of Protestant inoculation.

obtain no other result than this from our exertions,—to diminish the odium produced by these harsh assertions, and to make Christians somewhat milder and a little more sociable with each other,—is not this worthy to be purchased at the expence of a little labour and of giving offence to certain individuals? My brother, I have now completed my fifty-eighth year, and I have a father yet living, who is much more advanced in years. Yet, had I formerly been less anxious, this age has made me look forward to the end of my course. I beseech you never to suppose that, in the things of God, I have regard to any thing else than to God himself, and to that care for my neighbour which, next to God, is recommended to our attention. Of this care a principal part consists in the unity of the church, which is the preserver not only of charity but of truth. For the truth is much better preserved in that bond of agreement which is diffused through the whole habitable globe, than it can be in small parties, and, according to the present fashion, in fragments of small parties. I leave to others the delight which they feel in favouring and cherishing different parties, in which they alone may hold the reins of government. But it has not escaped my observation, how little true piety has been promoted by these partitions, and divisions into many new churches. Let us therefore perform with seriousness that which is our duty; and let us leave to God *the times or the seasons, which he holds in his own power.* (Acts i, 7.) But I consider myself placed by God in this embassy, as in an asylum, that as long as I live I may render some service to his truth and to the sacred cause of concord."

To Israel Jasky of Dantzic, on the 19th of January 1641, Grotius wrote thus: "Most noble Lord, I desire from my heart that your city may enjoy a secure and perpetual peace, and the fruits of tranquility, which are Literature and Commerce. I approve highly of the practice of those men who deem it to be of more consequence to exercise themselves in the points of controversy which we have with Mahometans and Jews, than in those dissensions in which Christians indulge among themselves. I shewed myself to be of this opinion long ago, when I first published my treatise *on the Truth of the Christian Religion;* and that I still maintain the same sentiment, is proved by the *Testimonies* which I have added to that Treatise, and are just published, but I do not know whether they will have yet arrived in your city. I have weighty reasons for thinking, *that all those epithets which are applied to the Pope by many people, do not belong to him:* These reasons I have embodied in a small pamphlet, which does not bear my name in its title. Some persons have appeared to refute it as my production; I am therefore compelled to defend it as my own. I think a period

may come when the Church will have a Pope,* who may consider it one of the duties which appertain to his office, to restore the broken and scattered members into their one entire

* Arminius was of a different opinion, as will be seen by the subjoined quotation from his letter to Sebastian Egberts, one of the Magistrates of Amsterdam, dated Sept. 24, 1608: "I openly profess, that I do not own the Roman Pontiff as a member of Christ's body, but account him an enemy, a traitor, a sacrilegious and blasphemous man, a tyrant, and a very violent usurper of most unjust domination over the church, the man of sin, the son of perdition, that most notorious outlaw, &c. But, in this description, I understand a Pope who executes the functions of the Pontificate in the usual manner. But if an Adrian of Utrecht, raised to the Pontifical dignity without intrigues, were to attempt a reformation of the Church, and were to make a commencement with the Pope himself, the Pontificate, and the Court of Rome,—and if he were to assume to himself nothing more than the name and authority of a Bishop, though holding, according to the ancient statutes of the Church, the principal station among the rest of the Bishops, —I durst not bestow on such a man these epithets. For I cannot persuade myself, that an individual, whom the partisans of anti-christianity and the Court of Rome hated so dreadfully, as to deprive him of existence, is that wicked one. It is believed, that he was poisoned by those persons who were afraid of his effecting a reformation in the Church, and especially in the Court of Rome. Yet I am of opinion, and I think it can be proved with great appearance of probability from the Scriptures, that a reformation must not be expected from any one who is elevated to the Roman Pontificate; and that, if a person allows himself to be promoted to that dignity in hopes of personally accomplishing such a reform, he will incur the certain peril of death or exile, because God himself has thus ordered the matter. For he shall be destroyed at the glorious appearing of Christ; and the predicted reformation will be effected by the separation of the nations from Babylon, which city will never be destitute of its head.—But if that preacher supposes it to be a consequence which flows from the sentiment which I hold, about *God not having yet sent a bill of divorcement to the Church in which the Roman Pontiff presides*, that 'I acknowledge the Pontiff himself for a member of the Church;' by such a supposition he declares himself incapable of distinguishing between *those who have been seduced and who endure the tyranny*, and the FALSE PROPHET AND TYRANT HIMSELF, who spontaneously divests himself of the appellation of *a member of the Church*, by boldly styling himself THE HEAD OF THE CHURCH, and by actually excommunicating or accounting as excommunicated all those who are unwilling to acknowledge him in that character. But if on this account such a charge can lawfully be made against me, I have, as my associates in this crime, Francis Junius and Luke Trelcatius, both of pious memory, beside Gomarus himself and the greatest part of our divines."

These are just sentiments, and especially that which relates the hopelessness of any attempt of a Pope to introduce reformation into the Roman Catholic body of corruption: since, by the bare assumption of that title and the prerogatives vainly ascribed to it, he commits an act of hostility against the God of Heaven, and proves himself to be "that son of perdition who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped." From such an impure source what hope of reformation can be derived? This was an opinion which the principal of the Dutch Remonstrants imbibed from the great divine whose memory they venerated, and which they continued to maintain amidst all the temptations to the contrary from various quarters. Grotius utters grievous complaints on this subject; and, in some of his letters, their refusal to unite with him in his pacific undertaking is attributed to the slight estimation in which their leaders held the authority of the Ancient Fathers. This charge was justly applicable to Episcopius, who, with some of his friends, conceived the same kind of antipathy to those venerable authorities, as John Hales had done, after the decisions of the Synod of Dort; and both these great men expressed that temporary loathing in their subsequent writings.

body. But as long as it is held for an undoubted verity, 'that 'all the Popes to the end of the world will be *Antichrists, men 'of sin,* and *sons of perdition,* and that all the people who hold 'communion with them are *idolaters* and *enemies to Divine Grace, 'who from the very foundation overthrow the merits of Christ,*'—no peaceable result can possible be expected. The great men about the French Court think, that we must not despair about beholding concord; but that, prior to its establishment, those things must be removed by which the wounds are inflamed. My *Annotations on the Gospels* will soon be published, in which I shall contribute what my abilities will permit, to the pious purpose of promoting truth and peace.—I lament that when the German Princes, who call themselves THE REFORMED, feel the wrath of God pressing upon them so long and so heavily, they do not begin to reflect upon the probable causes of such a great evil, and seriously endeavour to avoid them in future.* —Against those men who suppose, 'that the time of one's 'death is absolutely fixed and fastened with adamantine nails, 'without any regard to human actions,' I am accustomed to oppose the following passages of scripture :† *Honour thy father*

On the 19th of Feb., 1639, Grotius addressed the following lines to his brother: "Uitenbogardt is timid through old age; Vossius is naturally of a timorous disposition, and perhaps is now rendered more fearful through his anxiety for the affairs of Great Britain. But I do not account these two assertions,—*The Pope is Antichrist,* and *Antichrist will spring from the tribe of Dan,*—to be articles of Faith; and I think no man ought to be hindered from propounding, to the consideration of pious and learned men, his thoughts and meditations, as long as they are not prejudicial to godliness. I also praise those who choose rather to cool this hot and turbulent age, than to inflame it."

And on the third of January, 1643, Grotius again wrote to his brother: "The Roman Catholics among you [in Holland] do not preserve that moderation which the French display. The most accomplished of the Remonstrants reject traditions, the Fathers, and the ancient rites, even those of them which are of a harmless nature: They are too much addicted to their own party, or rather to their shred of a party. Vossius is timid; Barlæus has some time since abandoned these studies. The Reformed who in these parts are studious of peace, adhere to the limits which they have prescribed to themselves, and pay no regard to the common good of Christendom. God will probably find for himself some [fit] person. I will abide by what I have said, and will not suffer myself to be committed any further with Rivet, whose opprobrious railing is daily increasing. Either I am greatly deceived, or they will all very soon repent of having despised the peace now proffered. For they reject all the conditions of peace except one, which is—*that they may dictate laws to others!*"

* See the note from Mr. Mede, page 522, which contains an exactly similar sentiment.

† To understand this answer of Grotius, it will be necessary to present the reader with a part of the letter which Jasky had previously written: "It would prove advantageous to christians to introduce moderation not only into their wars, but principally into their religious contests; and, when they had suffered dissensions to cease among themselves, it would be much more pleasing to hear the disputes of the Turks with the Tartars, and with other professors of Mahometanism, respecting the Institutes of their prophet,—than for christians pertinaciously to defend their own opinions about faith, though indeed such opinions contribute nothing towards faith. The consequence of such a course would be, the establishment of a mutual toleration, an object the attainment of which has been importunately sought with many

and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee. (Exod. xx, 12.) *Bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days.* (Psalm lv, 23.) If these passages be charged with *obscurity*, what part of the Holy Scriptures can be called *plain* or *perspicuous?* In them, *the despising of parents, blood-thirstiness, breach of faith,* and *deceit,* are not the INSTRUMENTS of the decree, but they constitute the OBJECT of the decree; which object, unless it were of this description, would not be comprehended under the decree.—Farewell, most noble man! Continue to pray to God for the restoration of peace, first to the empires of the earth, and afterwards to the churches!"

From these extracts it will be seen, that the French Church then wore the appearance of being peculiarly favourable to these schemes of christian pacification. As early as 1626, before the short visit of Grotius to his native country, he addressed the following observations to Du Maurier respecting the conduct of the Rochelle Calvinists, who were then approaching the crisis of their fate: "Though I consider it equitable that the authority of the king of France should be supreme in every part of his dominions, yet I am afraid that the hatred of some individuals against the Protestants will be bounded by no moderation, and that severity of punishment will fall with the greatest violence on those who are the least implicated in offence. A discourse, delivered by Bassincourt at Amsterdam, is circulated in this city: It is full of reproaches against the king and the members of his government. The book is suppressed in Paris, but the author triumphs.—But there is something on account of which we may congra-

prayers and tears by pious christians, and thus should we cease from the lamentable practice of destroying each other by our mutual enmities! The present Pope, who, according to the report of several persons, is exceedingly desirous of effecting the peace of the Church, might easily be induced to adopt this sentiment; especially if the Evangelicals would no longer bestow on him the invidious epithet of ANTICHRIST! I cannot perceive the reason why certain divines should so vehemently defend the position *that the Pope is Antichrist*, since it is no prime article of belief, and I can either believe it or not, without any injury to the faith of Christianity. The man who affirms, that *the Pope is not Antichrist*, does not on that account approve of all the Popish dogmas: And this concession might in the first place be granted to the Pope, provided he would abolish the Inquisition, that torture of consciences, and would neither account the dissenters from the Church of Rome as heretics, nor visit them with his execrations.—The Elector of Brandenburgh died suddenly and unexpectedly at seven o'clock in the evening, on the first of December, at Konigsberg. He was not far advanced in years, but his body was extremely feeble on account of his great excessess in drinking. For this reason a question might justly be raised among divines, 'Did he 'attain to the term of life which God had pre-ordained? or, did he antici-'pate that period by his disorderly course of living?' This question, one of the most difficult, is not examined by many divines with that prudence which it demands, especially by those who are so exceedingly urgent about *that absolute decree*, and who ascribe nothing to the immoderate luxury of man or to other external causes."

tulate France, whose Bishops have lately retrieved the offence which was formerly committed in the Convention at Roan. For they have openly defined the supreme power of the French monarch to be subject to no man living, not even to the Church itself;* they have condemned the taking up of arms against

* This was a seasonable sally of patriotism on the part of the Catholic clergy of France, to distinguish themselves from their Calvinistic fellow subjects by their expressions of superior loyalty. But Grotius was a honest chronicler; and frequently had occasion to record a contrary practice on the part of the Popish clergy. For instance, he wrote thus, thirteen years afterwards, to the Chancellor Oxenstern: "As the [Presbyterian] ecclesiastics in Scotland, who ought to be the authors and promoters of peace, are the active and strenuous exciters of disturbances, so in France the [Popish] ecclesiastics treat the rights of the King with contempt. For Cardinal Rochefaucaud, who is the violent manager of the affairs of the Pope, and some Bishops who inherit much of his disposition, have condemned as heretical and schismatical the book entitled *The Liberties of the Gallican Church*, which is composed from the public acts, and forms a faithful index of ancient manners: They have also addressed letters about this affair to other Bishops, advising them to prevent the people from reading *that pernicious book*."

The history of this affair, which would be far too long for a note, proves the hopelessness of effecting any salutary change in communities that acknowledge the Pope for the Head of the Church, and derive from him the right of induction to ecclesiastical dignities. The following extract from BAYLE'S notice of Peter De Marca will place this subject in a just light: "The volume of *the Liberties of the Gallican Church*, published by Peter du Puy, alarmed the partisans of the Court of Rome; some of whom endeavoured to make it believed, that they were the preliminaries of a schism contrived by Cardinal Richelieu; as if his Eminency had it in his head to erect a Patriarchate in the kingdom, in order to render the Gallican Church independent of the Pope. A French divine, who took the name of Optatus Gallus, wrote on this subject; and insinuated, that the Cardinal had brought over to his party a great personage, who would apologize for that erection. This *great personage* was no other than our Peter de Marca. The King, perceiving that an accusation of this nature would render him odious by the counter-blow of hatred to which it exposed the Cardinal, laid his commands upon M. De Marca to refute this Optatus Gallus, and at the same time to observe a certain medium,—not to shake the liberties of the Gallican Church on the one hand,—and to make it appear on the other, that these liberties did not in the least diminish the reverence due to the Holy See. He accepted of this commission, and executed it by his book *De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, sive de Libertatibus Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ*, which he published in 1641. He declared in his preface, that he did not enter upon discussing of right, but confined himself to the settling of facts; and that he had only marked out the bounds which, through all ages, had separated the two dominions, those of the *temporal* and those of the *spiritual* prince. But though he had collected an infinite number of testimonies in favour of the Pope's power, that circumstance did not hinder his book from giving offence to the Ultramontains, so tender are their ears! The Court of Rome made a great many difficulties in despatching the Bulls, which were demanded in favour of this author, who had lately [1642] been presented to the Bishopric of Conserans: She caused it to be understood, that, in the first place, it was necessary he should soften some parts of his, and she made his book pass a very strict examination." After narrating several of these delays, Bayle thus concludes his account: "De Marca, seeing how affairs were protracted, and despairing of success except he gave satisfaction to the Court of Rome, published a book, in which he explained himself to the liking of the Ultramontains, and wrote a very submissive letter to the Pope, with great promises of fidelity. He owned, that, in his book, he had performed the duties of *a President of the Parliament*, much better than those of *a Bishop*. The Court of Rome, according to her ordinary finesse, still continued dilatory,

kings, even when they are persecutors; and they have expressed their approbation of the treaties which have been concluded with those whom the custom of the age calls HERETICS." The letters of Grotius contain an immense number of allusions to the increasing liberality of the French Church, and to the reports which were invented, by some persons, against Cardinal Richelieu* for his bold projects of ecclesiastical union. In Appendix H, which will be subjoined to Bishop WOMACK'S *Calvinists' Cabinet Unlocked,* I shall again introduce the Cardinal and some of his measures. The following extract, from Bayle's account of Richelieu's proposal to Amyraut, will be sufficient for my present purpose: "The Jesuit, who conferred

after this ample satisfaction; but at last, in January 1647, M. De Marca obtained his Bulls.—It is a very troublesome servitude to the French Court, to be obliged to have the Pope's Bulls, before they can establish any bishop; which is the occasion, that those who would be very capable of supporting the liberties of the Gallican Church, and the interest of the King in his differences with Rome, dare not exert all their strength. They aspire to prelateships, and they see that they never can succeed in those views if they render themselves too odious to the Court of Rome, or, at least, that they must at length be obliged to make dishonourable satisfactions.—It was a great misfortune to the Jansenists, that this great prelate met with such difficulties at Rome, when he had occasion for a Bull in order to his being made Bishop of Conserans. This made him sensible, that he ought to lose no opportunity of repairing the loss which he had sustained there by his *Concord between the Royal Power and the Priesthood:* And what more favourable opportunity could he expect, than this of seconding the Court of Rome in its procedures against the disciples of Jansenius? Add to this, that they had made him suspected of Jansenism beyond the mountains; and that this ill office had for a long time retarded the expedition of the Bull; which was necessary to establish him in the Archbishopric of Thoulouse, of which he took possession without any pomp in 1655. Whatever was the motive of Marca's zeal against the Jansenists, it is certain that they found in him a very formidable adversary."

Truth and instruction are combined in these judicius remarks. A different mode of proceeding, on the part of the Church of Rome, is contained in the following extract of a letter from Grotius in 1640: "The controversies between the Courts of Rome and France still continue; but it is believed, that Mazarine, who is sent on the part of France to negotiate a peace at Cologne, will compose the difference by his own elevation to the dignity of Cardinal. The disposition of the Court of Rome is such, that you may effect far more by terrifying it into compliance, than by soothing it with flattery."

* The authors of these rumours were both Calvinists and Papists: The former circulated a report, which is thus related in one of the letters of Grotius in 1628, just after the surrender of Rochelle: "And Richelieu who, it was said, would fix the seat of his power in Rochelle, has by its capture cleared himself in the sight of all men from any such design; and has shewn that, by incurring these heavy expences, he has not been transacting his own private business but that of the public."

Rumours were also invented about Dury, Ferri, and other Protestant peace-makers, as though those good men were as much under the Cardinal's patronage, as De Milletiere had been after deserting the ranks of the Rochellers. See pages 211 & 226. In the letters of the celebrated Guy Patin the following passage occurs: "Monsieur Ferri, minister of Metz, died a month ago. He was one of the most learned men amongst those of his religion. If Cardinal De Richelieu had lived some time longer, he would have reconciled the two religions. There were several ministers bribed for this purpose: Monsieur Ferri was one of them, and had a yearly pension of five hundred crowns. Thus the Hugunots speak of him here."

with Amyraut upon this subject, was Father Audebert.* Mr. de Villeneuve, then Lord Lieutenant of Saumur, having invited them both to dinner, (and that with such an obliging carriage to the minister, that he placed him above the Jesuit, and caused grace to be omitted,) took care they should confer in private after dinner. It is true, Mr. Amyraut protested that he could not forbear imparting to his colleagues all that should pass between them. The Jesuit began by owning 'that he 'was sent by the King and his eminence to propose an agree- 'ment in point of Religion;' and afterwards, entering upon the matter in hand, he declared 'that the Roman Catholics 'were ready to sacrifice to the public tranquility *the invocation of* '*saints, purgatory,* and *the merit of good works;* that they would 'set bounds to THE POPE'S POWER; and that, in case they should 'meet with opposition *as to that* from the court of Rome, they 'would lay hold on the occasion to create a Patriarch;† that the

* Whenever I find the Jesuits employed in any affair, I immediately suspect the integrity and sincerity of their employers: But, from other circumstances in the history of Cardinal Richelieu, it is probable that in many of these experiments he was *the person deceived* rather than *the deceiver*. It was very unfortunate, that the members of this daring Order abounded in the Court of France when our Charles the First brought his Queen to England, and that her Majesty afterwards afforded them such ample encouragement.—Whoever has observed the purpose to which Prynne has applied the term which a Jesuit employed respecting the potency of the "drug Arminianism," will not admire that litigious and intolerant barrister for any profundity of intellect displayed by him on that subject. Arminianism was understood by the English Puritans, generally, as something that was connected with the introduction of the new rites and ceremonies, more than in its doctrinal import of *God's expansive compassion to all the ruined race of Adam*. It was in the former acceptation in which the plotting Jesuits employed the term, as one of discord and separation to effect their own disorganizing purposes: In the latter meaning, it could not be applied by the Jesuits with the design which Prynne has intimated.

† Those persons who know the history of Cardinal Richelieu and his negotiations with the Court of Rome, will entertain no doubt concerning his ambition in aspiring to the Patriarchate. Grotius seems not to have accounted it an improbable event, though he expresses himself with great caution about it, in a letter to the Chancellor Oxenstern in July 1638: "That passionate ebullition which was excited here against the Romish Bulls, is somewhat subsided. The space of six weeks has been granted to the Pope's Nuncio, in order to devise and try remedies; one among which, Father Joseph thinks, will be *his obtaining the Cardinals' Purple*, a favour which has hitherto been pertinaciously denied to him. I dare not indeed form in my mind such vast conceptions, but there are persons who suppose, that the Cardinal [Richelieu] will rise from these beginnings, and will claim for himself the Patriarchal authority, which is almost that of a Pope: And, since every thing in these cases is seized with avidity by such minds as are inclined to believe the report, some people have given this interpretation to the following verses, which were composed by Nostradamus, a noble and ancient astrologer, who, in the opinion of the vulgar, foretold many events that have been actually fulfilled:

> Celui qui etoit bien avant dans le regne
> Ayant chef range, proche hierarchie,
> Aspre et cruel, et se fera tant craindre
> Succedera a sacree Monarchie."

This quotation is illustrative of the note in page 624. Grotius briefly alludes to this report, in March, 1640, but does not express a decided opinion

'Laity should be allowed the communion in both kinds; and 'that they would give up several other points, provided they 'found in the Protestants a sincere desire of peace and union.'—But, when Mr. Amyraut touched upon the doctrines of the Eucharist, he protested, 'that, as to that tenet, no alteration 'would be admitted:' whereupon the other answered, 'that if 'so, they could come to no agreement.'*—Their conference

about it: "A very libellous pamphlet is circulated here against the Cardinal, accusing him of a design to effect a schism from the Roman See. Among other matters, it is objected against him, *that he allows christian truth to be taught by men who are not in the Church.* The favourable judgment formed here by the most learned men, both Senators and others, concerning my treatise *on the Truth of the Christian Religion*, and the sanction of the royal authority which it has obtained, will, I think, cause Voetius to feel ashamed of having represented it as a Mahometan or Socinian production."

* This proposition for concord between the two churches seems to have been broken off, on the part of Mr. Amyraut, on account of *the real presence* in the Eucharist,—a point on which a Lutheran and a Papist are at complete agreement by means of the Ubiquitarian doctrine. This was one of my reasons for asserting, in page 615, that "the ambassador of a Lutheran nation had, in the execution of such an excellent undertaking as the reconciliation of Protestants with Papists, fewer prejudices to renounce than a member of any other Protestant community."—If terms as liberal as these had been proposed to the early Protestants, and had been strictly observed by the Church of Rome, it is probable that Lutheranism would never had an existence in Germany. But as Mr. Amyraut's opinion on *the real presence* was very different from Luther's, he acted the part of an honourable man, to make that point a preliminary objection. Those who have read the notes of Grotius on Cassander will not require to be told, that between Cassander's terms of union, and those propounded to Amyraut, no great dissimilarity existed. On this subject the following letter, addressed by Grotius to Rosenhan, in March 1642, will be perused with interest:

"The further I advance in years, and consequently the nearer my approach to the confines of the grave, the more sensibly I feel to owe God this service,—to communicate to posterity those things which, in the course of my whole life, I have been learning as conducive to the peace of christians; and I am not without hope, that persons will hereafter arise who will use my admonitions, and those of others, to heal the dissensions which have afforded combustible materials to the flames of so many wars. I ascribe no more to the Roman Pontiff, than was formerly ascribed to him by Melancthon; nor have I hazarded any assertion which is not most apparent from the historical records even of the three earliest and best ages, as may be seen in a book which has lately been published *on the Primacy in the Church*, by David Blondel, a minister in these parts among those who in France call themselves THE REFORMED. But I address my sincere prayers to God, to grant such a Pope as will properly discharge his duty, and will amend whatever may admit of amendment. But if, in composing those works which are in my opinion both true and useful, I do not please every one, this fact will excite little wonder in the mind of the man who knows, that Philip du Plessis Mornay wrote many things which were exceedingly prejudicial to the religion of the king of France, at the very time when he enjoyed from that monarch the highest honours, and yet he was never called to any public account about those matters.—In the mean time the Augsburgh Confession has been published at Paris under my superintendance; and I perceive that the French bishops and divines entertain favourable sentiments about it. If any one will transmit me the Swedish Liturgy translated into the Latin language, the present will be exceedingly agreeable."

In reference to Blondel's book, Grotius, under the date of July the 31st, 1638, gives the following account, which is very creditable to the memory of Archbishop Laud: "I highly praise the conduct of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who has within these few days, by an honourable letter, ex-

lasted about four hours. The Jesuit required secrecy; but Mr. Amyraut protested, according to the declaration he had made at first to Mr. de Villeneuve, 'that he would communicate the 'whole matter to his colleagues, but that he would be answer-'able for their prudence and discretion.' The same evening he gave them an account of the conference, and made no conscience of speaking of it, as occasion offered, after the Cardinal and Father Audebert were both dead."

Concord between Protestants and nominal Papists would have been practicable, had the Gallican Church effected a secession from that of Rome, which she was more than once on the point of doing; but, in that case the union would not have been betweeen Protestants and Roman Catholics, but between two parties, both of whom had separated from the Popish communion. Grotius had fluctuated greatly in his hopes and expectations of beholding the establishment of this desirable union. Soon after his arrival at Paris as ambassador for Sweden, he saw so much of the flexible nature of the Popish institutions, and of the door which that corrupt church opened at its pleasure to mischievous innovations, as induced him to indulge in boding misgivings respecting a successful issue.*

horted David Blondel, the most learned of the [French] Reformed pastors, to publish a book which he has written against the usurped rights of the Roman Pontiff." That able work against Popery was soon afterwards published at Geneva.

* On the 13th of December, 1635, he writes thus to Camerarius, the Swedish Ambassador at the Hague: "I perceive a yearly, nay, a daily increase both of superstition and of the Pope's kingdom, to the grief even of those who, having been born in that communion, remain members of it. A book has been lately published concerning the *Scapular* of the Carmelites, [a dress worn over their shoulders,] which gives an assured promise to those who die in this habit, that they cannot possibly be damned; and that they will not even be dragged about in Purgatory beyond the first Saturday after their decease.—Another book has likewise been published which ascribes to Mary the prayers addressed to God, with no other change than the gender of the words, thus, *Our mother, who art in heaven*, and so on to the end of the prayer. When the Doctors of the Sorbonne were desirous of preventing the publication of these books, the King's Council prohibited them from interfering. What surprise therefore can be expressed about the refusal to licence any more publications in favour of the royal authority, and against the parasites of the Pontiff, who claim for their master a jurisdiction over the lords of the earth, when many attempts of this description on the part of the Sorbonne and of the Parliament, are at present frequently suppressed by orders from the King's Council? The book which Peter Aurelius has written in behalf of the authority of the Bishops, and against the Jesuits who spurned the episcopal jurisdiction, has been censured by some Bishops convened together by Cardinal Richelieu. I have deemed it of importance to give you an intimation of these things, in order to make it apparent, that there is not only *no hope of amendment*, but that *all things are actually in a state of deterioration.*"

On the 19th of June, 1638, he addressed the subjoined remarks to the Chancellor Oxenstern: "With this despatch I likewise transmit a royal decree, which will furnish much matter for conversation in France, but much more at Rome. This edict, like many others before it, forbids any money, or promissory notes for the payment of money, to be remitted out of the kingdom to Rome, for the purpose of purchasing Bulls for Bishopries, Canonries, and benefices; and this is the cause assigned, 'because the prices

When the Scotch Presbyterians afterwards entered into a conspiracy against their lawful sovereign, and sought to obtain from him by force of arms those immunities which they ought

'of those commodities are enhanced, contrary to former treaties.' Many will think this to be the foundation of a dissent from Rome; but I am prevented from entertaining such a sentiment, when I behold those men imprisoned and persecuted who defend the ancient sentiments of France. But, since the King has invested Cardinal Richelieu with his patronage, to confer Bishoprics, Canonries, and Benefices, I suppose the Cardinal is desirous of gaining another object—the delegation to himself, as Legate or Primate, of the Pope's power of approbation; and because kings can extort nothing from the Court of Rome, except through the impulse of fear, the Cardinal terrifies the Romish gentry by threatening them with the danger of his making a still greater dissent [from the Church] so that they dare deny him nothing. The present Pontiff readily foresees the magnitude of the evils which would befal the kingdom of France, were his successor to be more attached to the Spanish interest, and were he to manage the French affairs so as to make them serviceable to Spain; and the Pope's equity on this point communicates additional hopes to the Cardinal.—But I am induced to indulge in no hopes of moderation on the subject of religion, when I see an association formed here, which is called *the Congregation for propagating the Faith*, and which frequently holds its sessions in Paris with great parade: It lays powerful foundations for a second Inquisition; for its spies are dispersed through all the provinces and towns of France, and all things are reported by them here, especially by the Capuchins, that is, the society to which this Hyacinthus belongs, who is the inventor of the contrivance."

But the most remarkable instance of the animadversions of Grotius on these topics is contained in a letter to Chancellor Oxenstern, in January, 1639: "There was lately published in Paris, through the exertions of great men, a book containing splendid documents of the liberties of the kingdom and church of France, which have been produced from Royal edicts and from Acts of Parliament. In it, the kingdom and church of France claim their own liberties, not as having been received by way of gift from the Roman Pontiffs, but as retained from ancient manners and defended by perpetual usage. This is a work which is worthy to be read even by foreigners; for in it are apparent, both the artifices of the Popes, who have during many years been attempting to extend their power, and the very difficult labours which they encounter, who, to captivate the minds of the populace, relinquish their rights to a power that is always on the increase. The Pope's Nuncio understood well the great injury to himself which this publication would produce; and, after many contrivances and endeavours by his assistants and monks, he has at length prevailed with the king's council, in the name of the king himself, to forbid the further sale of this book which had been composed in favour of the king and his kingdom. Thus, under kings who are either ignorant or indolent, as much damage is frequently sustained as can with great difficulty be repaired by their successors. And it is a most wonderful circumstance, that books written in favour of the rights of kings cannot obtain a licence at Paris, while works composed in opposition to kings and their just rights are published every day at Rome. A short time before his death, Father Joseph was desirous of obtaining the Archbishopric of Rheims; and, had his life been prolonged, I believe he would have been created Cardinal. The loss which the Elector of Bavaria has sustained by the death of that man, is greater than that of France. For his better defence the Cardinal [Richelieu] has taken a thousand dragoons into his immediate service, in addition to his own body-guard. Many even of the king's body-guards enrol themselves under his standard, because the pay and perquisites of the soldiers retained by the Cardinal are more certain than those of the king's troops."

What an appalling picture is here drawn of the favourite of a despotic monarch! After this able exposition of the politic conduct of the Roman Pontiff, and of the abject servility of those whose ambition prompted them to obtain ecclesiastical honours from him, who can doubt of the aversion which

to have procured in a more constitutional manner, the insidious policy of the Church of Rome began to display itself in that affair by a plausible liberality in its agents, and an apparent relaxation of its ancient rigour. Flattering proposals of reconciliation were tendered both in France and England; and Cardinal Richelieu himself advanced the projects of the Pope by fomenting the disturbances between the English monarch and his people.* It must never be forgotten, that the Scotch rebellion was the grand cause of the last strenuous efforts of Grotius in procuring peace and amity among professing christians; (see page 275,) and since he found a union between the different Protestant denominations to be impracticable, he tried by means of mutual concessions to produce an agreement between Protestants and Papists. Considering his peculiarly favourable opportunities for observation at that crisis, it cannot be said that Grotius had formed too sanguine calculations. Though he appears from the first to have been fully aware of the difficulties to be encountered, yet, after the fall of Archbishop Laud, he still thought his scheme of pacification worthy of being adopted.† In a letter to his brother in January 1641, Grotius said:

Grotius felt against the increasing influence of Popery? And who can express any surprise at his endeavours to destroy that influence, by his pacific method of infusing into the diseased body the only means of a radical cure,—the introduction of purer and more scriptural principles? But, it will be seen, the chief members of the body refused to accept the sanctifying remedies which Grotius prescribed.

* "Cardinal Richelieu was no small incendiary in this difference betwixt the King and Scots; for the King making it always a great master-piece to keep the balance even betwixt France and Spain, that, neither of them being too strong for the other, the affairs of Christendom might be the evener poised, he [the Cardinal] knew the French design of driving the Spaniard out of Flanders and the rest of the Netherlands could not be effected, unless the King were embroiled at home: So that he sent his chaplain and almoner, Mr. Thomas Chamberlayn, a Scotchman, to assist the confederates in advancing the business, and to attempt all ways of exasperation, and not to depart from them till he might return with good news in this project. Con also, the Pope's agent to the Queen, a Scot by nation, and one Reed of the same country, were very active; and many Scotch Jesuits, at this time in England, were not idle; and Hamilton's chaplain had often secret communication with Con: All which practices were discovered in a great part by one Andreas Habernsfield, a nobleman of Bohemia, then become physician to the King's Sister, the Palsgrave's relict, who made it also apparent that many of the nobility of England, and the chief favourites at Court (among whom the Earl and Countess of Arundel, Secretary Windebanke, and Endymion Porter,) were named to be acquainted, and consenting with their transactions. To this the King, out of the bounty of his nature, gave not much credit."—PHILLIPS's *Continuation*.

† In the preceding notes it is perceived, that, in the midst of his most sanguine expectations of effecting unity and concord, Grotius often manifested the misgivings of his well-informed understanding, by pertinent allusions to posterity, to whom, he hoped, his labours would prove beneficial. Of this description is the following extract, addressed to his brother in July, 1642: "It is our Divine Master who commands us to labour for the concord of the Church; and if the issue does not correspond with the attempt, we must expect the fruits of our labour from the Master himself. We ought not to

" I have not yet seen Du Moulin's book *De Vate:* If I can discover any thing in it that is worthy of refutation, I shall be able to place it as an Addendum to the second edition of my Appendix. When this book [the Appendix] is published, many of the Protestants will perceive, that the way to effect a reconciliation between the Churches is much easier than they had supposed. For, by the Pope's good leave it will be possible to retain those things in which the Reformation is believed principally to consist, provided the Pontiff be not exasperated by injuries. On this subject I have spoken nothing rashly; and Cardinal Richelieu thinks the affair will succeed: Such undoubtedly are the expectations which he has expressed to many persons. The Archbishop of Canterbury is now under punishment for having entertained a most honourable and praiseworthy purpose,—which has frequently been the fate of other good men.* But the prosperous success of seditions

have regard only to our own age, but also to posterity; though I have seen men as far advanced in years as myself, who have not despaired of yet beholding the accomplishment of this event in France. The change effected in D'Or [his conversion to Popery] is the same as formerly took place in that very learned individual, P. Pithou; and Casaubon himself had determined to adopt the same plan if he had remained in France, for Cordesius was one among others to whom he imparted his resolution. It is my most earnest wish to see those vices cured which have crept into the church, and I shall not be backward in tendering my advice. But we must reflect again and again, whether it would be proper and useful to wish to heal these evils by a divorce, especially when it is evident from the doctrines [of the Gospel], that the Spirit of God is not present with those who form new parties. Besides, the conduct of separatists affords an inlet through which other vices obtain an entrance; and when the licentiousness of secession is once introduced, it always produces new parties, which never co-alesce with each other."

The reports concerning Casaubon's inclination to Popery were numerous, but unfounded: The reason of them all may be traced to his transcendent attachment to antiquity, and to the ill treatment which he received from the Genevan Calvinists. See page 431.

* It is a fact not generally known, that Grotius advised Archbishop Laud to effect his escape from confinement: He could not indeed recommend the *same method* as that pursued most successfully by himself: For the Archbishop was a solitary bachelor; and, on a perusal of the preceding extracts from the letters of Grotius,—that allude to the devoted affection of his wife, and even to the troubles to which she and his children were exposed through his misfortunes,—and on comparing them with the monotonous imprisonment of Laud, much of that sympathy which might be expected to exist in both these instances will be found to be destroyed in that of the Archbishop in consequence of his celibacy. Thus, the troubles occasionally attendant on a married life, must not always be viewed as absolute misfortunes; for, by the providence of God, they frequently operate in various ways to a man's great advantage, and are ultimately converted into blessings.—The noble answer which the excellent Prelate returned to the very learned bearer of the proposal, is highly deserving of record, on account of the view which it affords of the unsubdued courage and integrity of the Archbishop's spirit. I give it from Twells's *Life of Dr. Pocock*, and the extract is itself a continuation of the paragraph quoted in page 619:

" In a short time Mr. Pocock left Paris, and came for England; where, taking London in his way to Oxford, he found, what he had heard several reports of before, namely, a great change of affairs since he left the nation, and a sad face of things. A turbulent party among the Scots,—who, when

ought not to make us abandon the truth and our desire of peace. For such furious attacks did not terrify Erasmus, Cassander, and Melancthon, or prevent them from contributing

upon very groundless pretences they had armed themselves the last year, had met with all the kindness and satisfaction which a very gracious Prince could give them,—renewing their sedition, had now invaded the northern parts of the kingdom. And in the Parliament, which was convened to find out the proper means of sending these disorderly and ungrateful people home, too many there were who were so far from promoting a just defence against them, that some of them approved, and others resolved to make use, of their designs. This unhappy correspondence between those that raised these troubles, and several of them that were now called upon as only able to quiet them, disappointed all the peaceable endeavours of a pious and good king, and even began to shake the very foundations of the kingdom. The thing that was now first and most violently attacked, was the Ecclesiastical Government established by law. This hierarchy, as it is agreeable to the word of God, and warranted by the constant practices of the church of Christ in all places and at all times, so it had for fourscore years, reckoning from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, stood both the glory and the defence of the Church of England. And, as a learned gentleman was pleased to express his sense of the matter, 'upon the account of *its anti-* 'quity alone, it must be concluded now to need repair.' But *repairing* or *mending* was but a mean attempt for the violent zeal of some others: Wherefore they were for making an *utter destruction* of all the roots and branches of it, even a total abolition. That this last course might be taken, was earnestly desired by such as, doubtless, had made a deep search into the nature of the thing, to wit, some thousands of tradesmen in and about the city of London, who were ready also to demand, what they thus requested, at the doors of the Parliament. And these were soon seconded by five and twenty hundred Kentishmen, 'who had found, by experience,' as they said in their petition, 'Episcopacy to be very dangerous both to 'church and commonwealth.' The ecclesiastical government itself being thus struck at, it could not be expected that the Governors should escape. Accordingly, the chief of these, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was early accused of high-treason; and several of those who had been justly punished in the courts wherein he was concerned, for seditious and immoral practices, were let loose against him to worry him even to death.

"The Archbishop, having been ten weeks in the custody of Mr. Maxwell, Gentleman Usher of the Black-rod, waiting for the charge which was to be brought up against him, was committed to the Tower, March 1, 1640; about which time or a little after, Mr. Pocock came to London. And he thought himself under the same obligation to go and pay his duty to his Patron now in his confinement, as if he had been still on the height of his former prosperity either at his Palace at Lambeth, or his lodgings in Whitehall. Being admitted to his presence, doubtless, the vast difference of circumstances which he now beheld, from those he had formerly seen him in, could not but fill his mind with the just sense of the uncertainty of human greatness, and the transitoriness of worldly honour and power, even when established upon innocence and virtue. He now saw a man, who, beside his high station in the church, had been for many years the favourite of a great and good Prince; a man, whose advice was most followed in affairs of state, which he still gave according to his best wisdom and with undoubted integrity; a man, whose requests to the throne were seldom or never denied; for it was manifest that he managed no private interest for himself or his relations; but had long devoted all that he had to the public good: This man, Mr. Pocock now saw fallen from that eminence on which he stood, become the object of popular hatred and contempt, reproached, accused, and shut up in prison, there to expect the bitter effects of the malice of his enemies and the madness of the people.

"The Archbishop received Mr. Pocock with many expressions of a very great esteem, and a most hearty kindness; he thanked him for the pains he had been at, in procuring so many curious manuscripts for him in the East,

their prayers and counsels towards the promotion of truth and peace. It is the prerogative of God, to know the junctures of the times and seasons: it is our part, to perform our duty, and to live or to die in good desires."

I have quoted, in page 278, a passage in praise of the English Liturgy, which was written by Grotius only a few months prior to his decease; to the same period belongs the following unbiassed testimony to the excellence of the Church of England, to which the admirers of that great man will attach a proper value: "I have received letters from Corvinus: I am glad to find him steadfast in his reverence for antiquity. I think there are few like him among the Remonstrants; if there were, I would persuade them to appoint some among themselves and elevate them to a higher degree of eminence as Bis-

and for the several accounts of things, which, from time to time, he had sent him thence; he told him, 'that he very well knew what that diligence, 'together with an extraordinary piety and learning, deserved, from him; 'that he had firmly purposed to make a just acknowledgment of all, by 'some considerable preferment on his return; and that the impossibility of 'doing it, which he was now reduced to, was such an addition to his other 'afflictions as very sensibly touched him.'—Mr. Pocock, who could not but be much affected with so obliging a discourse, returned him thanks both for the favours he had already conferred on him, and for those which he had further designed for him. And lamenting the unjust usage he had met with, and the imprisonment he now suffered, he delivered to him a message relating to both, which Hugo Grotius had charged him with when he waited on him at Paris. It was the humble advice and request of that learned man, 'that his Grace would find out some way, if possible, to escape out of the 'hands he was now in, and pass to some place beyond the seas, there to 'preserve himself for better times, at least to obtain some present security 'from the malice of his bitter enemies and the rage of a deluded people.— 'This,' Mr. Pocock told him, 'that excellent person had earnestly pressed 'him to move his Grace to, as soon as he should be able to have access to 'him; and he hoped the thing would appear so reasonable to him, that he 'would neglect no means or opportunity that might be offered to put it in 'execution.'

"Though this was a course which had been lately followed by some other great men, particularly by the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and by one of the principal secretaries of state,—the former having withdrawn himself into Holland, the latter into France,—the Archbishop, as soon as it was thus proposed to him, declared his resolution against it. 'I am obliged,' said he, 'to my good friend Hugo Grotius, for the care he has thus ex-'pressed of my safety; but I can by no means be persuaded to comply with 'the counsel he hath given me. An escape, indeed, is feasible enough; 'yea, it is, I believe, the very thing which my enemies desire; for every 'day an opportunity for it is presented to me, a passage being left free, in 'all likelihood for this purpose, that I should endeavour to take the advan-'tage of it. But they shall not be gratified by me, in what they appear to 'long for. I am almost seventy years old; and shall I now go about to pro-'long a miserable life, by the trouble and shame of flying? And were I 'willing to be gone, whither should I fly? Should I go into France, or any 'Popish country, it would be to give some seeming ground to that charge of 'Popery they have endeavoured, with so much industry and so little reason, 'to fasten upon me. But if I should get into Holland, I should expose 'myself to the insults of those Sectaries there to whom my character is 'odious, and have every Anabaptist come and pull me by the beard. No, 'I am resolved not to think of flight; but, continuing where I am, pati-'ently to expect and bear what a good and a wise Providence hath provided 'for me, of what kind soever it shall be.'"

hops, and to receive *imposition of hands* from the Irish Archbishop who is now in Holland.* These Bishops, when thus consecrated, might afterwards ordain the rest of the pastors, and so commence their return to customs which are at once ancient

* Whenever I read such ardent and disinterested avowals as these in favour of British interests and of our ecclesiastical establishment, I lament that the proffered services of the great man from whom they proceeded were not accepted, at the period to which reference is made in page 598. In that grand crisis, the exemplary virtues, talents, and political experience of Grotius, might have been of the greatest benefit, not only to the cause of royalty, but likewise to that of constitutional liberty. Yet my decided conviction is, that his devotion to the affairs of Great Britain would, in the singularly-inflamed state of parties which then existed, have produced no felicitous results, unless he could have had influence sufficient to divert the popular torrent into a foreign channel; and his presence in the contest, like that of some of the enlightened and liberal ministers of King Charles, who were called into office in the decline of his affairs, would only have served to grace the temporary triumph of anarchy and fanaticism. Indeed, a man could scarcely have been selected throughout Europe, whose elevation to official employment in the state would have afforded stronger grounds of dissatisfaction, than that of Grotius would have done, to the Puritanic faction both in Parliament and out of it; and the very natural and laudable aversion of the English to the encouragement of foreigners, would, in that morbid state of public feeling, have augmented the national grievances, and might have alienated the minds of some of the staunchest friends to the monarchy. Archbishop Laud, in the height of his power, had found it difficult to maintain himself against the undue odium which had been excited against ARMINIANISM,—though he, and the great men with whom he acted, always and with much justice disclaimed the appropriation of the epithet to their religious sentiments, which they constantly proved to be obvious deductions from the public formularies of the Church of England. His difficulties therefore would have increased tenfold, had he brought into power a man who had from his youth defended the tenets of Arminius, and who considered them synonimous to "those grand scriptural principles on which alone he could *justify the ways of God to man!*" Some ill-natured censors will perhaps object, that Laud would not have relished such a compeer in the government, on account of the strong attachment to public liberty and to that of his native country which Grotius had always professed, and for which he was then enduring a living martyrdom. This supposition, if correct, ought to excite poignant regret in every British heart, that considers the importance of the moderate counsel which such a wise statesman would have given, and which under Providence might have saved the nation from those evils with which it was subsequently visited. I readily grant, that the views which Grotius entertained of the principles both of civil and religious liberty were more elevated and correct than those of the Archbishop; yet there are circumstances respecting the refusal conveyed through Vossius, that mark a proper national feeling on the part of Laud, which must extort applause from his very enemies.

That Grotius could not at that period have found an asylum in England, will not appear wonderful to any one who reflects, that our king's own sister and her royal offspring were then in Holland, and principally supported by the bounty of the Prince of Orange, who had voted with the majority of the nobles for his removal out of the United Provinces. A marriage was likewise at that time in prospect between the young Prince of Orange who subsequently became William the Second, and the Princess Royal of England; and though the parties were then very young, yet the marriage was soon afterward consummated. It was not probable therefore, that King Charles would offend a government with which he was on terms of amity and strict alliance.—But Grotius had written early in life (1609) his treatise entitled *Mare Liberum*, the best eulogy on which is, that his majesty's present ministers (1823) have adopted several of the principles advanced by the author, in their recent modifications of what are generally called our *Navigation Laws*. This work had been published in favour of the right claimed by the Dutch,

and salutary. Wherever those customs have been despised, the licence for framing new opinions has increased, and has created new churches; and what the articles of belief in such churches will be a few years hence, we cannot determine."

to fish for herrings on the coasts of Great Britain.—As early as 1626, King James the First had commanded our illustrious countryman, John SELDEN, to prepare collections for proving the right of the crown of England to the Dominion of the Seas; he commenced the undertaking, but had not finished it in 1629, the time when he and other members of the House of Commons were imprisoned by order of the Court. On this subject Dr. Heylin observes, "stomaching the submission and acknowledgment which he was forced to make in the High Commission for publishing his book of tythes, and sensible of the smart which he had found from the pens of Tillesly, Montague, and Nettles, in their answers to him, he [Selden] did not only suppress the book which he had written in the king's defence, but carried an evil eye to the Court and Church for a long time after. But being a man of great parts, and eminent in the retired walks of learning, he was worth the gaining, which Canterbury takes upon him, and at last effecteth. By his persuasion he not only perfected, but published that laborious piece, which he dedicated to his majesty, whose cause he pleaded." In PHILLIPS's *Continuation* it is said: "The merchants of London and other parts made great complaints at the end of the last year [1634] of the obstructions of trade, for want of good convoys to secure them against the Turks and other pirates that infested our coast; which made the king very earnest in making preparations to make himself strong at sea, to which he was the more inclined for the vindication of his just authority of the sovereignty of the British Seas; which was not only actually usurped by the Hollanders, but the right itself disputed by a tract, written by Hugo Grotius, a learned man of that time, called *Mare Liberum*. But whilst the king *by his power* omitted not to maintain his right, our learned Selden *by his pen* encountered Grotius, in a learned book called *Mare Clausum*, wherein he did not only assert the sovereignty or dominion of the British Seas to the crown of England, but clearly proved by constant and continual practice that the king of England used to levy money from the subjects, for the providing of ships and other necessaries, to maintain that sovereignty which did of right belong unto them. But before the writing of this tract, the king had well advised how to enable himself with treasure, to support his authority, and defend the kingdoms by the industry of Noy, his Attorney-General, a most indefatigable inquisitor into our ancient records, who had found many precedents for levying a naval aid upon the subjects by the sole authority of the king, whensoever the safety and preservation of the kingdom did require it of him and that such aid had been heretofore levied in the same year in which the kings that took it had received subsidies in the way of Parliament."

Archdeacon Nicholson tells us, in his *English Historical Library*, "It is very plain, that when the author [Selden] penned this book, he was not such an inveterate enemy to the prerogative-doctrine of ship-money, as afterwards. For he professedly asserts, that, in the defence of their sovereignty at sea, our kings constantly practised the levying great sums on their subjects without the concurrence of their Parliaments. His authorities indeed are brought down no lower than the reign of Henry the Second. But even so, the service was reckoned of that valuable kind, as that, by an express order of the king and council, the book was delivered to the Barons of the Court of Exchequer in open Court, to be by them laid up, as a most inestimable jewel, amongst the chief records which concern the Crown." Dr. Heylin's concluding remarks are worth transcribing: "The service was as grateful as the author acceptable; from henceforth both a frequent and a welcome guest at Lambeth-house, where he was grown into such esteem with the Archbishop, that he might have chose his own preferment in the Court (as it was then generally believed) had he not undervalued all other employments in respect of his studies. But possibly there might be some other reason for his declining such employments as the Court might offer. He had not yet forgotten the affronts which were put upon him about his history of tythes, (for in the notion of affronts he beheld them always)

It was not to be expected, that a man, who thus exerted himself for obtaining christian unity, could escape censure: As early as 1628, one of the chief public officers in the State of Holland, and a celebrated Dutch divine, united in depreciat-

and therefore did but make fair weather for the time, till he could have an opportunity to revenge himself on the church and church-men, the king being taken into the reckoning. For no sooner did the Bishop begin to sink in power and credit under the first pressures of the late long Parliament, but he published a book in Greek and Latin by the name Eutichyus, with some notes upon it. In which he made it his chief business to prove, that Bishops did no otherwise differ from the rest of the Presbyters than doth a master of a College from the rest of the Fellows,—by consequents, that they differed only in *degree* not in *order*. And afterwards, when his majesty began to decline in the love of the Parliament, and that the heats grew strong between them, he was affirmed to have written the answer to his majesty's declaration about the Commission of Array: Which in effect proved a plain putting of the sword into the hands of the people. So hard it is for any one to discern the hearts of men by their outward actions, but the God that made them!" What a difference in these last particulars between the conduct of GROTIUS a foreign ambassador at another Court, and SELDEN a native Briton! The exertions of the former, in behalf of the just rights of the king and the church, when both were in peril from the attacks of Republican levellers, were of the most disinterested kind; while the temporizing behaviour of Selden, when public affairs were brought to a crisis, was evidently in opposition to the convictions of his better judgment, and can be viewed as little more than the coyness of a pseudo-patriot who courted popular applause because it was agreeable to him and flattered his passions.

The important consequences involved in this affair, which was in reality the hinge on which the civil war turned, do not require to be pointed out to those who are acquainted with the instructive History of that æra. This fact will of itself account for Archbishop Laud's unwillingness to encourage the hopes of Grotius respecting an appointment at the Court of England; and his cautious manner of explaining himself to Vossius, (page 599) shews the reasons which prevailed with him, in declining Grotius's proffered services, to have been secrets of the king's council. But whether the employment of that illustrious foreigner would have proved personally gratifying or disagreeable to the Archbishop, it is certain that it could not have been very palatable to Selden and the party to which he was attached. I have often reflected upon a phrase employed by Mr. Evelyn in his Diary, during the war with Holland in 1672, which, he said, was begun "for no provocation but that the Hollanders exceeded us in industry, and *in all things but* ENVY!" After all "the love of country" which I feel, I cannot deny that there is much truth in the assertion. M. Chauvin tells us, "Some indeed are of opinion, that Selden wrote his treatise *De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta disciplinam Ebræorum* [in 1646] out of emulation to the work of Grotius *De Jure Belli Pacisque*." If this be true, his failure in the attempt was remarkable; and such a paltry opposition to the increasing posthumous fame of his foreign rival, affords a striking contrast to the playfulness with which Grotius, in 1636, greeted the publication of Selden's *Mare Clausum* in a beautiful Latin Epigram, to which he prefixed the subjoined observations: "Selden has assumed a famous sounding title for his book, in which he combats my *figurative* expressions with *serious* objections. I am much obliged to that man of learning and politeness, for having treated me in a manner that is at once learned and polite. Yet, I think, I have not injured the bond of friendship, which subsists between us, by the subjoined Epigram:

Ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigæum,
Est Græca Xerxes multus in historia.
Lucullum Latii Xerxem dixere togatum:
Seldenus Xerxes ecce Britannus erit!"

The classical reader will not require to be told, that these lines contain the germ of Dryden's elegant Epigram,

Three Poets, in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy and Britain did adorn, &c.

ing the work of Grotius *on the Truth of the Christian Religion,* because it neither contained every thing which they wished, nor were all its arguments stated after their manner. Their objections might have had an air of probability, if the work had professed to be merely an appeal to the passions, which is a course not always to be neglected; but since it was more an argumentative than a hortatory production, their remarks were egregiously misapplied. In fact, it was a book unsuited to the region in which it was composed; its object being to teach men *how to live well,* rather than *how to be subtle disputants.* In reference to such objections, Grotius said, "I do not heed the scandalous rumours disseminated by Heinsius and Thysius. There is not in Paris a single person, whether Papist or Protestant, that does not approve of the production. But perhaps Heinsius and Thysius are of the same opinion as Voetius, 'that 'to place the principal part of religion in an *observance of Christ's* 'commands is RANK SOCINIANISM.' But I perceive this was accounted the principal part of religion by the christians of the primitive ages; and their various assemblies, divines and martyrs taught, 'that the doctrines *necessary to be known* are 'exceedingly few, but that God forms his estimate of us from 'the purpose and intention of an obedient spirit.'* I am like-

* I might quote numerous instances of the piety of Grotius, in explicitly acknowledging the hand of God in all his ways, and in submitting himself and his affairs with unfeigned humility to the Divine disposal; but I shall content myself with the following brief and characteristic notice.

In the folio edition of the *Annotations on the Gospels,* published by De Bleau, a beautiful portrait of Grotius is inserted at the close of the Preface. As the good Dutchmen knew, that books, even in those days of comparative innocence, were frequently despoiled of such a treasure, they provided against the evil by printing the conclusion of the preface on the reverse of the portrait-page; so that if any book-embellisher felt an itching to commit a depredation, he was deterred through a fear of mutilating the Preface, the fraction in which would tell its own story if the Portrait were not present to answer for itself. Under the portrait were displayed the following titles of honour, which had been bestowed on Grotius, "Privy Counsellor to the "Queen and the realm of Sweden, and their Ambassador to his Most Chris- "tian Majesty, formerly Pensionary of Rotterdam, and Deputy from the "same city to the States of Holland and West Friezland." Beneath these official distinctions was engraved an elegant Latin epigram by Daniel Heinsius. When Grotius received the presentation copies from the binder, he was grieved to find such a superb image of himself, which, how tolerable soever it might be in a book of merely human lore, was, in his opinion, improperly prefixed to a book of Divine wisdom. On that occasion he expressed his feelings in the following strong manner to his brother: "After the copies of my *Annotations on the Gospels* had been returned to me by the bookbinder, I was exceedingly grieved when I beheld a portrait of myself added to the back of the Preface with that invidious and boasting proclamation of titles, which I never wish to see appended to any work of mine, but, least of all, to this production which inculcates humility of spirit. For this reason I tore it out of my copies; and I desire, above all things, that it may be removed from the remainder of the impression. I earnestly request you to perform this service for me, as an affair which greatly concerns my reputation. I should prefer the preface to remain, if the portrait can be abstracted from it without injury; but if that cannot be done, I wish the portrait to be removed, even with the loss of the preface."

wise of the same opinion, and shall never repent of having maintained it." If his Calvinistic friends in Holland were thus

Grotius not only practised but unceasingly inculcated the duty of prayer and thanksgiving to God Almighty, the Giver of every good and perfect gift; this devotional feeling is apparent in the letters to his friends, and in his principal treatises. Nay, he ascribed far more to the potency of earnest and faithful prayer, than many of those persons in the present age who wish to be accounted his brethren in Arminianism, but not more than the scriptures of Truth and the writings of the Ancient Fathers teach us to expect. Some men of this class would call the following passage "highly enthusiastical," but every man of piety will style the doctrine propounded "truly scriptural." In his posthumous treatise *on the Authority of the Supreme Powers with regard to Ecclesiastical Affairs*, (chap. v, 9,) he thus expresses himself: "But a knowledge of sacred matters is not so intricate as some persons wish it to appear. 'Theology or religion,' says Nazianzen, 'is a simple and 'naked affair, without great artifice, and consisting of Divine testimonies; 'and yet some people wickedly convert it into an art of much difficulty.' In those things which it is expedient for those in Supreme Authority to know, and the knowledge of which is sufficient, the Divine assistance will not be withheld; and, by this aid, what would otherwise have been defective through want of time, will be very easily supplied. One of the Ancients has said, 'that he had derived far more instruction from prayer than from reading.' God is not inattentive to these prayers of his Church, *Give the King thy judgments, O God, and thy righteousness to the King's son.* (Psalm lxxii, 1.) And David says, (Ps. li, 8,) *Thou hast taught me to know thy secret wisdom.* The youthful Solomon confessed, 'that he did not know how to go out or come in:' He was overpowered by the multitude of his subjects and the weight of his affairs, and said, 'Who is able to judge this thy so great a people?' He therefore beseeches God to give him an understanding heart, to judge his people, and to discern between good and evil. What was God's answer? He said, 'Because thou hast asked this thing, &c., lo, I have given thee a 'wise and an understanding heart.' It is a common saying, 'that God and 'nature are not wanting in things that are necessary:' Since therefore empires are ordained by God, and indeed principally for the defence of true religion, what can be so agreeable to the Divine Goodness as to supply, to those who piously pray for them, the things that are necessary for the right performance of their duties? For it cannot be credited, that He, who under the Old Testament often endued the Supreme Powers with the peculiar gift of prophecy, can deny any one those requisites without which it would be impossible for him to administer the affairs of government?—But 'in these last days He has spoken to us by his Son,' in whom God the Father has unfolded all his counsel respecting the salvation of mankind. After Him, we have no longer many masters, but *one is our Master, even Christ*, and of his fulness have all we received. Wherefore no new revelation is now required, as was formerly the case; but only the constant promulgation of the revealed will of heaven. Nor is there any thing, of whose obscurity or subtlety any man may complain; for 'the word is nigh unto us, in our mouth and in our heart.' (Rom. x, 8.) Nor is the doctrine of the gospel concealed from any one, except from him whose mind Satan has blinded. (2 Cor. iv, 4.) Therefore all are said *to be taught of God*, and *to know God*: and thus so far was fulfilled through Christ the wish which Moses breathed, *Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets!* (Numb. xi, 29.)

"But if to understand the doctrine of the gospel be thus easy and accommodated to all christians, among whom many are illiterate and busy, and have to provide a maintenance for themselves by the constant labour of their hands,—what is there that can possibly exclude kings from such a general benefit? particularly when the Apostle applies specially to kings that universal proposition, *God our Saviour will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth.* (1 Tim. ii, 4.) Inflamed with this confidence, when it was the duty of the emperor Theodosius to pronounce judgment in a matter of faith between several sects, he implored Divine aid in secret, and it was not withheld. Justinian obtained the same blessing, when he published such a Confession of Faith as Contius has truly called, 'a more complete

exasperated against him for inculcating "an observance of Christ's commands," it is not wonderful that this calumny was

'and perspicuous Confession than those which have been published by any of 'the Fathers or Bishops.' Few indeed in number, and obvious to the capacity of every man, are those things the belief and performance of which are necessary to salvation, as well as those things which, though not absolutely necessary, are nevertheless of great importance in the Church; for they clearly shine forth, *first*, in the holy scriptures, and *then* in the perpetual consent of the Church in the state of her purity. With regard to the rest that are not necessary, there is scarcely a single thing to cause any trouble to those who are in supreme authority. Yet if any thing should transpire that is unexpected and has never been the subject of premeditation, (an occurrence more frequent in profane than in sacred affairs,) let those in authority proceed leisurely and take faithful counsel."

This treatise and several others were abridged and translated, from the Latin of Grotius, by Barksdale during the Inter-regnum; and they contributed much towards enlightening the British public on the principles of Arminianism. In the dedication of his translation to "my Lord and Lady Chandos," he gives this brief but just character of Grotius:

"The Author, born in a *low* country, hath, by his excellent works both divine and human, *raised* himself to the just repute of the most general and the wisest scholar of his time: So that it is become a character of an ingenuous student, (as it was said in the last age of his countryman, the great Erasmus,) to be well versed in the books of Grotius: Out of whose magazine our best English writers, to their praise, have borrowed some of their best furniture. The argument of this work is worthy the study of princes and great persons; from whom certainly God expects a greater care of his church's peace and order. To which purpose the grave author hath here said some things first of all; some, with a better grace than any other; and some, that, although they have been said very well by our own men, yet perhaps will be better taken (as the English humour is,) from the pen of a stranger. The translator's design is partly public, in this scribbling age, (wherein yet we have need of more good books, to out the many bad ones,) to cast in his mite into the treasury of the Church of England, whom, as the moderate author much honoured, so he professeth himself so be one of her poor children," &c.

The letters of Grotius are an invaluable treasure to a young statesman, on account of the many sage maxims, founded upon the principles of sound jurisprudence, which they contain. His views of the different policy pursued by the Court of France, and by that of England, are very interesting. Cardinal Richelieu kept the hot spirits of the former nation long engaged in a foreign war; but a similar course was not adopted by the British ministry. It is scarcely necessary to advert to the results: France, which for several preceding years had been a prey to dreadful intestine broils, was preserved through the policy of its statesmen; while Great Britain was deluged with blood, in consequence of all the malcontents being pent up together in the British Isles, and having no foreign object on which to vent their overcharged zeal and impetuosity. In the note page 613, Grotius alludes to the importance of a foreign war, and the two subjoined quotations refer to the same topic.

Under the date of January 22, 1639, he says: "The French are in reality waiting to see what the English will do about the treaty, and in this they act with propriety. The commotions which are breaking out again in Scotland will cause some delay about the treaty; although, as I told the English, it is often a piece of prudence, under the pretence of a foreign war, to remove the heads of a faction, and the flower of military men. It may likewise be readily believed, that several unjust suspicions will die away, when it becomes apparent that the English Court openly grants its aid to the affairs of the Elector Palatine and of the Protestants." And on June 1, 1641, he wrote thus: "I am also of your opinion, that the business is completed respecting the treaty between the Swedes and the French; and that the report, *about the treaty being in force till the conclusion of a mutual peace*, is circulated for the purpose of affrighting the enemy; but that the Swedes

afterwards revived by the British Calvinists, for nearly the same reasons, when Grotius appeared in the ranks against their principles and practices.* Archbishop Laud, who shewed him-

have stipulated in a separate article, if the affairs of Germany be restored to a better state, that they shall be allowed to conclude a separate peace. For it cannot be doubted, that it is the interest of the French Ministry to continue the war as long as possible. The King of England also would probably have committed no great error, if he had some time ago anticipated and prevented these domestic commotions by engaging in a foreign war. What termination those hostile armies, daring seditions, and lamentable punishments will have, becomes now a question that is not easy of solution. All these events have undoubtedly occurred at a period the most inconvenient and prejudicial to the Elector Palatine."

Born under a Republic, Grotius had, early in life, written with great ability in defence of that form of government, and yet with such caution as must extort admiration. But his own subsequent experience of the multiform tyrannies into which the corrupt Batavian Republic was ramified, and other collateral circumstances, had taught him to entertain more enlarged views of general government, without abating a particle of his ardent attachment to the cause of genuine liberty. Without reflecting on the change that had been effected in the Republic itself, which had not retained the masculine integrity that it possessed when it first cast off the trammels of the Spanish tyranny, Rivet reproached him for this alteration in his political principles; and part of the reply which Grotius returned to this charge is quoted in page 214. At the close of it he says, "After all these concessions, Grotius may now surely be permitted to amend and grow better, after he has by a more extensive course of reading and continued meditation become older, and attained to a state of life that is uninfluenced by party-interests." The following extract, written in January, 1643, alludes to the same subject: "I am not wishful to undertake the defence of those objections which are raised against me, from my treatise *on the Antiquity of the Batavian Republic*. For I transgressed the bounds of moderation, through my partiality for that Republic in which I lived; and years consume within us much of this youthful impetuosity. Yet it is not equitable, that the king of England should be injured by what I have said in my earlier productions. For his Majesty is the successor of a monarch, who obtained the kingdom by conquest of arms, and not by compact or treaty; and the king requires nothing, except what has been sanctioned by the usage and practice of his ancestors,—according to which the king alone possesses the executive power of government: He has a right to declare war or conclude a peace, and to distribute civil, ecclesiastical and military rewards. The only thing which the king is not accustomed to do without the Parliament, nor the Parliament without the king, is the enactment of new laws or the imposing of taxes. Such are the opinions of all the Lawyers who wrote before the commencement of these commotions."

* This report was revived, not only at the period when Grotius wrote against the seditious attempts of the Scotch Calvinists, but subsequently when Dr. Owen wrote his treatise *on the Perseverance of the Saints*. Baxter, who delighted in opposing Owen, wrote his *Grotian Religion* to prove, that Grotius was not a Socinian but a rank Papist. On the uncharitable and futile attempts of both these men, the Rev. Herbert Thorndike very justly observes:

"We have seen two men of repute, now amongst us, censure Grotius his labours upon the scriptures; from which I acknowledge to have received much advantage. The one of them hath made him a Socinian, the other a Papist. Both could have given us no better argument that he was neither, than this, *that he cannot be both*. It is not my intent to bring men's persons into consideration with the common concernment of christianity and of God's church. To his own master he stands or falls. I do but instance in an eminent person, that must needs be a Papist, though never reconciled to the Church of Rome; that must needs be a Socinian, though appealing to the original consent of the whole church: Upon which terms, how should there be any such things as Papists or Socinians? I remember an admonition of

self on all occasions extremely solicitous about purity of doctrine, was both surprised and grieved at the charge thus preferred; and he confidentially requested from Grotius some explanation about it, the substance of which is thus related in a letter to his brother, under the date of June 4, 1639:

"I am not much affected by the calumnies about Socinianism with which I am aspersed by some of the worst of men; for they will be easily refuted, before equitable judges, by those writings which I have already published or which are prepared for publication. In the doctrines which relate more to *performance* than to *speculation*, Socinus has happened to adopt such opinions as are correct and ancient: These I will not desert, and I think I conferred about them with Johnson when at Hamburgh. I have likewise had frequent conversations with Ruarus. I have defended the ancient opinions concerning *the Trinity, the Satisfaction of Christ, the infliction of punishments when this life is ended;* and I have refuted the contrary opinions from the sacred writings, from the consent of christian antiquity, and even from experience. Ruarus answered me, on the topic of *Christ's Satisfaction*, in such a manner as to leave

his bitter adversary, Dr. Rivet, 'that the See of Rome will never thank him for what he writ.' And from thence I inferred, as charity obliged me to infer, that the common good of christianity, and of God's church, obliged him to that, for which he was to expect thanks on no side. This for certain: Grotius never lived by maintaining division in the church. Whether any body doth so or not, I say not. Their Master will judge them for it, if they do."

If some persons be inclined to excuse Owen, who, when he made a large display of his borrowed materials, had not the opportunity of consulting the letters of Grotius, which would have amply explained what he wished to exhibit as inexplicable; such a palliating circumstance cannot be pleaded in favour of his biographer, who, instead of repeating "a thrice-refuted tale," ought to have informed himself more accurately of the facts, and not have told us about "the evidence alleged against that celebrated man from his epistle to Crellius, and his conversation on his death bed." For he ought to have known, that the letter to Crellius was given in a mutilated state; and that the alleged "conversation of Grotius on his death-hed" is the abominable fabrication by Rivet, to which I have alluded in page 285, and which is completely falsified, in the same page, by the letter of Quistorpius, the Lutheran clergyman who attended Grotius in his dying moments. Mr. Orme must feel ashamed on perusing, in a subsequent note, an extract from the Magazine of his own denomination, which shews the salutary effect of the kindness of Grotius on the mind of Crellius the Socinian. I cannot conclude this note more appropriately, than by the following brief quotation from Mede's Letters, that offers a shrewd explanation of the reasons which too frequently induced the Puritans to stigmatize with the name of *Papists* and *Socinians* those who differed from them in doctrinal sentiments.

"To be nearer or further off from *the man of sin*, is not, I think, the measure of truth and falsehood: nor that, which would be most destructive of him, always true and warrantable. If it be, there be some in the world, that would be more orthodox and reformed christians than any of us. The Socinians, you know, deny, 'that souls live after death, until the resurrection:' or 'that Christ hath *carnem et sanguinem* now in heaven;' both as most destructive of the idolatrous errors of the man of sin; the first, of Purgatory and Invocation of Saints, (which, they say, can never be solidly everted, as long as it is supposed souls do live,) the other of Transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. Is not this to undermine Antichrist *with a vengeance*, as they say?"

between us very little room for controversy. I have also brought completely over to my sentiments some other persons who had formerly been Socinians. I occasionally correspond with Ruarus, who frequently writes to me; I reply to him as one man does to another, and his claims for this civil treatment from me are far greater than those which induced St. Basil to maintain a correspondence with the heathen Libanius. For you may often by affability and kindness communicate instruction to such persons, as by your harshness and severity you would render still more hardened. I informed the Archbishop of these circumstances, through a divine of the name of Goffe,* who had called upon me: and I have written about them to the Senator Reygersberg and to Vossius, both of whom according to their own pleasure and discretion may shew to their friends my former letters, if there be any among them who are infected by the pestilential vapour of such silly falsehoods. But I wish them to exhibit THE WHOLE, and not to injure them by *extracts*. I know that it is impossible for me to satisfy Rivet and others, who are designedly envious and malignant, and who often do not understand the very questions about which they are treating: I do not esteem them so highly, as either to engage myself in giving them satisfaction, or to request others to do it for me. I have had some conversation about these matters with Bysterfield, who says, that you understood, what I had also heard, 'that Crellius declared, a short time before his death, 'he never would have written against me had he previously 'read my sentiments on *the participation of punishment*, in my 'book *on the Laws of War and Peace*.† The Chancellor of Sweden has a surgeon who is a Socinian."

* Grotius referred to Goffe's visit, on the 16th of Oct. 1638, in the subjoined letter: "A celebrated English divine has brought me [to Paris] some parts of a letter, which I addressed a long time ago to Crellius, who had most politely sent one to me, which I answered with equal politeness. The followers of Socinus, wishful to interpret this affability of mine into an argument of my concurrence with them, have distributed parts of that letter in England. I should have preferred their publication of the whole without curtailment; it would then have been made apparent, that I had not changed any of my former sentiments. This fact I rendered evident to the English divine, both from my treatise *on the Laws of War and Peace* in the chapter concerning *the participation of punishment*, in more passages than one of my book *on the Truth of the Christian Religion*, and from my Annotations on the Gospel of St. Matthew; so that he will now be enabled completely to silence both the Socinians themselves, and those who wish me to become a Socinian. A new edition of my book *on the Satisfaction of Christ* in opposition to Socinus, and of the Defence of it which was written by Vossius, has lately been published at Oxford, through the agency of that very learned man, Sampson Johnson, the Archbishop's domestic chaplain, who is now preparing to proceed to Holland as Chaplain to the Queen of Bohemia."

† In the Evangelical Magazine for October, 1822, is recorded the following anecdote concerning Crellius, as an extract from LATROBE'S *History of the United Brethren*: "Samuel Crellius was a Socinian, and a leader of that party. The endless mercy of our Lord was also manifest in him. He not only rejoiced to see his daughters bow their knees to THE CRUCIFIED, but he himself, turning to that Lord, called upon him as *his* LORD and *his* GOD;

This quotation introduces us to the labours of Archbishop Laud, a man who has suffered in his character more unjustly than any individual of that age, and principally because he opposed the unhallowing speculations of Calvinism,* and promoted the inculcation of the practical principles of the gospel. The very foibles of the individual and his peculiar opinions

and found, at the latter end of his life, no consolation but in *the atonement by the blood of Jesus*, and wished that all his books could die with him! This has been testified, not only by his daughters, but by all who were with him before his end."

This was a noble triumph to the mild and tolerant principles which governed the conduct of Grotius, and proves the truth of his remark in the text, "You may often by affability and kindness communicate instruction to such persons, as by your harshness and severity you would render still more hardened." I frankly confess, though I look upon all Socinians with a sorrowful countenance as upon men "who not only deny THE LORD that bought them," but who try to deprive "the poor in this world" of their best consolation, yet I seldom pass through the cloisters of Christ's Hospital, in which is erected a sepulchral tablet to that eminent Socinian philanthropist, Thomas FIRMIN, without reflecting upon his eminent services to the church and nation. And, while I profess not to know the possibility of those being saved who pertinaciously reject the scriptural evidence of our Lord's Divinity and Atonement, I recollect one of our blessed Saviour's declarations, "That many shall come from the East and from the West, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness." If this passage be thought in any respect applicable to a Socinian, I hope it will be in the way in which it is applied to the case of Crellius,—"in turning to the Lord and calling upon him as his Lord and his God." It must also be thus applied to FIRMIN, if the inscription on "the monument erected by his sorrowful widow," conveys correct information; for, after an enumeration of his virtuous and benevolent labours, it is added: "Yet, after all, he ascribed nothing to himself; acknowledging on his death-bed, that *he had been an unprofitable servant*, and he professed that he hoped for salvation *only from the mercy of God through the mediation of Jesus Christ*."—The calumny of Socinianism which was fabricated against Archbishop Tillotson, in consequence of his intimacy with Mr. Firmin, has been satisfactorily disproved, by Firmin's biographer, and by Dr. Williams and Bishop Burnet.

* Few circumstances gave more serious offence to the Puritan clergy, than the method adopted by Archbishop Laud to abridge their licentiousness and compel them to confine their prayers to the forms contained in the Rubric; of which his biographer gives the following account:

"Nor was the clamour less which was raised against such of the Bishops as either pressed the use of his Majesty's instructions concerning lecturers and silencing the Arminian controversies, or as urged the ministers of their several and respective dioceses to use no other form of prayer before their sermons than that which was prescribed, Canon 55. It had been prudently observed, 'That by suffering such long prayers, as had accustomably been 'used of late before the sermons of most preachers, the public liturgy of the 'Church had been much neglected: That the Puritan preachers for the most 'part had reduced all God's service in a manner to those pulpit-prayers: 'That the people in many places had forborne to go into the church, till the 'public liturgy was ended and these prayers begun; and that by this means 'such preachers prayed both what they listed and how they listed, some so 'seditiously that their very prayers were turned into sin, others so ignorantly 'and impertinently that they dishonoured God and disgraced religion.' For remedy whereof it was thought convenient, by the Archbishop and some other Prelates, to reduce all to the form of prayers appointed in the canon abovementioned, according to the like form prescribed in the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, and before her time by King Edward the Sixth, and before his time also by King Henry the Eighth; practised accordingly in the times of their several reigns, as appears by the sermons of Bishop Latimer, Bishop Gardiner, Archbishop Parker, Bishop Jewel, Bishop Andrews, and gene-

concerning *celibacy in the clergy** have been employed to injure his reputation. Coming into power at a period when the monarch rally by all divines of the Church of England; till, by the artifices and endeavours of the Puritan faction, these long prayers of their own making had been taken up to cry down the liturgy. Which being in charge in the visitation, and afterwards in the articles of several bishops, made as much noise amongst ignorant and factious people, under colour of quenching the Spirit of God, expressed in such extemporary prayers of the preacher's conceiving, as [had been done by] silencing the doctrines of Predestination, changing the afternoon's sermons into catechisings, and regulating the extravagancies of some of their lecturers, under the colour of a plot to suppress the gospel."

Modern readers can form only very faint conceptions of the joy expressed by these men when the Archbishop was beheaded. They were then at liberty to utter an extempore prayer of an hour's length, as many of the chief preachers did during the Inter-regnum, according the accounts of their own historians. I have a curious pamphlet, printed in 1645, part of the title of which stands thus: "The Life and Death of William LAUD, *Late Arch-*" *bishop of Canterbury:* Here is a brief Narration of his doings all his life " long, faithfully given-out.—*First*, That his Sayings at his death may not " be a snare to the perdition of souls.—*Secondly*. His Doings and Sayings " being compared and weighed together, his sayings are found infinitely too " light, yet of weight sufficient to press every man to make a three-fold use " from all, of infinite concernment to his eternal soul.—By E. W. who was " acquainted with his Proceedings in Oxford," &c. One of the four mottoes in the title is the following quotation from Lord Bacon: "Blood-letting is as often necessary in effecting [bodily] cures, as murders are in civil cases." As the author's comment on the Archbishop's prayer at his execution contains a good description of the feeling of the Puritans on that occasion, part of it is here subjoined:

"His prayer at the foot of his sermon takes with a world of people, as his sermon did. Indeed, we are very prone to make an idol of our last prayer; we hope we may fly unto it when we are slaying, as Joab did unto his Sanctuary. 'God will hear our last words,' think we, 'though we re-' garded not to hear his words all our life long.' This is but a conceit, a false hope, and will deceive us, as it did Joab, and as it has deceived all the wicked in the world, *Who cried, but there was none to help: even to the Lord, but He answered not!* I dare not censure that which learned men do approve: But I am persuaded, that the soul shall find as little comfort in the time of need from his prayer so formed, and so suggested unto him, as his palate finds relish now in the white of an egg. Beware of having an hand or voice in restraining prayer, or binding it to forms. Thou art no more able to do this, than thou canst restrain *the sweet influences of Pleiades, or bind the sunbeams:* (Job. xxxviii, 31.) But beware of having a mind or purpose in thy heart to do it, as this late Archbishop had, and these Lords of the world have at this day. Remember how it fared with this man, how pent-up and restrained his spirit was at his death. He was putting-up a prayer then, which he hoped would pierce the heavens and reach the bosom of his Father there. A miserable deceit! He had no help to form his prayer but his hand; nor to suggest, or prompt, or to teach him how to pray, but his eye. Ah Lord! A prayer so formed, so taught and suggested, can no more reach heaven, than you can the highest star with the shortest finger! And yet the adversary and enemy will have his Service-Book brought into the Churches again. God shall be served, after their manner, with forms the hand has framed, and with prayers the eye hath taught. Well, we shall see whose word shall prevail,—man's or God's; and how the Lord will recompence these proud men."

* The following very eloquent and sound observations *on the advantages of a married clergy*, will be a good antidote to the Archbishop's views on this subject: They were delivered in "a Sermon before the Sons of the Clergy, at their Anniversary Meeting in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, Dec. 6, 1709, by Francis ATTERBURY, D.D.," who was afterwards banished.

"When Marriage, at the Reformation, was first allowed to the clergy of this kingdom, there is no doubt but that some who then sat at the helm and gave no good proofs of any real regard for religion, intended it as a politic

was encircled with Papists, and when the Queen and the principal persons in her confidence were of the Catholic com-

device to lessen their interest and keep them low in the world. And yet so has God ordered matters, that even from hence many signal advantages have redounded to our church; some of which I shall so far presume upon your patience, as to lay before you.

"And first, several temptations, under which the Popish clergy lay, towards embracing an interest distinct from that of their country, are, by this means, effectually removed; and all uneasy jealousies of our riches, greatness, power, and union, are, in good measure, abated. And this, in times when even the diminished revenues and privileges of the church are looked upon with a suspicious eye, is some advantage to her; as it gives her leave to enjoy those poor remains of ancient piety which she possesses, without that envy and ill-will which would otherwise attend them. Little reason there is, God knows, to envy her on this account; for, notwithstanding the large incomes annexed to some few of her preferments, I will be bold to say, and do not doubt but to prove, that this church, in proportion to the numbers of its clergy, hath, in the whole, as little to subsist on, as almost any even of those Protestant churches which are thought to be most meanly provided for. However, since *this little* is by some thought *too much*, and vain jealousies of our strength and power are on this account entertained or pretended, it is well, that these apprehensions are qualified by a sense of our marriage circumstances, which even they, who are pleased to think us under no other tie to the true interest of our country, will allow to be an effectual curb upon us. They who marry give hostages to the public, that they will not attempt the ruin or disturb the peace of it; since, in the public safety and tranquility, that also of their wives and children, that is, of their nearest and dearest relations, is involved, according to those remarkable words of the prophet Jeremy, directed to the Jews in Babylon, 'Take ye wives,' says he, 'and beget sons and daughters, and take wives for your sons, and give your daughters to husbands, that they may bear sons and daughters; that ye may be increased there and not diminished: And seek the peace of the city, whither I have caused you to be carried. For in the peace thereof shall ye have peace.' (xxix, 6, 7.)

"By this means also, the foul impurities that reigned among the unmarried, especially the monkish clergy, and the scandalous reflections which fell upon the whole order on that account, have been prevented. It is true, these enormities have been thought more and greater than they really were. It was the interest of those who thirsted after the possessions of the clergy, to represent the possessors in as vile colours as they could; and many of those poor people were, doubtless, frightened and betrayed into false and disadvantageous confessions; the general prejudices of the time falling in with these accounts and procuring them an universal reception, and our historians taking them afterwards upon trust, as their credulity, laziness, or partiality led them. However, after all the abatements that can be made, there was too much truth in some of these representations; so much as brought the whole function into disgrace, and *made the offering of the Lord to be abhorred*. And it is plain, that the cure of this evil is one of those many blessings which have arisen, to our religion and church, from a married clergy.

"Another is, that great numbers of men descended from them, have been distributed into all arts and professions, all ranks and orders of men amongst us; and have, by the blessing of God upon their industry, thriven so well, and raised themselves so high in the world, as to become in times of difficulty a protection and a safeguard to that altar, at which their ancestors ministered. And I question not, but there are many here this day, who will have the same success in the world and will make the same use of it. We may say to our countrymen, as Tertullian, in his Apology, did to the Romans, *Hesterni sumus, &c.* 'We, the sons of the clergy, are but of yesterday, as it 'were; and yet the country, the city, the court, the army, the fleet, the bar, 'the bench, and the senate-house itself, hath had, and still hath, a large 'share of us:' Men often famous, often highly useful in their generations; useful in their public and in their private capacities; useful to their country, and useful to the Church; being an honour and a support to that order from

munion, he conducted himself with exemplary prudence; and while he boldly reprehended the practices of the Priests who

which they descended. The lot of the sons of the Clergy, in this case, is like that of the sons of Levi, of whom it is said, *I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.* (Gen. xlix, 7.) This dispersion of that particular tribe, among the rest of the tribes, was intended as their punishment; but it proved in the event, and in many respects, a great blessing, both to them and to the whole Jewish community.

"Again, even the secular cares and avocations which accompany marriage, have not been without their advantages; inasmuch as the Clergy have, by this means, been generally furnished with some measure of skill in the common affairs of this life, have gained some insight into men and things, and a competent knowledge of what is called, THE WORLD—a knowledge to which most of the order, while under the obligations of celibacy, were great strangers. And of this kind of knowledge they have made admirable use in their profession, towards guiding and saving souls; for it has enabled them to preach to their flocks after the most rational and convincing, the most apt and sensible manner, *rightly dividing the word of truth, like workmen that needed not to be ashamed,* (2 Tim. ii, 15.) and so explaining and applying the general precepts of morality contained in the gospel, as that the consciences of those to whom they addressed their doctrine should readily bear witness to the truth and feel the power of it. It is, perhaps, for this reason among others, that our practical divinity is allowed to excel, and to be as sound and affecting as that of our Popish neighbours is flat and unedifying. For he that preaches to man, should *understand what is in man,* to such a degree as is requisite to qualify him for the task: And that skill can scarce be duly attained by an Ascetic in his solitudes, or a Monk in his cloister. I speak the sense of St. Chrysostom; who, as great a lover and recommender of the solitary state as he was, declares it to be no proper school for those who are to be leaders of Christ's flock and the guides of souls; and thinks such persons best qualified for the pastoral charge, who, to innocence of life, have joined so much worldly experience and prudence, as may enable them, in the course of their ministry, to address themselves to men in a way suited to their several exigences and tempers, to their various ranks, conditions and characters. I need not say, what advantages, in this respect, belong to a married clergy, particularly to those of the Church of England.

"Nay, farther, the married state of parochial pastors hath given them the opportunity of setting a more exact and universal pattern of holy living to the people committed to their charge, and of teaching them how to carry themselves in their several relations of husbands and wives, parents and children, by domestic patterns as well as by publie instructions. By this means, they have, without question, adorned the gospel, glorified God, and benefitted men, much more than they could have done in the devoutest and strictest celibacy. And their usefulness in this respect to others hath not been without some advantage to themselves; it hath raised the credit of the order, and promoted the reverence that is justly due to it.

"Let me add one instance more, wherein the marriage of the clergy hath redounded to their honour, inasmuch as it affords a remarkable argument of God's particular providence towards them and their families. For,—considering the chargeable methods of their education, their numerous issue, and small income,—considering the expences incumbent upon them, in point of hospitality and charity, and the proportion (the at-least-equal proportion) they bear in the public burthens and taxes,—it is next to a miracle, that no more of their children should want, and that so many of them should be in such prosperous circumstances, as we have good reason to think there are, even from this day's solemn appearance. 'Happy art thou, O Israel, 'O people, saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help, and who is the sword of 'thy excellency! and thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee. (Deut. 'xxxiii, 29.) No weapon that is formed against thee, shall prosper; and 'every tongue that shall rise against thee in judgment, thou shalt condemn. 'This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord, and *their righteousness is 'of me,* saith the Lord.' (Isai. liv, 17.)

were in the service of her Majesty,* he tried all the mild and politic arts which he could devise for reclaiming, from the communion of the Romish Church, those who had been seduced

"However, still one inconvenience there is, with which the marriage of the clergy is too visibly attended,—the poverty of some of them; an inconvenience, which is, as you have heard, balanced and outweighed by many signal advantages; and which we are so far from dissembling, that we meet this day to do, every one of us, somewhat, as God hath enabled and shall incline us, towards removing it. This is the only specious objection which our Romish adversaries urge against the doctrine and practice of this Church, in the point of celibacy; the only matter of just reproach wherein they visibly triumph. Since other arguments have, by our excellent writers, been wrested out of the enemy's hands, pity it is that they should remain in possession of this; that we should not be able to justify our Reformation in every respect, and to make this church, like the true spouse of Christ, *a glorious church, having neither spot, nor wrinkle, nor any such thing*, that may blemish her lustre, deform her beauty, and expose her to any degree of that ungodly scorn, with which proud and irreligious minds are ever ready to pursue her. We are not indeed, of ourselves, sufficient for this work. However, more may be done by us, towards it, than at first we are apt to imagine," &c.

* Our pity for the misfortunes of King Charles, and our admiration of his magnanimity under them, must not tempt us to overlook the weaknesses apparent in his character. He was undoubtedly in imminent peril when surrounded by advisers, who were Papists and under the Queen's control. See page 630. But when, at the commencement of the civil wars, that confederacy was dispersed, his majesty displayed the sterling integrity of his spirit, and rose superior to his adversities. In a letter to Chancellor Oxenstern, dated Dec. 12, 1636, after having alluded to the negotiations commenced at Ratisbon by the Earl of Arundel, (page 611,) Grotius says: "The third way [proposed for the restoration of the Elector Palatine] is, that two new Electors be added to the seven, in which number the Duke of Bavaria is already included; and that of those two one should be a bishop, the other the Elector Palatine. Although this last plan cannot be completed without a regular convention,—and though it must be a work of difficulty to persuade the rest of the Electors to sanction it, because their honour is lessened in proportion to the increase of their number,—yet the project is agreeable to the Pope, as I learnt from Lord Scudamore the English Ambassador, who visited me yesterday. A certain person, who is well acquainted with the Court of Rome and intimate with the Nuncio, assures me, that the Englishman who resides at Rome, does not, as it was said, transact business with the Pope in the Queen's name, but in that of the King of England himself. From this fact and from other indications, it is amazing what hopes the Papists conceive about England; but my hope is, that by the prudence of the king, of the Archbishop, and of the discreet and well-affected part of the nobility, these Popish expectations will be rendered fruitless. The correspondence between the Earl of Arundel and the Court of Rome is of an ancient date. If the affair respecting the Palatinate be amicably concluded, the court of France and that of England might enter into a treaty, to defend each other mutually in those conquests which a peace may either give them or leave in their possession; and there might then be a renewal of that treaty, which was I think formerly promised, for the one kingdom to refrain from assisting those subjects of the other who might fail in their allegiance, although their disobedience might be veiled under the specious pretext of religion."

This extract affords many subjects for reflection to those who have studied with attention that part of our national history, and who are acquainted with the character of the parties introduced; but the expectations which Grotius entertained of seeing the projects of the Papists blasted, were founded upon his confidence in the prudence of king Charles, Archbishop Laud, and the Protestant nobility.

through Popish subtlety or self-interest.* He found the English constitution strongly inclining to despotism, yet he is accused of having been himself the cause of its deterioration; and in his endeavours to cure the evils that had crept into the ecclesiastical establishment, he has been charged with motives the most conflicting and preposterous. As a Briton, I feel a strong aversion to every symptom and appendage of arbitrary power; and I cannot describe the horror of my mind, when I first perused the account which King James gives of the flexible powers and extensive jurisdiction of the Star-chamber, and recollected many of the tyrannical purposes to which it and the High Commission Court had been applied. "The Star-chamber," said his Majesty in 1616, "hath that belonging to it which belongs to no other court: For in this Court *attempts* are punishable, where other Courts punish only *facts;* and also where the Law punisheth facts *easily,* as in case of riots or combats, there the Star-chamber punisheth *in a higher degree,*†

* Of the gossiping information of which Archbishop Usher was made the the depositary, the following extract of a letter, addressed to him by Mr. Alexander Cook, is a good specimen:

"I was desirous to acquaint you with an accident lately fallen out, some circumstances whereof I had better occasion to know than many my betters. It concerneth my Lady Faukland. She, within this fortnight, hath declared herself to be a Papist. One of the Priests who perverted her, goeth under the name of Fitzgerard, though his true name is George Pettinger, a Yorkshire-man, an idle prating companion, and a serving-man not many years ago; a frequenter of baudy-houses, and a cozener of tradesmen in London, as I myself in part know, and as I am credibly informed by Sir Thomas Savile, to whom he was well known, and by some gentlemen of his own kindred. Mr. Mountagu, Mr. Cosens, and the College (as it is called) at Durham-house, are sensible of the disgrace which they sustain by reason of her fall. Mr. Mountagu told her, 'that, dying an English Papist, she died in the state of damnation.' Mr. Cosens told her, 'that she had sinned damnably in departing from that church in which she was born and baptized, 'before she had consulted with the governors thereof.' Besides, Mr. Cosens gave her a few notes, which she sent unto her priest to answer; whose answer came to my hands, and, in my poor opinion, was a very silly one. Yet Mr. Cosens would not reply, but took his farewell of the lady, without purpose of ever visiting her again. She protested, that if ever she turn again, she 'will turn Puritan, not MODERATE PROTESTANT, as she phraseth it: For 'moderate Protestants—viz. Mr. Cosens, &c.—are farther from Catholics 'than Puritans.' And thus much concerning her, who, for any thing I know, is neither fallen *from* grace nor *to* grace. London, Nov. 30, 1626."

The witty remark at the conclusion is very just, when applied even to other apostates than those who forsake the communion of Protestants. But, on an impartial observer, the whole account, which was intended to detract from Arminianism and to exalt Puritanism, will produce a contrary effect: For every one must co-incide in opinion with Lady Falkland, that "moderate Protestants are farther from Catholics than Puritans."

† In a letter to Bishop Bedell in 1629, Archbishop Usher said, "My Chancellor is better skilled in law than I am, and far better able to manage matters of that kind; *suam quisque norit artem* runneth still in my mind, and how easy a matter it is for a Bishop, that is ignorant in the law, to do wrong unto others, and run himself into a *Premunire;* and where wrong is done, I know right may more easily be had against a Chancellor than against a Bishop. If my Chancellor doth wrong, the Star-chamber lieth open, where I will be the man that will cast the first stone at him myself, as I did for the removing and censuring of him whom I found at my first coming into the Diocess of Meath."

and also all combinations of practices and conspiracies: And if the King be dishonoured or contemned in his prerogative, it belongeth most properly to the Peers and Judges of this Court to punish it. So then, this Court, being instituted for so great causes, it is great reason it should have great honour."* In the year 1609, the same learned monarch spoke thus about the High Commission Court: "Complaints may be made to you of the High Commissioners; if so be, try the abuse, and spare not to complain upon it: but say not, *There shall be no Commission!* For that were to abridge the power that is in me; and I will plainly tell you, that something I have with myself resolved anent that point, which I mean ever to keep except I see other great cause;—which is, that in regard the High Commission is of so high a nature, from which there is no appellation to any other Court, I have thought good to restrain it only to the two Archbishops, where before it was common amongst a great part of the Bishops in England." Such are the descriptions given by the first Stuart who reigned over England, and who, after his escape from the severe thraldom in which the Scotch Presbyterians had holden him, scarcely knew within what bounds he might indulge his newly-acquired power, or the restraints to be imposed upon his ambitious inclination. His towering ideas on this subject are significantly explained in the following sentence of his *Speech in the Star-chamber*, in 1616: "It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do; good christians content themselves with his will revealed in his word: So it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that *a king cannot do* THIS *or* THAT,

This paragraph may teach us two things at least: *First*. Archbishop Usher, who is generally said to have been an ardent lover of liberty, was as much attached as Archbishop Laud could be to Star-chamber processes, which, as the constitution then stood, had a prescribed jurisdiction.—*Secondly*. It would have been well if Bishop Bedell, as well as Archbishop Laud, had recollected the Latin maxim, "that every man is best acquainted with the mysteries of his own profession," &c.

* The learned Judges must have smiled at the following part of the charge delivered to them by King James in the same speech: "Know this, that your interpretations must be always subject to common sense and reason. For I will never trust any interpretation that agreeth not with my common sense and reason and true logic: for *ratio est anima legis* in all human laws without exception. It must not be sophistry or strains of wit that must interpret, but either clear law or solid reason. But in countries where the formality of law hath no place, as in Denmark, (which I may truly report, as having myself been an eye-witness thereof,) all their State is governed only by a written law. There is no advocate or proctor admitted to plead, only the parties themselves plead their own cause, and then a man stands up and reads the law, and there is an end; for the very law-book itself is their only judge. Happy were all kingdoms if they could be so! But here, curious wits, various conceits, different actions, and variety of examples, breed questions in law. And therefore, when you hear the questions, if they be plain, there is a plain way in itself; if they be such as are not plain (for men's inventions daily abound), then are you to interpret according to common sense, and draw a good and certain *minor* of natural reason, out of the *major* of direct law, and thereupon to make a right and true conclusion."

but rest in that which is the king's revealed will in his law."—What these Courts became in the hands of a king who loved to stretch his prerogative, which he declared to be "no subject for the tongue of a lawyer, nor lawful to be disputed," and what they might have become at an early period of his reign, had not some of the sage counsellors of Queen Elizabeth remained to apprise him of his duty and of the rights of the people,*—do not require to be repeated to those who know the history of that period. But in those transactions Archbishop Laud was not concerned: They occurred before he came into public notice. I require, however, no other descriptions than these which King James has given of the two obnoxious Courts; and, without adverting to facts, I am compelled to conclude, that the execution of such ample powers could not be entrusted to any mere mortals, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, without corrupting the individuals employed. But to every impartial observer it might be easily proved, that Archbishop Laud executed his important trust with less severity than some of the excellent men who had previously occupied the high station in the Church to which he was elevated. If we consider the unprecedented provocations which he received from the insubordination and bitter language of some of the inferior clergy, we must admire, in numerous instances, his lenity and moderation; and knowing something of *what is in man,* we must not be surprised at other cases in which he *shewed judgment without mercy.*† In

* "Touching the laws, (wherein I mean *the common laws of England,*) I shall be the more sparing to speak, because it is my profession: But thus much I shall say with confidence, that, if they be rightly administered, they are the best, the equallest in the world between the prince and people; by which the king hath the justest prerogative, and the people the best liberty; and if at any time there be an unjust deviation, *hominis est vitium, non professionis* [it is the fault of the man, and not of the profession]. But that it may in all things have a fairer proceeding, let the king take a care, and as much as in you lies do you take care for him, that the Judges of the law may be always chosen of the learnedest of the profession, (for an ignorant man cannot be a good Judge,) and of the prudentest and discreetest, because so great a part of the civil government lies upon their charge. In the laws we have a native interest, it is our birth-right, and our inheritance; and I think the whole kingdom will always continue that mind, which once the two Houses of Parliament publicly professed, *Nolimus Legem Angliæ mutare.* Under a law we must live; and under *a known law,* and not under *an arbitrary Law,* is our happiness that we do live."—*A letter of Advice written by Sir Francis* BACON *to the Duke of* BUCKINGHAM, *when he became Favourite to King James.*

† We are too apt to judge Archbishop Laud and his predecessors in the see of Canterbury, by the principles of toleration that were avowed and acted upon, by our ecclesiastical superiors, after the Revolution of 1688. But this is not a proper criterion by which to form a correct estimate of their views and conduct: For it was not the Episcopal party alone that attempted to effect *uniformity in the outward worship of God,* but the Presbyterians pressed the same object with greater pertinacity, and were the latest in abandoning it as a hopeless enterprize. The present Lord Chancellor (Eldon,) is reported, in the Journals, to have said in the course of a discussion in the House of Lords on Monday, March 24, 1823, "that there were some things which, as a lawyer, he thought the King *might lawfully do,* but which, as a statesman,

Chalmers's Life of the Archbishop, it is said, "Whatever were Laud's faults, it cannot be denied, that he was condemned to death by an ordinance of Parliament, in defiance of the Statute of Treasons, of the law of the land,* and by a stretch of prero-

he should advise his Majesty *not to do*. He used he word *lawful* as a lawyer, not as a statesman; and in that sense, he would say the Crown might do lawfully in the premises what it is not restrained from doing by Act of Parliament." It was Archbishop Laud's infelicity, not to observe this just distinction; yet his severity in this particular has been highly exaggerated. On comparing his deeds with those of others in authority, we shall find weighty reasons for giving credence to the declaration which he made on this subject in his speech at the bar of the House of Peers in March, 1643: "The counsellors which attended the Council-board can witness, some of them here present, that in all references to the board, or debates arising at it, I was for that part of the cause where I found law to be; and if the counsel desired to have the cause left to the law, well might I move in some cases charity or conscience to them: but I left them to the law, if thither they would go. And how such a carriage as this, through the whole course of my life in private and public, can stand with an intention to overthrow the laws, I cannot see. Nay, more, I have ever been of opinion, that laws bind the conscience, and have accordingly made conscience in observing of them; and this doctrine I have constantly preached, as occasion hath been offered me." See also his appeal in page 534.

* The trial and execution of this eminent prelate, in whatever light they be viewed, are disgraceful to the country, and never could have occurred except by a breach of the constitution, and in defiance of all law and justice. There is not another instance on record since the days of Cranmer, in which a reputed state-culprit was such a length of time under confinement without having his fate determined. He was taken into custody in Dec. 1640, and executed in June 1644. The fact is, his enemies found his case unmanageable according to any of the known principles of the British Constitution. Like his great predecessor on the scaffold, he was sacrificed to the malice of the triumphant Scots, and of their Presbyterian friends in England.

In the very eloquent speech which he delivered when the articles of impeachment were read, March 12th, 1643, the Archbishop said: "Let nothing be spoken but truth, and I do here challenge whatsoever is between heaven or hell, that can be said against me in point of my religion, in which I have ever hated dissimulation. And had I not hated it, perhaps I might have been better for worldly safety than now I am; but it can no way become a christian Bishop to halt with God.—If I had any purpose to blast the true Religion established in the Church of England and to introduce Popery, sure I took a wrong way to it; for, my Lords, I have staid more going to Rome, and reduced more that were already gone, than, I believe, any Bishop or divine in this kingdom hath done; and some of them, men of great abilities, and some persons of great place:" Having enumerated several of those converts from Popery, and, among the rest, the great CHILLINGWORTH, the Archbishop concluded his speech with these words: "Nor did ever any one of these I have named relapse again, but only the Countess of Buckingham, and Sir William Spencer; it being only in God's power, not mine, to preserve them from relapse. And now let any clergyman in England come forth, and give a better account of his zeal to the church." It would be accounted a most indecorous and unjust interruption, even in the practice of the Old Bailey, were one of the spectators to rise up in his place and impertinently answer such a challenge as this, made by a prisoner on trial for his life: Yet exactly such an interruption was given at Archbishop Laud's trial by the infamous Hugh Peters. The circumstance is thus narrated by BROOK, in his *Lives of the Puritans*, in the form of a quotation from Prynne's *Canterbury's Doom*: "The Archbishop, at the commencement of his trial, delivered a speech in his own defence, in the conclusion of which he challenged any clergyman to come forth, and give a better account of his zeal for the church, and his conversion of Papists to the Protestant religion; when Mr. Peters, standing near his lordship, asked him whether he was not ashamed of making so bold a challenge in so honourable an assembly? adding, that he himself,

gative greater than any one of the Sovereign whom that Parliament opposed. It can be no wonder, that his ruin should appear certain, considering his many and powerful enemies,—almost the whole body of the Puritans, many of the English nobility and others, and the bulk of the Scotch nation. The Puritans considered him as the sole author of the innovations, and of the persecutions against them: The nobility could not brook his warm and imperious manner, and his grasping at the office of Prime Minister," &c.* The truth respecting the last

the unworthiest of many hundred ministers in England, was ready to answer his challenge; and to produce a catalogue, not of twenty-two Papists, but of above one hundred and twenty, whom he, through the blessing of God, had converted and brought home to God, making them other kind of converts than any he had recited, who were made neither good Protestants nor good christians. He further added, that he, and many other ministers in England, were able to produce hundreds of true converts to Christ, for every one of his pretended ones; some of whom, by his own confession, soon turned apostates, and the rest were little better." From such a decided friend to liberty as Mr. Brook pretends to be, we might have expected some severe reprehension of the conduct of Peters: But the only remark which this false patriot ventures to make, is the following, "Whatever truth there might have been in this reply, it certainly discovered Mr. Peters's *too great forwardness*, while it very much offended the Archbishop." Had a Puritan prisoner been treated thus at the bar of the Old Bailey, Mr. Brook would have devoted two or three pages of his work to the purpose of exposing such a culpable and unconstitutional proceeding. But as in this case the prisoner was a reputed Arminian prelate, and though a flagrant injury was done to him while in the course of his just defence before the highest tribunal in the realm, Mr. Brook mildly blames his Puritanic hero, and politely styles his offence "too great forwardness." When modern Dissenting historians manifest this kind of cool apathy at the gross perversion of public justice, do not they give more than a tacit approval of the cruel deeds of their fathers?—This is a fair specimen of *the equity* displayed by the early Calvinistic accusers of Archbishop Laud, and of the partiality of some of their descendants. It would be a waste of time to advert to the precious conversions from Popery, effected by such a champion as Hugh Peters!

* In the same work is quoted Mr. Gilpin's comparison between Archbishop Laud, and his great predecessor Cranmer, which Mr. Chalmers justly thinks to be worthy of consideration: "Both were good men, both were equally zealous for religion, and both were engaged in the work of reformation. While Cranmer pursued his [plan] with that caution and temper which we have just been examining, Laud, in the violence of his integrity, (for he was certainly a well-meaning man,) making allowances neither for men nor opinions, was determined to carry all before him. The consequence was, that he did nothing which he attempted, while Cranmer did every thing. And it is probable, that if Henry had chosen such an instrument as Laud, he would have miscarried in his point; while Charles, with such a Primate as Cranmer, would either have been successful in his schemes, or at least have avoided the fatal consequences that ensued." These remarks are, on the whole, not very objectionable; yet, to those who are acquainted with the rest of the ministers with whom he acted, and with the actual state of the kingdom and of the Court when he came into power, many reasons will be suggested in proof, that the affairs of the nation could not then have been retrieved by ill-timed lenity and supineness, but required all the firmness and resolution of a Cato. See the Note in Page 671.

But Mr. Gilpin's comparison between Cranmer and Laud will not hold. For the former had a powerful monarch, and an obedient parliament, to support him in the arduous work of reform. The latter was supported indeed, but it was by a monarch, who, while surrounded with Popish counsellors, displayed the greatest hesitancy and irresolution, (page 318,) and who, through the resistance of his Parliaments, was not only deprived of

part of this account, is, that he possessed a large portion of the affectionate warmth and honest frankness which all men admire in the conduct of the Apostle Peter. His long residence at Court had made him acquainted with the iniquitous conduct of many persons in authority, whom his zeal for his royal master prompted him to bring to justice; and, in the performance of such useful services, he felt no scruples about over-stepping what might be deemed the strict duty of his own province. A rigid sense of justice and unbending integrity were the stern guides which he followed; and he thought it "savoured too much of worldly cunning"* to exhibit any dread of popular

their powerful co-operation, but subjected the Archbishop and his plans to be thwarted by their spleen and animosity. Laud proposed Archbishop Bancroft for his pattern, who had certainly effected greater wonders in the work of Uniformity than any of his predecessors; but it must always be recollected, that Bancroft succeeded Whitgift the strict disciplinarian, and that Laud was the successor of Abbot, who had relaxed the reins of discipline, and through his violent hatred of Arminianism had introduced principles of disorganization into the establishment. This mischief would soon have been remedied by the prompt measures of Laud, but the nation was not then in such a passive condition, as it had been in the days of Bancroft, to endure the caustic remedies which had formerly been applied to good purpose.

* Yet some instances are on record of the Archbishop having asked, on many occasions, what opinion the public formed of particular measures in which he was concerned; and one of the best answers to Bishop Burnet's charges against him, for "hotness and indiscretion" and "not acknowledging his errors," is contained in the following letter, which he sent to John Selden, Esq. within six months after the Convocation had passed the Canons, that were afterwards made the chief grounds of accusation against him:

"To my much honoured friend, Mr. John Selden, these: *Sal. in Christo.*

"Worthy Sir,—I understand that the business about the late Canons will be handled again in your house to-morrow. I shall never ask any unworthy thing of you; but give me leave to say as follows. If we have erred in any point of legality unknown unto us, we shall be heartily sorry for it, and hope that error shall not be made a crime. We hear that ship-money is laid aside as a thing that will die of itself; and I am glad it will have so quiet a death. May not these unfortunate canons be suffered to die as quietly without blemishing the Church, which hath so many enemies both at home and abroad: If this may be, I here promise you, I will presently humbly beseech his Majesty for a licence to review the canons and abrogate them; assuring myself that all my brethren will join with me to preserve the public peace, rather than that any act of ours shall be thought a public grievance. And upon my credit with you I had moved for this licence at the very first sitting of this Parliament, but that both myself and others did fear the House of Commons would take offence at it (as they did at the last) and said, we did it on purpose to prevent them. I understand you mean to speak of this business in the house to-morrow, and that hath made me write these lines to you, to let you know our meaning and desires. And I shall take it for a great kindness to me, and a great service to the Church, if by your means the house will be satisfied with this which is here offered of abrogating the canons. To God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest your loving poor friend,

"W. CANTERBURY.

"*Lambeth, November* 29, 1640.

"I mean to move the King this day for a licence, as is within-mentioned."

The following letter to Archbishop Usher exhibits marks of a great and liberal mind: It was written at the time when the Irish clergy were required to subscribe the Articles of the Church of England as well as those of Ireland,—a compromise which was effected through the management of Bishop Bramhall, when the Earl of Strafford was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

odium. Some of the King's ministers of State, who were deeper politicians than himself, but not more upright statesmen, took advantage of this trait in his character, and often placed him in the front ranks of the battle, when they wished to screen themselves from public observation.* It can, I think, be satisfactorily proved, that he entertained far more correct sentiments concerning civil liberty, than those which have generally been imputed to him; and I should wish to see an impartial comparison instituted between the severe punishment which he inflicted on Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, and that which Dr. John Owen,† the Independent Vice-chancellor of Oxford and the falsely-styled "father of English liberty," inflicted on two offending females among the Quakers. (See page 416.) The

See page 566. Though Archbishop Laud, and every true friend to the Church of Ireland, would have preferred the adoption of the English Articles, without their being incorporated into those of Ireland, yet, strong as his feelings were on that subject, he expressed himself in this mild and christian manner to the Lord Primate of Ireland:

"May 10th 1635. My very good Lord, I thank you heartily for your letters; and am as heartily glad, that your Parliament and Convocation are so happily ended, especially for the Church; and that, both for the particular of your letting leases which is for maintenance, and for the quiet and well-ordering and ending of your Book of Canons. I hope now the Church of Ireland will begin to flourish again, and that both with inward sufficiency and outward means to support it. And for your Canons, to speak truth and with wonted liberty and freedom, though I cannot but think the English Canons entire, (especially with some few amendments,) would have done better; yet since you and that church have thought otherwise, I do very easily submit to it, and you shall have my prayers that God would bless it. As for the particular about subscription, I think you have couched that well, since, as it seems, there was some necessity to carry that article closely: And God forbid you should, upon any occasion, have rolled back upon your former controversy about the articles. For if you should have risen from this Convocation in heat, God knows when or how that church would have cooled again, had the cause of difference been never so slight. By which means, the Romanist, which is too strong a party already, would both have strengthened and made a scorn of you. And therefore ye are much bound to God, that, in this nice and picked age, you have ended all things canonically and yet in peace. And, I hope, you will be all careful to continue and maintain that which God hath thus mercifully bestowed upon you.—Your Grace's very loving friend and brother. W. CANTERBURY."

* See a succeeding note from Lord CLARENDON'S *Life*.

† Many other republican personages, beside Owen, might be adduced as fit objects of comparison, over all of whom the Archbishop would gain a triumph. But when the conduct of the dominant ecclesiastics under the Commonwealth is compared with the very worst specimens of episcopal severity, (which, it must always be recollected, did not extend to half the dioceses in the kingdom,) the superiority of Episcopacy will be manifest. Much truth is contained in the subjoined quotation from Bishop Gauden: "The sharp severities and early rigours of both which parties [Presbyterians and Independents], and their consectaries, grew quickly both remarkable and intolerable to sober christians. For as they were bred and born, like Pallas, armed, full of anger, revenge and ambitious fierceness; so they have acted, even in their infancy and minority, far beyond what regular, sober, and true Episcopacy ever did in its greatest age and procerity here in England: Yea, its greatest passion and transports did not exceed the aims of these new masters, both ecclesiastical and civil, which was, either to rule all or to ruin all. Bishops commonly justified their real or seeming severities by those laws, either civil or ecclesiastical, which were in force against all such as did not conform to them. Hence were occasioned (much, I am con-

Archbishop deserves to be venerated by all good patriots for his spirited and successful attempt to destroy that pernicious system of selecting from the nobility and retaining at Court *a professed royal favourite*, through whom all honours descended to those that were so happy as to obtain in such a circuitous manner a reflection of his Majesty's bounty or patronage. This practice had been the bane of the realm during the reign of King James and the early years of that of Charles; to those therefore of the nobility who aspired to that eminence, after the death of the Duke of Buckingham, the endeavour to destroy its pestiferous influence could not be viewed with indifference. Other noblemen looked with jealousy upon the motions of the Archbishop, on account of the bold enquiries instituted by him into some of the alienated possessions of the Church, which, even after the despoliating days of King Henry the Eighth, had in various ways become the property of titled laymen, and which, from Laud's exemplary love for the Church, would undoubtedly have been reclaimed.—Those who have accurately examined the best chroniclers of that eventful era must know, that Archbishop Laud was made a political scape-goat; and, in the estimation of posterity, he has had to answer for crimes which he did not commit and for counsels which he never tendered. I refrain at present from any further delineation of his character ;* for it is my intention, in Appendix H, to compare

fident, to the grief and against the desire of the most grave and godly bishops,) sometimes those so oft declaimed-against and aggravated persecutions of some unconformable yet otherways godly ministers, by silencings, suspensions, deprivations, &c., which sometimes were but just and necessary exercises of discipline, (as I conceive,) if men will maintain any order and government in any Church or State. Sometimes, it may be, some Bishops pressed too much upon the strictness and rigour of law, aggravated by their private passions beyond what might with charity and moderation safely have been indulged to some able and peaceable ministers, though in some things dissenters, yet, as to the main, good and useful to the Church. Yet all these old almanacks, these stale and posthumous calculations of episcopal severities, did not, upon true account, (no not in one hundred years,) equal the number and measure of those pressures and miseries which have been acted or designed in one fifteen years by such as now profess Presbyterian and Independent principles, against ALL BISHOPS and ALL THOSE MINISTERS which are of the episcopal persuasion. I think it may, without any stroke of rhetoric or hyperbole, be said with sober truth, 'that the little finger of 'Presbytery and Independency, with the warts and wens of other factions 'growing upon them, hath been heavier upon the episcopal, which was the 'only legal clergy of England of late years, than the loins of any sober and 'godly bishops ever were for any one century, yea, and [hath been] equal to 'the burdens of the most passionate and immoderate bishops whatsoever in 'any age, who commonly were most imperious when the Church had most 'peace and civil prosperity.' But the Presbyterian thunder and Independent lightening urged most upon all bishops and all episcopal ministers, then when they were most scared, pillaged and harrassed by a civil war, when most tossed by those sad storms, and almost overwhelmed by the impressions of those sad dissensions."

* One of the finest delineations of Archbishop Laud's character, and certainly the most impartial in the English language, is that which was written by Bishop Gauden, who approved of the project of ecclesiastical pacification

some parts of his conduct with those of Archbishop Abbot, and to clear him from much of the undeserved obloquy under which he has laboured.

invented by Archbishop Usher, and recommended it for adoption, in one of his productions the year before the Restoration. The Primate of Ireland was his favourite, and he could not therefore be expected to indulge any improper bias towards Archbishop Laud. After vindicating some excellent Prelates, with whom he had been well acquainted, he proceeds in the following manner to clear others, "to whom he was most a stranger:"

"The first and greatest was [Dr. Laud] the last Archbishop of Canterbury, who was by many suspected and charged, not only as Popishly affected himself, but as a poisoner of the whole stream and current of the Reformed Religion in England; at last, he was treated either as a Heretic or a Traitor, or both, to Church and State.

"It becomes not me to sentence either the sentenced, or the sentencers that adjudged him to death,—his and their judgment is with the Lord; only as to the aspersion of *his being Popish in his judgment*, (which reflected, in the repute and event, upon all the Bishops of England,) truly his own book may best of any and sufficiently vindicate him to be a very great Anti-papist: GREAT, I say, because it seems, by that learned dispute, that he dissented from Popery, not upon popular surmises and easy prejudices, but very learned and solid grounds, which true reason and Religion make good, agreeable to the judgment of the Catholic Church in the purest and best times. And in this the Archbishop doth, to my judgment, so very impartially weigh the state and weight of all the considerable differences between the Papists and the English Protestants, (not such as are simple, futile and fanatic, but learned, serious and sober,) that he neither gratifies the Romanist, nor exasperates him, beyond what is just; neither warping to a novel and needless *super*-reformation which is a deformity on the right hand, nor to a *sub*-reformation which is a deformity on the left, but keeping that golden mean which was held by the Church of England and the greatest defenders of it.

"As to his secret design of *working up this Church by little and little to a Romish conformity and captivity*, I do not believe he had any such purpose or approved thought; because, besides his declared judgment and conscience, I find no secular policy or interest which he could thereby gain, either private or public, but rather lose much of the greatness and freedom which he and other Bishops with the whole church had: without which temptation, no man in charity may be suspected to act contrary to so clear convictions, so deliberate and declared determinations of his conscience and judgment in Religion, as the Archbishop expresses in that very excellent book.

"I am indeed prone to think, that possibly he wished there could have been any fair close or accommodation between all christian churches, the same which many grave and learned men have much desired: And, it may be, his Lordship thought himself no unfit instrument to make way for so great and good a work, considering the eminencies of parts, power, and favour which he had. Haply he judged, as many learned and moderate men have, that, in some things between Papists and Protestants, differences are made wider, and kept more open, raw and sore than need be, by the private pens and passions of some men, and the interests of some little parties, whose partial policies really neglect the public and true interest of the Catholic Church and Christian Religion, which consists much in peace as well as in purity, in charity as in verity. He found that where Papists were silenced and convinced in the more grand and pregnant disputes,—that they are *novel, partial, and unconform to the Catholic Church in ancient times;* as, 'in the cup withdrawing, in the peremptory defining of transubstantiation, 'in public Latin prayers such as common people understand not what is 'prayed or said, in praying to angels and saints, in worshipping reliques 'and images with divine worship, in challenging of a primacy of Divine power 'and jurisdiction to the Bishop of Rome over all, in their adding Apocryphal books to the proper and ancient Canon of the scripture, in their forbidding marriage to the clergy,' and the like—when in these points the

The reader will have perceived, in pages 517—543, the different form which Archbishop Laud's alleged innovations assume, when explained by such a competent interpreter as Mr.

Romanists were tired, discountenanced and convinced, then he found they recovered spirits, and contested afresh against the unreasonable transports, violences and immoderations of *some professing to be Protestants*, who, to avoid idolatry and superstition, run to sacriledge and rudeness in religion, denying many things that are just, honest, safe, true and reasonable, merely out of an excessive Antipathy to Papists. Hence some are run so far that they will have, as no material churches built or used or consecrated, so no Liturgy, never so sound, solemn, and easy to be understood; so, as no Bishops never so holy and orthodox, so no ministers rightly ordained by them, no orderly ceremonies or decent rites whatsoever used by the Papists, though they first had these from those Churches which were yet beautiful and pure in their primitive health and integrity.

"The truth is, it would make a wise man mad to fall under the sinister censures and oppressions of all vulgar opinions, who still urge in things indifferent that unsociableness which is between light and darkness, truth and error, reformation and superstition; never suspecting themselves for *superstitious*, in being so anti-ceremonious, anti-liturgical and anti-episcopal: nor are they jealous lest any thing, that hath the heat of their zeal, might want the light of true judgment, and be *like a tailor's goose or pressing iron*, hot and heavy enough, but neither bright nor light, neither seeing nor shining. Truly, I find the calmness and gravity of sober men's judgments is prone to improve much by age, experience, and reading of the ancients, hereby working out that juvenile leaven and lee, which is prone to puff up and work over younger spirits and less decocted tempers in their first fervours and agitations. Possibly the Archbishop and some other Bishops of his mind did rightly judge, that the giving an enemy fair play, by just, safe and honourable concessions, was not to yield the cause or conquest to him, but the more to convince him of his weakness; when no honest yieldings could help him any more, than they did indamage the true cause or courage of his antagonist.

"This charitable sense I suppose I may justly have of this very active and very unfortunate Prelate, as he stood at a great distance from me and eminence above me; against whom, I confess, I was prone in my greener years to receive many popular prejudices, upon the common report and interpretation of his public actions. In one of which I was never satisfied, as to the piety or policy of it;—that when his Lordship endeavoured to commend the Liturgy of England to the church of Scotland, (which was a worthy design, as to the uniformity of devotion,) yet he should affect some such alterations as he might be sure, like Coloquintida, would make all distasteful. Such was that in the prayer of consecration and distribution at the Lord's supper, which was after the old form of Sarum, and expunged by our reformers as too much favouring transubstantiation; besides some other changes in that and other things, of which possibly his Lordship could give a better reason than I can imagine or have yet heard.

"Toward his decline I had occasion to come a little nearer to his Lordship; where I well remember, that, a few days after his first confinement, when he seemed not at all to despair of his innocency or safety, having occasion to wait on him, and being not only a stranger wholly to him, but under some prejudice with him as to some relation I then had, yet he was pleased, after some accesses to him, to invite me to some freedom of speech, asking me (among other things) *what the sense of people generally was of him and his actions*. I freely told him, 'the vulgar jealousies and reports 'were, that his Lordship, by secret approaches, did seek to betray the Re-'formed Church of England to the Roman correspondency and communion; 'which was so tender and just an apprehension in all people, out of their 'zeal to their religion, that I humbly conceived it were great wisdom to 'avoid all suspicion of it. Nor did it seem an hard matter so to do, in ways, as much to God's glory and the church's honour, so less exposed to people's 'jealousy or obloquy; common people being easily won or lost by persons

Mede; and in a note, page 532, it is shewn, that this excellent man, as well as his patron, derived his attachment to the practice of many of those rites, from the venerable Bishop Andrews.

'of public place and eminent authority, whose actions as they could not be 'hid, so their wisdom or weakness would be exposed to every censurer, ac- 'cording to that party and side which he most adopted or opposed.'

"I added, 'that people were not taken generally so much with grand 'and severer virtues, as with things more plausibly and seasonably, yet 'piously and prudently, adapted to their capacity as well as their good; that 'as they were not to be unworthily humoured, so nor too roughly neglected 'or offended; that it was much easier not to raise than to allay the spirit of 'jealousy in the populacy; that it was no hard matter for a good and great man 'honestly to make himself gracious with the best and most people, by doing 'them as much good as they could expect, without any wresting of his or 'their consciences, without diminishing his lawful authority, or their inge- 'nuous liberties; that in some cases and postures of times, a wise man was 'not bound to do people more good than they would or could bear, nor was 'he to surfeit and tire them by over-driving them to better pasture; that it 'was possible to serve the times, and yet to serve the Lord, as the pilot that 'in a rough sea humors the winds and waves, yet saves himself, his ship and 'goods; lastly, that it was no hard matter for his Lordship, and other Bi- 'shops of great parts and preferments, to out-do in preaching, praying and 'well-doing all those that most maligned Episcopacy.'

"To this purpose I took the boldness sometimes to speak to his Lordship; which as he heard at first with something a severer brow, so he at length very gravely and calmly thus replied: Protesting with a serious attestation of *his integrity before God's omniscience*, that, 'however he might mistake 'in the mean and method, yet he never had other design than *the glory of 'God, the service of his majesty, and the good order, peace and decency of 'the Church of England:*' that he was so far from complying with Papists, in order to confirm them in their errors, that he rather chose such methods to advance the honour of the Reformed Religion in England, as he believed might soonest silence the cavils of fiercer Papists, induce the more moderate Recusants to come in to us, as having less visible occasion given them by need- less distances and disputes to separate from us; which he thought arose much from that popular variety, inconstancy, easiness, irreverence and uncomeliness, which might easily grow among us in the outward profession of religion, for want of exact observing such uniformity and decency in religion, as were required by the laws and canons of this church and state. He added, that he had (further) a desire as much as he could, to relieve the poor and depressed condition of many ministers, which he had to his grief observed in Wales and England, where their discouragements were very great, by rea- son of the tenuity and incompetency of their livings; that in his visitations he had sometimes seen it with grief, among twenty ministers, not one man had so much as a decent garment to put on, nor did he believe their other treatment of life was better; that he found the sordid and shameful aspect of religion and the clergy gave great advantages to those that were Popishly inclined, who would hardly ever think it best for them to join with that Church which did not maintain either its own honour or its clergy to some competency and comeliness.

"Much more discourse his Lordship was pleased to use at several times to this purpose, which commands my charity to clear him, as far as I can judge, of any tincture of Popery, truly so called, or of any superstition, which placeth a religion in the nature and use of that thing which God hath not either particularly commanded, or in general permitted. I suppose he thought, that where God hath allowed to his church and to every private christian, so far as may consist with the church's good order and peace, a liberty of ceremonious and circumstantial decency as to God's worship, there neither himself was to be blamed, nor did he blame other men, if they kept within those discreet and inoffensive bounds which either the church's pub- lic peace required, or its indulgence to private christians permitted. And thus I leave this Archbishop to stand or fall to his and our Great Master, who

The most obnoxious of the new ceremonies was that of *bowing towards the altar;* yet a celebrated Dissenter, Mr. Alsop, in the preface to his *Mischief of Impositions*, praises the moderation with which it was recommended in the Canons of 1640, "that "they which use this rite, despise not them who use it not; and "they who use it not, condemn not those that use it." These and other circumstances, to which allusion is made in some of the preceding notes, will, it is hoped, enable the reader to form a tolerably correct estimate of Archbishop Laud's character; and the respect and veneration, to which the memory of this great man is really entitled, will not be diminished by a perusal of the subjoined documents. In the correspondence between Grotius and his friends, frequent mention is made of the Archbishop's strenuous efforts to procure peace and concord in the Church Universal. But, before we advert to his plans for effecting that desirable purpose, it will be necessary to give some account of his care for the Church of England.

In July 1629, while he was only Bishop of London and obnoxious to the Puritans for his strictness in exacting conformity, he addressed the following interesting communication to his friend Gerard Vossius, Professor at Leyden, in answer to the letter in the note:* "The last particular which you state in

will judge our confidences and infirmities according to our sincerity. Doubtless this Prelate had more in him of charity, liberality, munificence and magnificence (as appears by the works he undertook to found, to build or to repair) than ever I saw in any of those who are the *having* and *getting* not the *giving* enemies to Episcopacy." I have omitted a part of the Archbishop's character, which will be quoted in a subsequent note.

* On the 20th of June, 1629, Vossius thus addressed Dr. Laud, who was then Bishop of London: "Within the last few days I have learnt, from those who seemed well acquainted with the affairs of Great Britain, 'that there is 'yet some reason to fear that, by the improvident zeal of certain individuals, 'a schism may probably arise in your celebrated country, on account of some 'dissension between very learned men in the controversy about Predestina-'tion and the dogmas connected with it.' My informants also said, 'that 'your piety and prudence have therefore been occupied during the last ses-'sion of Parliament in endeavouring, if possible, to avert by salutary and 'moderate counsels an evil so pestilent in its nature; but that this evil was of 'too obstinate a kind to be then dispelled.' This was perhaps the less practicable, because among those who employed the pretext of *religion*, as is too commonly the practice, there might be not a few who coveted after the enjoyment of another person's dignity, and patronized novelties.

"I am not accustomed to indulge my curiosity so far, as anxiously to inquire into the public affairs of your country; but, notwithstanding, I cannot affect to conceal the great uneasiness which I have felt concerning this matter. For it is my wish that the affairs of Great Britain should be most flourishing and prosperous,—not only because it seems to me as though by your favour I am now in some degree reckoned in the number of the inhabitants of your country,—but chiefly because the safety of the Reformed Church depends, under God, upon the kingdom of Great Britain and upon these [United] Provinces. It is therefore my constant prayer to God, that He would be pleased to bless his serene Majesty the King, and to grant a happy issue to your holy design, and to that of others who profess a similar purpose. That design is 'approved with both hands,' as the phrase is, by all those who are in these provinces lovers of peace and concord. Indeed, if we have regard to human power alone, those persons seem to undertake a difficult province who study to be mediators in religious differences: Nay, such persons much too frequently become a prey to the victor, as I have in some measure learnt by experience to

'your letter is, within a few days you have heard, from those 'persons who seemed well acquainted with British affairs, that 'the dissension which has arisen between some learned men in

my own injury. But, I still hope, God is not yet so offended with our sins, as to permit this sad evil of dissension to burst forth among you, and to effect the national ruin: Against such a catastrophe all men wish to provide, if we may believe what they say about themselves. But, how great soever may be the boasts of peace, which are made by each party, the pacific remedies which they prescribe are exceedingly different. For many of them know of no other method [of procuring peace,] than for themselves to gain the entire supremacy after they have cruelly treated those who hold different sentiments, and after they have oppressed them with fines and punishments. Others of them on the contrary, express a far greater moderation both of purpose and sentiment towards all those who retain *the foundation of religion*. Of the possibility of carrying this moderation into effect, those who hold the latter opinion do not despair,—provided adequate honour be conceded to venerable antiquity, and to those great men whom it has been the will of God to produce out of due time. For, whatever appearance there may be of some difference on certain points between [those who patronize] the ancients and the moderns, the business [of peace] may still be adjusted,—provided the latter refrain from the rash indulgence of their passion for innovation, and provided those who adhere to the former [to antiquity] lay aside their love for dominion over the consciences of others. But this proviso is not acknowledged by the men who prefer their own ambition to heavenly truth, and the gratification of their private hatred and malevolence to christian charity: To whatever party these men may belong, while they choose *to dispute with acuteness* rather than *to exemplify Christianity in their lives*, they do not take the city of Saguntum, [they do not succeed in their *professed* intentions,] but they conquer something that is greater and far more excellent than Saguntum itself,—that is, BROTHERLY LOVE. It is impossible for us to be christians, when this love is banished from the minds both of the learned and the populace; in such circumstances, the kingdom of Antichrist receives vast accessions. These considerations induce me the more earnestly again to pray, that God may hereafter strengthen your most reverend Lordship and my illustrious Mæcenas with the spirit of truth and constancy, and that, for the accomplishment of this purpose, he may be pleased to bestow upon you long life and a continuance of good health, and to impart to others such a portion of grace as may incline them to listen impartially to your excellent admonitions and counsels, and no longer to *seek their own things, but those which are Christ's.*"

This letter contains sentiments that are worthy of an Arminian; and in the text Bishop Laud answers it in a manner highly creditable to himself. Vossius refers to the distinguishing properties of the two contending parties in the church,—the attachment of the Arminians to the Ancient Fathers and to many of the primitive usages of the church,—and the increasing love of innovation which was manifested by the Calvinists. He also alludes to the liberality of the former "towards all those who retain the foundation of religion." If Bishop Laud had been the intolerant bigot that he is generally represented, many sentiments in this letter would have given offence, especially such as that which refers to the men who "loved dominion over the consciences of others. But Vossius knew his friend much better; he knew and approved of his endeavours to induce British christians "to exemplify Christianity in their lives, rather than to dispute with acuteness."

In 1627, he dedicated his work *on the Latin Historians* to the Duke of Buckingham, who was then Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, to which Vossius had formerly received an honourable invitation; and indeed he ingenuously confesses, in a letter dated June 1, 1625, that he had availed himself of this invitation, "to acquire some little profit to himself among the Dutch," by an increase of salary. After receiving a copy of the *Latin Historians* from the author, Bishop Laud acknowledged the favour, Sept. 25, 1627, and told him, "it was your *History of Pelagianism* which first attracted my affection for you, &c. I am now writing a letter to the Duke of Buckingham; and he will probably hear from me, before any other, what

'controversy respecting predestination and its annexed dogmas, 'is, by the imprudent zeal of certain individuals, nearly burst

a recompence is due to your exertions." At the end of March, 1628, Bishop Laud gave the subjoined description of an accident which had then recently befallen him: "About two months ago, as with unlucky feet I was hastening after the king's majesty, who was then proceeding to Hampton Court, and whom it was the duty of my office [as Dean of the Chapel] to attend, I alighted from my carriage and leaped over a brook not more than four feet wide; when my feet fell unequally on the opposite shore among gravel and slippery ground, and I broke the sinew, or tendon, of the right leg. From that time I have been lame; neither is it yet certain when I shall recover my former strength. If you enquire, *What is the meaning of all this?*, I relate it for the purpose of informing you, that you have a friend that is lame. But although, in consequence of my broken tendon, I cannot perform in your behalf what both you and I desire, yet as soon as my strength is recruited I will sedulously despatch the affairs entrusted to me. You may thus understand, at least, if I be able to accomplish any thing, that I am disabled only in one part,—not in my heart or affections."

While Bishop Laud was confined to his room by this accident, Dr. Heylin was first admitted into his presence; and the account which he gives of that interview is one among the many natural touches presented to us in his very able *Life of the Archbishop*, and it is creditable to the heart and the domestic habits of that excellent prelate. At the close of his account Dr. Heylin adds, "A passage, I confess, not pertinent to my present story, but such as I have a good precedent for from Philip De Comines, &c." I adopt the same apology for these extracts from the Bishop's correspondence; for I introduce them as elucidations of a succeeding letter to Archbishop Usher, which alludes to all these particulars. On the 5th of Aug. 1628, the Bishop again wrote to Vossius: "Send me, if you please, your son, one out of the many of your happy children; and command him always to be mindful of the honour of God and of his father. The Duke of Buckingham will provide for his admission into one of the colleges as a sizar, in which he may pursue his studies at the least possible expence to you. By your leave, I will likewise be a father to him, if God will prolong my declining years, and as long as your son walks in the footsteps of his father. Besides, the illustrious Duke has added another benefit, a Canonry at Windsor, that he may not seem to honour you in your son alone.—My misfortune was a grievous one, and still continues. I feel no pain in the part injured, but only a weakness, which will be my daily guest during the ensuing twelve months. If it be pleased then to take its departure, the restoration of my former agility will be as agreeable to me as a return from captivity: If it do not then retire, my wish will be to retain an upright mind in a lame body, and I will freely submit to necessity. One thing I greatly lament—I am so intangled with business on all sides, as to be almost an exile from my books, which alone, next to God, are the objects of my devotion. I wished to inform you of this fact, that you may hereafter be pleased not to number me even among students." In a postscript he adds: "My letter has been delayed, yet not to your disadvantage; and I am glad that I have become acquainted with the circumstance before I transmitted it: For the king has changed his purpose concerning a Canonry at Windsor, and has now begun to think about one at Canterbury, the value of which will exceed the former, by forty pounds a year at the lowest calculation," &c. The whole of this correspondence took place prior to the letter which is quoted at the commencement of this note, and it exhibits the character of Laud in a very amiable light. In the former part of that letter the Bishop again alludes to Vossius's son, who is here said to be received under the patronage of the Duke of Buckingham. After stating to the elder Vossius the preliminary measures adopted in his son's favour, Bishop Laud proceeds thus: "On this subject my letters have been entirely silent; for I wished to refrain from writing till I saw something actually performed. I now beg leave to inform you, that I have executed every thing which either

'forth among us into a schism:' You also allude to some affairs with which I and others were much occupied during the

the wishes of the Duke or my own held me bound to perform: For, according to the pleasure expressed in his majesty's letter, your son is now Fellow of Jesus College, and may the change prove auspicious and happy both to him and yourself! It is not improbable, that in this matter likewise your son has outrun me: What indeed is there to prevent your receiving from him a previous account of these things? For it would not seem wonderful, if *a youth* outran *an old man*, *a sound man* proceeded more swiftly than *one who is lame*, or if *a son* reached his father before *a stranger* could arrive! But though your son has now changed the place of his residence, I hope he will effect no change in his friends, in his disposition, or in his studies: This will easily be managed, first, by the grace of God, and then by your admonitions. The removal which he has made, will thus be the more felicitous; for it is from *St. Peter* to JESUS!" The wit in the last clause, which is a good specimen of the puns of that age, will be more readily understood when the reader is told, that young Vossius at his admission into the University of Cambridge was first entered of *Peterhouse*, and afterwards through royal favour elected Fellow of JESUS COLLEGE.

Vossius had long known Laud by letter, and by the frequent interchange of friendly sentiments, but at the close of 1629, he came into England, soon after the elevation of his friend to the Bishopric of London. Of this visit a very interesting account is given in TWELLS's *Life of Dr. Pocock*, which commences thus: "Gerard John Vossius, at this time a Professor at Leyden, being of great fame throughout the world for his extraordinary learning, had a particular respect paid him by some of the nobility, and many learned men of the English nation. He had published several excellent books, particularly his *Pelagian History*; wherein, as he had expressed more temper and moderation than some of his countrymen, so he manifested a just esteem for ecclesiastical antiquity, for which no church in the world had a truer regard than that of England." His visit to the University of Oxford is then described, "where he was received with all the marks of a very great esteem. He spent much of his time, during his stay, in viewing the manuscripts and other rarities of the public library. Amongst other things, he took particular notice of the Syriac manuscript of the Epistles, which gave occasion to Mr. John Rouse, the chief librarian, to acquaint him with Mr. Pocock's performance, [who had transcribed four of the Epistles in the Syriac character, added a Latin translation, &c.] Vossius, being extremely pleased with what he thus heard, desired to see both the author and the work; and, after much discourse with him, and a diligent examination of that, he made it his earnest request, that what so well deserved to see the light should no longer be kept in darkness." Vossius undertook the charge of having this oriental treasure printed at Leyden, which was soon afterwards done, and Mr. Pocock dedicated the work to Vossius. It was this dedication which ultimately attracted the notice of Bishop Laud to Mr. Pocock's great merits, though in the Prelate's first letter to him at Constantinople in Oct. 1631, no mention is made of the name of Vossius. That letter, Mr. Twells says, "plainly discovers, that they had then no acquaintance with each other; and that the Bishop, having no interest of his own in the chaplain at Aleppo, wrote to him in the strength of Mr. Bedwell's acquaintance." The subjoined extracts from the literary correspondence of Archbishop Usher, furnish some interesting particulars concerning the visit of Vossius.

In a letter from Sir H. Bourgchier to Archbishop Usher, dated Dec. 4, 1628, he says: "Here hath been a good while with us Ger. Jo. Vossius of Leyden, a man well known to your Grace by his books, and now to me *de facie*, and, which is more, with whom I have contracted familiarity and friendship. He told me, that your Grace was well known to him, both by your Latin book which he had diligently read, and by the report of divers learned men: And when he understood by me how much you esteemed and loved him, he desired me to return his humble thanks, with desire that you would command his service in whatsoever he is able to perform. His majesty has conferred upon him the Prebend in Canterbury which lately was Dr. Chapman's. He is now settling himself in it. He saith, he hath received a late

continuance of the last Parliament.—In truth, I purposely omitted all these particulars in my preceding letters; partly,

advertisement of the death of Bertius, who over-lived his own credit and reputation." And on the 21st of January 1629, the same gentleman wrote thus: "I wrote to your Grace in my former letter, of Mr. Vossius being here in England. Within these two days I heard from him, by Mr. Junius his brother-in-law, who went over with him: He liked his entertainment so well in England, that he hath now a good mind to settle himself here."

It appears, that Archbishop Usher wished to provide some good preferment for Vossius in Ireland, and for that purpose addressed a letter to Laud, who was then Bishop of London, and who wrote a reply on the 23 of Feb. 1629, of which the following is an extract: "It is true, my Lord, God hath restored me, even from death itself; for I think no man was farther gone, and scaped. And your Grace doth very christan-like put me in mind, that, God having renewed my lease, I should pay him an income of some service to his church; which I hope, in the strength of his grace, I shall *ever* be willing and *some time* able to perform.—As touching the Deanery of Armagh, I am glad to hear, that any place of preferment in that kingdom hath so good means of subsistence without tythes. But I must needs acquaint your Grace, that neither my Lord of Winchester that now is, nor Dr. Lindsell, did ever acquaint me with your Grace's purpose of drawing Johannes Gerardus Vossius into those parts: Had I known it in time, the business might have been easier than now it will be.—For, FIRST, Upon an attempt made by the Lord Brook to bring Vossius into England, to be a reader in Cambridge, the States [of Holland] allowed him better maintenance, and were unwilling to have him come: And himself was not very willing, in regard of his wife and many children, being loath to bring them from all their kindred and friends into a strange place. And if he were unwilling upon these grounds to come into England, I doubt whether he will venture to Ireland or not.—But, SECONDLY, my Lord, since this, my Lord Duke [of Buckingham] in his life-time procured him, of his majesty, the reversion of a Prebend in Canterbury, which is since fallen. And Vossius came over into England in the time of my infirmity, and was installed; and I was glad I had the happiness to see him. After he had seen both the Universities, he returned home again; and, within these two days, I received a letter from him of the safety of his return thither. The church of Canterbury, notwithstanding his absence, allow him a hundred pounds a year, as they formerly did to Mr. Casaubon. Now, I think, the Prebend of Canterbury, would he have been priest and resided upon it, would have been as much to him as the Deanery of Armagh. But, howsoever, the king, having given him that preferment already, will hardly be brought to give him another, especially considering what I could write unto you, were it fit. Nevertheless, out of my love to the work you mention, if you can prevail with Vossius to be willing, and that it may appear the Deanery of Armagh will be of sufficient means for him and his numerous family, if your Grace then certify me of it, I will venture to speak, and do such offices as shall be fit."

Thus, it seems, Archbishop Usher was as culpable as the Bishop of London in granting encouragement to professed Arminians. Indeed, the whole affair, if fully explained, would serve highly to enhance the Lord Primate's character: For it is known to all the learned, that he and Vossius differed on the subject of Godeschalchus and his opinions, and that the Archbishop published in 1632 a *History of Godeschalchus, and of the Predestinarian controversy excited by him*, which he addressed to Vossius, and in which he tried to correct some of the supposed mis-statements in the *Pelagian History*.—Bishop Laud's letter contains an allusion to one which he had received from Vossius, only two days before, relating "the safety of his return." In that letter Vossius says: "By the Divine favour, I found all things exactly in the same situation as they were when I departed. It is scarcely possible for me to recount the number of those who, during the few first days, waited upon me to welcome my return: Nearly the whole of their discourse was occupied about his most serene majesty King Charles, or his privy counsellors. Their judgments and conclusions were exceedingly dissimilar, according to the stronger attachment which each of them felt for Monarchy or Democracy, for the ancient or for the modern Church. Indeed,

because this affair, how lightly soever I might touch it, is a sore, which, since I could not heal it, I was unwilling to chafe

I by no means arrogate to myself any depth of intelligence respecting those matters which concern the public affairs of the kingdom: For I know well how far they transcend the capacity which I possess, whom God has placed in a station that is much inferior. Yet my sense of religion would not permit me to do otherwise than encounter their intemperance with expressions of modesty and friendship: I mean the intemperance of those persons who, in their own eyes, seem to touch heaven with a finger, if they be able in any possible way to injure the name and reputation of the individuals upon whose safety and continuance in office depends the welfare of Great Britain, and without whose ruin the present state of the kingdom and of the Church cannot be overturned. But though my discourse made no advantageous impression upon those who have no relish for any thing except what is popular and novel, yet the more prudent kind were glad to have their scruples and surmises removed, which had been injected into them by the calumnies of some men of a seditious spirit," &c. This letter, written thirteen years prior to the death of Bishop Laud, is in proof of the dreadful animosity of the Dutch Presbyterians against every thing which bore the name of *Episcopacy* or *Monarchy*. In the United Provinces, the political storm which overwhelmed England was, for many years, in a course of formation; and several of the Republican Sectaries, who lent their willing aid to effect that revolution, had been adventurous and voluntary exiles in Holland, but returned as soon as they were informed, that they might disseminate their seditious principles with impunity. On the 21st of July, 1630, Bishop Laud in his brief reply to some of the preceding remarks, says: "I am sufficiently aware of the kind of friends that will be found among you, by those who are in any way whatsoever favourers of the royal authority and of the ancient church. You have acquitted yourself to very good purpose, if you have removed the doubts and scruples of the more prudent party; and with regard to those who are lovers of sedition, I refer them to the populace, for whom let him care that has any desire. Your letter does not make mention of my name, but I understand the matter well enough, and can perceive in it much madness and extravagance.—I wish you to know, that though I am not engaged in allaying the tempests which in these days agitate the Church, yet by the favour of God, I will neither faulter towards the cause, nor fail in the performance of my duty. In the mean time it is apparent to every one, that while the Church is tossed about by waves, the kingdom is subject to imminent peril," &c.

The reader will perceive, that all these occurrences transpired some time before Vossius applied to Bishop Laud in favour of his friend Grotius; and perhaps some of the reasons advanced in page 634, why Grotius was not invited into England, will apply remotely to the case of Vossius, who, in a letter to his friend then residing in Paris, says, in reference to his British voyage: "I was received with such honour and favour,—by his most serene majesty the King, by the Archbishop, by Earls, Barons, Bishops, by the chief men in each of the Universities, and by others who are famous either for their dignities or by their learning,—as was not suitable to Vossius, but to one who was much his superior. And I was not suffered to depart until I had been exalted to the dignity of a Prebendary of Canterbury, on this sole condition—to enjoy the perquisites of the office in a foreign country. I do not know whether this affair has procured for me a greater portion of honour from some men, or of envy from others to whom the moderation of my mind is ungrateful. But I may adopt the phrase of the Theban bard [Pindar] and say, *It is a more easy matter to sustain envy, than to require pity.*"—To this part of his friend's communication Grotius replied, after polite congratulations: "Beside the advantages which accrue to you from this honour, it is one of great eminence, and, so far as I know, never yet bestowed on any foreigner, except yourself and Peter Du Moulin. It is the same thing as to have merited the freedom of the city of Corinth." In the succeeding troubles, the conduct of Du Moulin was detestable and ungrateful: See pages 282, 392: That of Vossius was timid and peaceable; he sighed in secret when he beheld the destruction of the fairest ecclesiastical fabric in the world, though, with the feelings of a man born under a Republic, he

and irritate;* and partly, because nothing was at any time more unpleasant to me than [*nidum proprium fœdare*] to circulate an unfavourable report concerning my own country. Another

did not approve of all the measures which were at first devised by the Court of king Charles for the suppression of seditions. But Grotius excelled both these men, in a noble disinterestedness and unsubdued courage.—Many reflections suggest themselves on a perusal of this correspondence, which the well-informed reader will easily discover and improve.

But I cannot close this long note without saying, that the family of Vossius, independently of his personal merits which were uncommonly great, had just claims on the gratitude of Great Britain and of Christendom itself. Francis Ion or Junius, who was father-in-law to Vossius, with the assistance of the celebrated Tremellius, gave the Protestants of Europe one of the earliest and best Latin versions of the Old Testament. Its excellence will soon be appreciated, if a comparison be instituted between it and our own admirable translation; indeed, the one seems to be almost a literal rendering of the other, as far as the genius of the two languages would admit of a close resemblance. His writings on other subjects, and especially on *religious toleration*, are entitled to the highest commendation. His moderate views on Predestination, had been extensively promulgated in the Low Countries, before the name of Arminius had attained any of its subsequent just celebrity; and the circulation of those views, beyond any other circumstance, prepared the way for scriptural Arminianism. The son, who is said in Sir H. Bourchier's letter to be "Vossius's brother-in-law," was likewise called Francis Junius: He came into England in 1620, and was, I believe, through the interest of Grotius, admitted into the family of the Earl of Arundel, whose name stands high in the annals of learning as one of the noble contributors to the scientific treasures of his native country. Under the roof of that munificent patron of learning Junius resided thirty years, and is well known, to all the lovers of our national literature, as the most profound Anglo-Saxon scholar in Europe. The matchless stores of his extensive erudition, which served to revive in England the needful study of the ancient northern tongues, enrich the University of Oxford, and have received from all competent British lexicographers their due meed of praise. His fame likewise is not inconsiderable on account of his admirable book *on the Paintings of the Ancients*, which was published at London both in Latin and English.—I regret to add, that Isaac Vossius, the son of Gerard John, though in many respects a great man, did not prove himself as worthy of the high patronage which he obtained, as did honest Meric Casaubon. See page 380.

The discrepancies in the dates of Laud's letters, and in those of Vossius, will be easily accounted for and rectified by those who know, that the computation of time according the Gregorian Calendar was used in the one country, while the other adhered to the Old Style of reckoning.

* The exertions of Bishop Laud during that session of Parliament, will be described in the subsequent notes. At the opening of the preceding short Session of 1627, he preached before the Parliament, as Dr. Heylin informs us: "To make himself more gracious in the eyes of the people, his majesty releaseth such gentlemen as had been formerly imprisoned about the Loan; which in effect was but the letting loose of so many hungry lions to pursue and worry him: For, being looked upon as confessors, if not martyrs, for the common-wealth, upon the merit of those sufferings they were generally preferred afore all others to serve in Parliament; and, being so preferred, they carried as generally with them a viudicative spirit, to revenge themselves for that restraint, by a restraining of the prerogative within narrower bounds. At the opening of this Parliament, March 17, the preaching of the sermon was committed to [Dr. Laud] the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who shewed much honest art in persuading them to *endeavour to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace*, (Ephes. iv, 3.) which he had taken for his text: In which, first laying before them the excellency and effects of unity, he told them, amongst other things, 'that it was a very charitable tie, but

reason was, because I wished to say nothing concerning the Parliament *except what was good,* and truth would not always

' better known than loved ; a thing so good, that it was never broken but by ' the worst men ; nay, so good it was, that the very worst men pretended ' best when they broke it ; and that it was so in the Church, never yet heretic ' renting her bowels, but he pretended that he raked them for truth ; that it ' was so also in the State, seldom any unquiet spirit dividing her union, but ' he pretends some great abuses which his integrity would remedy : *O that ' I were made a judge in the land, that every man which hath any contro- ' versy might come to me, that I might do him justice :'* And yet no worse ' a man than David was king when this cunning was used ! (1 Sam. 15.) ' That Unity both in church and common-wealth was so good, that none ' but the worst willingly broke it ; that even they were so far ashamed of ' the breach, that they must seem holier than the rest, that they may be ' thought to have had a just cause to break it.' And afterwards coming by degrees to an application, ' Good God !' saith he, ' what a preposterous ' thrift is this in men, to sew up every small rent in their own coat, and not ' care what rents they not only suffer but make in the coat of Christ ? What ' is it ? Is Christ only thought fit to wear a torn garment ? Or can we think ' that the Spirit of Unity, which is one with Christ, will not depart to seek ' warmer cloathing ? or if he be not gone already, why is there not Unity, ' which is wherever he is ? or if he be but yet gone from other parts of Chris- ' tendom, in any case (for the passion, and in the bowels of Jesus Christ, I ' beg it,) let us make stay of him here in our parts,' &c. Which sermon (being all of the same piece) so well pleased the hearers, that his majesty gave command to have it printed."

This excellent sermon gave much offence to several of the high spirits in the House of Commons, who presented their celebrated REMONSTRANCE to king Charles on the 17th of June, in which " Neile Bishop of Winchester, and Laud Bishop of Bath and Wells" are called " the principal patrons of the growing faction of the Arminians, who are Protestants in show, but Jesuits in opinion and practice." (See page 327) The Royal answer to that Remonstrance is generally ascribed to the pen of Laud, whose uncommon abilities, on the recommendation of the Duke of Buckingham, had then been brought into public notice, and they were ever afterwards devoted to the service of his sovereign. He was consecrated Bishop of St David's in 1621, and Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1626 ; and he had scarcely been a month installed in the Bishopric of London, when, on the 23rd of August, 1628, his patron the Duke of Buckingham was murdered at Portsmouth by Felton. Bishop Laud and the rest of his Majesty's counsellors were then left to prosecute two unpopular wars, (page 598) and to procure the necessary supplies from a refractory Parliament. To call an ecclesiastical personage, thus recently brought into employment, " a prime mover in all public matters," is an egregious misnomer ; yet the same tale is repeated, for purposes that are very obvious, by men whose historical information must have taught them many of the peculiar difficulties which Bishop Laud was compelled to encounter, during the succeeding five years of civil bickering and preparations for intestine warfare till, in 1633, he was nominated Archbishop of Canterbury. All the fury of the Puritans, which had been concentrating itself from the time of the Synod of Dort, was then turned against him; and the malice of that party ultimately vented itself in his murder, and in that of the Earl of Strafford, whose intimacy with Bishop Laud commenced at this particular juncture, and is thus described by Dr. Heylin : " Sir Richard Weston then Lord Treasurer, created afterwards Earl of Portland, having gained him to the king, not only procured him to be one of his majesty's Privy Council, but to be made *Lord President of the North*, and advanced unto the title of Viscount Wentworth : Being so gained unto the king, he became the most devout friend of the Church, the greatest zealot for advancing the Monarchical interest, and the ablest minister of State both for peace and war, that any of our former histories have afforded to us. He had not long frequented the Council-Table, when Laud and he, coming to a right understanding of one another, entered into a league of such inviolable friendship

allow me, if I spoke at all, to say any thing in commendation of that parliament.* But the principal cause of my silence was

that nothing but the inevitable stroke of death could part them; and, joining hearts and hands together, co-operated from thenceforth for advancing the honour of the Church, and his Majesty's service." On "this co-operation" of two celebrated men, and the similarity of their fate, the following lines from loyal old Cleaveland are very expressive:

"How could success such villanies applaud?
The STATE in Strafford fell, the CHURCH in Laud;
The twins of public rage, adjudg'd to die
For treasons they should act by prophecy!
The facts were done before the laws were made,
The trump turn'd up after the game was play'd!
Be dull, great spirits, and forbear to climb!
For worth is sin, and eminence a crime.
No church-man can be innocent and high,
'Tis height makes Grantham steeple stand awry."

The difficulties with which they and the other ministers of the Crown had to contend, were of no common magnitude: Comparatively little versed in affairs of State, it was their province not only to rectify the errors and imprudences of their predecessors, but to introduce a better state of things,—though the measures which they devised were not such as in every respect to command the admiration of an enlightened posterity. But their deeds, if judged with equity, must be subjected to another standard than our modern and more enlightened opinions. The year 1628, which may be reckoned the first of Laud's political life, was exceedingly disastrous; and, on the 25th of Oct. in that year, he gave to his friend Vossius the following relation of the troubles which he had been called to endure: "I return to that indescribable grief with which I am oppressed on account of the ever-to-be-lamented murder of the illustrious Duke, &c. Now listen to the marked occurrences of this—a year most inauspicious to me: At the commencement of it, as you already know, I broke the tendon of my leg, and still walk lamely. The sermon at the opening of the session of Parliament succeeded; the delivery of which the king imposed upon me while I was in a very infirm condition, and it was an office both of peril and difficulty in the existing posture of our affairs. Soon afterwards the Duke of Buckingham, who was extremely dear to me, by I know not what kind of fatality, was killed most unhappily and not without the aid of the devil: This unfortunate circumstance occurred at the close of a Session, in which neither he nor I found the most friendly treatment. I indulged in unfeigned and secret grief at this loss; and, after many sighs, I contracted a severe disorder, from which I have not yet fully recovered. Four of my servants have been attacked by various diseases, and another of them is dead of the pleurisy: And I do not know the evils which the succeeding portion of this calamitous year threatens to inflict. But it is God, whose servant I am! His presence with you and yours, by his special grace, is earnestly implored by

Yours most affectionately,
WILLIAM LONDON."

This letter elucidates some of the facts related in page 661; and it proves the high value which king Charles attached to the good Bishop's services even as an ecclesiastic, when he laid upon him, in that state of weakness, his royal commands to preach at the commencement of the Session. But the Bishop was a man whose spirit never knew what fear was, when his duty to his sovereign or to the church called him to the performance of services in which he might encounter either "peril or difficulty." This noble bravery of spirit was too frequently called into exercise by those who required its powerful assistance: And it was this circumstance, which, beyond all others, accelerated the Archbishop's downfal.

* In a subsequent note from BAKER's *Chronicle*, the conduct of that Parliament is faithfully pourtrayed. Archbishop Laud had advised his Majesty

this: Since every one knows that I am harassed and attacked on all sides, I was unwilling either to suffer in your esteem as

to cause the Articles of the Church of England to be reprinted, and such a Declaration placed before them as might preserve them from the Calvinistic miscoustructions which had then been given. Among other excellent directions, that Declaration contained the following: "That therefore in these both curious and unhappy differences which have, for many hundred years in different times and places, exercised the church of Christ, we will that all further curious search be laid aside, and *these disputes be shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth unto us in holy scripture;* and the general meaning of the articles of the church of England according to them. And that no man hereafter shall either print or preach to draw the article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof: And shall not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense." In page 432, I have shewn the effects of a similar regulation in Holland; and it is highly to the honour of Arminianism, that in both countries it required no other liberty than that of expounding the Gospel in its plain and literal signification, and of suffering the disputes concerning Predestination "to be shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth unto us in Holy Scriptures." And it is to the disgrace of Calvinism, that when the attempt was made to confine it to the words of scripture, it burst the boundaries prescribed; and, rather than interpret the will of God concern Predestination exactly as he had expressed it in his word, (which is only incidentally and very sparingly,) the Calvinists both in Holland and England conspired to overturn the constitution of each of these countries, but they committed far greater devastations here than in the United Provinces. Indeed Calvinism would die a natural death, were it not allowed to sustain itself with its congenial aliment,—human disquisitions on the *unrevealed will of Heaven*. Gomarus and other antagonists of Arminius admitted, that the doctrine of Predestination, as explained by them, was not to be found in the Gospel; and though we have the solemn asseverations of some modern Calvinists in opposition to this concession, yet they are not the asseverations of persons remarkable either for the accuracy or the extent of their information. To confine a Calvinist, therefore, to the brief notices which the New Testament contains respecting Election and Reprobation, was in reality to prevent him from being any longer a rigid Predestinarian: And I here repeat the question, What Calvinist in the world would endure this with patience?

In the *Life of Archbishop Laud*; Dr. Heylin thus describes the ferment of that party: "No sooner were the Articles published with this Declaration, but infinite were the clamours which were raised against it by those of the Calvinian party. Many exclaimed against it for *the depths of Satan;* some for *a Jesuitical plot to subvert the Gospel:* 'For what else could it aim at,' as they gave it out, 'but, under colour of *silencing the disputes on either side*, 'to give encouragement and opportunity to Arminians here to sow their tares, 'and propagate their erroneous doctrines? And what effects could it pro-'duce, but the suppressing of all orthodox books, the discouraging of all 'godly and painful ministers, thereby deterred from preaching *the most 'comfortable doctrines of man's election unto life?*; the Arminians in the 'mean time gathering strength, and going on securely to the end they aimed 'at.' And to give the better colour to these suspicions, a letter is dispersed abroad, pretended to be written to the Rector of the Jesuits in Brussels, the chief city of Brabant; in which the writers let him know, 'with what care 'and cunning they had planted here *that sovereign drug Arminianism*, 'which they hoped would purge the Protestants from their heresies, and that 'it did begin to flourish and bear fruit already; that for the better preventing 'of the Puritans, the Arminians had locked up the Duke's ears,' &c. with much of the like impudent stuff, which no sober man did otherwise look upon than as a piece of gullery. Upon which grounds a petition was designed for his sacred Majesty, by some of the Calvinian party in and about the city of London, 'For the revoking of the said Declaration, by which they were 'deterred, (as the matter was handled,) from preaching the saving doctrines 'of God's free grace in election and predestination: And this (say they) had 'brought them into a very great strait;—either of incurring God's heavy

a person that could not govern his anger,* or to prognosticate in your hearing doleful events to my country or to the church, which, in me, would have been an act of great impropriety;

'displeasure, if they did not faithfully discharge their embassage in declaring 'the whole counsel of God;—or the danger of being censured as violators of 'his Majesty's said act, if they preached those constant doctrines of our 'Church, and confuted the oppposite Pelagian and Arminian heresies both 'preached and printed boldly without fear of censure.' But this petition being stopped before it came to the King, they found more countenance from the Commons in the next Parliamentary meeting, than they were like to have found at the hands of his Majesty. For the Commons conceiving they had power to declare *religion* as well as *law*, (and they had much alike in both,) they voted this anti-declaration to be published in the name of that House: namely, 'We, the Commons now assembled in Parliament, do claim, profess, 'and avow for truth, the sense of the articles of religion which were estab- 'lished in Parliament the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, which by the 'public acts of the Church of England and the general and current exposi- 'tion of the writers of our Church have been delivered to us, and we reject 'the sense of the Jesuits, Arminians, and all others wherein they differ from 'us.' Which Declaration of the Commons, as it gave great animation to those of the Calvinian party, who entertained it with the like ardency of affection as those of Ephesus did the image of Diana which fell down from heaven, so gave it great matter of discourse to most knowing men. The points were intricate and weighty, such as in all ages of the Church had exercised the wits of the greatest scholars. Those which had taken on them to declare for TRUTH, that which they took to be the sense and meaning of the Articles in those intricate points, were, at the best, no other than a company of lay persons met together on another occasion; who, though they might probably be supposed for *the wisest men*, could not in reason be relied on as *the greatest clerks*. And therefore it must needs be looked on as a kind of prodigy, that men unqualified and no way authorised for any such purpose should take upon them to determine, in such weighty matters as were more proper for a National or Provincial Council. But being it proceeded from the House of Commons, whose power began to grow more formidable every day than other, nobody durst adventure a reply unto it; till Laud himself, by whose procurement his Majesty's declaration had been published, laying aside the dignity of his place and person, thought fit to make some *scholia* or short notes upon it."

* The "anger" of Archbishop Laud has been industriously represented, by his insincere friends and his bitter enemies, not only as "ungovernable" but furious. The appearance of this alleged infirmity is to be found in the blunt earnestness of his manner, which often proceeded from the racked state of his mind, on account of the multiplicity of state-affairs that demanded his attention, and allowed him little leisure for needful relaxation. A fine practical illustration of the Archbishop's harshness of manner, and his candid acknowledgment of "the imperfection he had by nature," will be found in *the Life of Edward Earl of* CLARENDON, from which I quote the following passage:—

"The person whose life this discourse is to recollect, (and who had so great an affection and reverence for the memory of Archbishop Laud, that he never spake of him without extraordinary esteem, and believed him to be *a man of the most exemplar virtue and piety of any of that age*,) was wont to say, 'the greatest want the Archbishop had was of a true friend, who 'would seasonably have told him of his infirmities, and what people spake 'of him;' and he said, 'he knew well that such a friend would have been 'very acceptable to him;' and upon that occasion he used to mention a story of himself, that when he was a young practiser of the law, being in some favour with him, he went to visit him, in the beginning of a Michaelmas term, shortly after his return from the country, where he had spent a month or two of the summer.—He found the Archbishop early walking in the garden, who received him, according to his custom, very graciously, and continuing his walk, asked him, 'What good news in the country?' to which

for in this I imitate Cicero of old, *who would much rather prophesy evil concerning any other country than his own!* Yet, because you particularly desire some information on this subject,

he answered, 'there was none good; the people were universally discontented; and (which troubled him most) that many people spoke extreme 'ill of his Grace, as the cause of all that was amiss.' He replied, 'that he 'was sorry for it; he knew he did not deserve it; and that he must not give 'over serving the King and the Church, to please the people, who otherwise 'would not speak well of him.' Mr. Hyde told him, 'he thought he need 'not lessen his zeal for either; and that it grieved him to find persons of the 'best condition, and who loved both King and Church, exceedingly indevoted to him; complaining of his manner of treating them, when they had 'occasion to resort to him, it may be, for his directions.' And then named him two persons of the most interest and credit in Wiltshire, who had that summer attended the Council-board, in some affairs which concerned the King and the county; that all the Lords present used them with great courtesy, knowing well their quality and reputation; but that he alone spake very sharply to them, and without any thing of grace, at which they were much troubled: And one of them, supposing that somebody had done him ill offices, went the next morning to Lambeth to present his service to him, and to discover, if he could, what misrepresentation had been made of him: That after he had attended very long, he was admitted to speak with his Grace, who, scarce hearing him, sharply answered him, that 'he had no leisure for compliments;' and so hurried away; which put the other gentleman much out of countenance: And that this kind of behaviour of his was the discourse of all companies of persons of quality; every man continuing any such story with another like it, very much to his disadvantage, and to the trouble of those who were very just to him.

"He heard the relation very patiently and attentively, and discoursed over every particular with all imaginable condescension; and said, with evident show of trouble, that 'he was very unfortunate to be so ill understood; that 'he meant very well; that he remembered the time when those two per'sons were with the Council; that upon any deliberations, when any thing 'was resolved or to be said to any body, the Council enjoined him to deliver 'their resolutions, which he did always according to the best of his under'standing; but by the imperfection he had by nature, which he said often 'troubled him, he might deliver it in such a tune, and with a sharpness of 'voice, that made men believe he was angry, when there was no such thing; 'that when those gentlemen were there, and he had delivered what he was 'to say, they made some stay, and spake with some of the Lords, which not 'being according to order, he thought he gave them some reprehension, they 'having at that time very much other business to do; that he did well 'remember, that one of them, who was a person of honour, came afterwards 'to him, at a time he was shut up about an affair of importance, which 'required his full thoughts; but that, as soon as he heard of the other's being 'without, he sent for him, himself going into the next room, and received 'him very kindly, as he thought; and, supposing that he came about busi'ness, asked him *what his business was*, and the other answering, that *he 'had no business*, but continuing his address with some ceremony, he had 'indeed said, that he had not time for compliments; but he did not think 'that he went out of the room in that manner: And concluded, that it was 'not possible for him in the many occupations he had, to spend any time in 'unnecessary compliments; and that if his integrity and uprightness, which 'never should be liable to reproach, could not be strong enough to preserve 'him, he must submit to God's pleasure.'

"He was well contented to hear Mr. Hyde reply very freely upon the subject, who said, 'he observed by what his Grace himself had related, that the 'gentlemen had too much reason for the report they made; and he did not 'wonder that they had been much troubled at his carriage towards them; 'that he did exceedingly wish, that he would more reserve his passion 'towards all persons, how faulty soever; and that he would treat persons of 'honour, and quality, and interest in their country, with more courtesy and 'condescension; especially when they came to visit him, and make offer of 'their service.' He said, smiling, 'that he could only undertake for his

accept of the following account which flows from a heart that has been too frequently wounded:

'HEART; that he had very good meaning: For his TONGUE, he could not 'undertake that *he would not sometimes speak more hastily and sharply than 'he should do*, (which oftentimes he was sorry and reprehended himself for,) 'and in a tune which which might be liable to misinterpretation, with them 'who were not very well acquainted with him, and so knew that it was an 'infirmity, which his nature and education had so rooted in him that it was 'in vain to contend with it.' For the state and distance he kept with men, he said, 'he thought it was not more than was suitable to the place and 'degree he held in the Church and State; or so much as others had assumed 'to themselves, who had sat in his place:' And thereupon he told him some behaviour and carriage of his predecessor Abbot, (who, he said, was not better born than himself,) towards the greatest nobility of the kingdom, which he thought was *very insolent and inexcusable*, and was indeed very ridiculous.

"After this free discourse, Mr. Hyde ever found himself more graciously received by him, and treated with more familiarity: Upon which he always concluded, that if the Archbishop had had any true friend, who would, in proper seasons, have dealt frankly with him in the most important matters, and wherein the errors were like to be most penal, he would not only have received it very well, but have profited himself by it. But it is the misfortune of most persons of that education, (how worthy soever,) that they have rarely FRIENDSHIPS with men above their own condition; and that their ascent being commonly sudden, from low to high, they have afterwards rather *dependants* than *frienos*; and are still deceived, by keeping somewhat in reserve to themselves, even from those with whom they seem most openly to communicate; and, which is worse, receive, for the most part, their informations and advertisements from clergymen, who understand the least, and take the worst measure of human affairs, of all mankind that can write and read."

This anecdote, related by the noble historian, who had an intimate acquaintance with the Archbishop, will outweigh the "thrice-refuted slanders" and endless hearsays of those who had no personal knowledge of his Grace, and never understood either his policy or his measures. The "condescension" of the Archbishop is the more remarkable, because Mr. Hyde was then but a barrister commencing practice, and his principal connections were of the liberal party in both Houses of Parliament. But I cannot permit his concluding sentence to pass without animadversion: It is true, indeed, that the province of the clergy lies properly in affairs ecclesiastical; but no wise man can with justice assert, that "they understand the least of all mankind that can write and read," &c. In opposition to this, consult the quotation from Bishop Atterbury, page 646.

When the Bishops, Deans and Archdeacons in their seniority, and the rest of the Clergy promiscuously, were called up to the House of Bishops, on the 29th of May 1640, to subscribe the Canons passed in Convocation, "recusant there was none," says Dr. Heylin, "but [Dr. Goodman] then Bishop of Gloucester, suspected of some inclinations to the Romish religion in the times preceding; which inclinations he declared more manifestly by this refusal, for which there would be no imaginable reason to prevail upon him but the severity of the Canon *for suppressing the growth of Popery*. Some pains was taken with him in the way of persuasion, and some commands laid on him by his Metropolitan as President of the Convocation: But neither of the two endeavours could remove him from his former obstinacy," &c. At that juncture when Archbishop Laud would have excommunicated Bishop Goodman, upon a third admonition pronounced by him three quarters of an hour in these words, *My Lord of Gloucester, I admonish you to subscribe*, &c., Bishop Davenant told his Grace publicly in the Convocation, "he doubted whether that procedure was agreeable to the laws of "the Church in general, or of this land in particular," upon which the Archbishop thanked the Bishop of Salisbury for his information, and desisted.—In this transaction, his Grace exhibited none of that anger with which he has often been charged. Both Houses of Convocation unanimously

" I have always used every endeavour to prevent those dangerous and perplexing questions [about Predestination] from becoming public topics of discourse before the people, lest,

condemned Bishop Goodman to a suspension *a beneficio et officio* : "A sentence," says Dr. Heylin, "which might have produced more dangerous effects on this obstinate Prelate, if he had not prevented it in time by his submission. For the sentence being reduced into writing, subscribed by the Archbishop's hand, and publicly pronounced in the Convocation, his majesty took such just offence at so great a scandal, that he committed him to prison, where he staid not long; for, on the tenth of July, he made acknowledgment of his fault before the Lords of the council, and took the oath injoined in the sixth Canon, *for preserving the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, against all Popish doctrines which were thereunto repugnant.* Upon the doing whereof, his majesty was graciously pleased to restore him to his former liberty; though his submission appeared, within few years after, to be made either with some mental reservation or Jesuitical equivocation, with which he came prepared. For in the time of his last sickness, he declared himself to be a member of the church of Rome, and caused it so to be expressed in his last Will and Testament, that the news thereof might spread the further, and his apostacy stand upon record to all future ages. A scandal so unseasonably given as if the devil himself had watched an opportunity to despite this church !"

The Archbishop has not only been depicted as a *passionate* but as a *cruel* man: Of the truth of this accusation the reader may judge, by the subjoined extracts from the *Life of Dr. Pocock.* After relating many interesting particulars concerning the murder of Cyril Lucari, Patriarch of Constantinople, in which the Jesuits had a more prominent share than in that of Archbishop Laud, Mr. Twells says: " I shall conclude the account of Cyril with observing, that Archbishop Laud was deeply concerned at the misfortunes of the old Patriarch. In his answer to Mr. Pocock, on that head, he writes thus: 'For his successor, I hear no good yet; what it will 'please God to work by him, I know not. It may be, he hath shewed the 'Turk a way, in the death of Cyril, how to deal with himself.' In this, the Archbishop conjectured happily enough. For in less than a year's time, the new Patriarch, whose wicked intrigues hastened the death of his predecessor, was charged by the Greeks with extortion, and other wrongs done to their church and its privileges; and, upon a hearing before the Basha, he was convicted and imprisoned, and the Greeks had leave to choose a new Patriarch; upon which they elected Parthenius, Archbishop of Adrianople." In a subsequent passage, after quoting some of the Archbishop's instructions to Dr. Pocock, Mr. Twells says: " In answer to this, Mr. Pocock writes, Aug. 18, 1638, giving an account of the Patriarch Cyril's unfortunate end, which prevented his applying to him for the Hypotyposes of Clemens. He gives also the Archbishop an account of the Greek books at Mount Athos; wherein the Patriarch of Alexandria seems to have promised his assistance, if not also to accompany Mr. Pocock thither. But he was hindered from doing either, and moreover in danger for not consenting to anathematize good old Cyril: *Which*, to use Archbishop Laud's own expression, in his next letter to Mr. Pocock, *is such a piece of charity, as barbarity itself is scarce acquainted with.* It appears, from the course of the correspondence, that the Patriarch of Alexandria, in the end, lost his life, and, as was supposed, through the contrivance of the new Patriarch of Constantinople, who had served his own predecessor so before. The death of two great and good Patriarchs, contrived to gratify his own ambition and malice, was a heavy charge upon the new Patriarch: And, as men are apt to form severe judgments against the authors of mischief to those in their own circumstances, it might have been expected, that Archbishop Laud would not have discovered the least approbation of that mercy which spared the life of the new Patriarch, after his fall, and condemned him to imprisonment,—rather to prevent his death from the fury of the multitude, than as a punishment. But to shew how little the Archbishop favoured *sanguinary methods*, though still calumniated on this score by his enemies, hear his christian and temperate expression: 'I heard,' says he, (in a letter to Mr. Pocock, dated, April 8, 1640,) 'before your letters came to me, that the Patriarch, who succeeded

under the speciousness of [defending] the truth, we should be doing an injury to godliness and charity. My counsels have ever been those of moderation, with the intention that men of warm dispositions, whose chief care does not extend itself to the interests of religion, might not throw all things into confusion.* This course of proceeding has probably given some umbrage: But I recollect with what seriousness our Saviour has recommended CHARITY to his followers, and with what caution and patience the apostle wishes us to treat *the weak*. If I perish by arts like these, being made a prey to those disputants who may gain the victory, (the usual fate of such as adopt moderate counsels,) my reward will be with me, and,

' Cyril, was like to suffer. And certainly he deserved it, and that in a severer ' manner, than is fallen upon him. Yet I cannot but say, *there is charity*, ' *and perhaps wisdom, in preventing the execution that might otherwise have* ' *fallen upon him.*' "

* Whatever may be said to the contrary, Bishop Laud's "counsels had then always been those of moderation;" and it was only at the time when "men of warm dispositions attempted to throw all things into confusion," that he adopted measures of severity. As the storm rose, he raised himself, and strove hard to resist its impetuosity, but it was only by such means as his ecclesiastical predecessors had adopted. His conversations with Twisse, Hales, Chillingworth and Selden, as alluded to in various parts of this volume, are highly to the honour of the Archbishop, and prove that he exercised "the caution and patience with which the apostle exhorts us to treat the weak."

The following remarks from Lloyd's *Worthies* are exceedingly appropriate, and deserve a place in this brief elucidation of the Archbishop's character: "Archbishop Abbot's *Yield, and they will be pleased at last*, was a great miscarriage; Archbishop Laud's *Resolve, for there is no end of yielding*, was great policy. His great reach in government, suitable to that king's apprehensions, commended him to king James; his vast ability and integrity, to king Charles and the Duke of Buckingham; to the first whereof he was Privy-Councillor, to the other a bosom friend; before both whom he laid the best representation and ideas of the English government, as to things and persons, in several abstracts, of any man under heaven. I have heard a states-man say, ' That none knew joints, turning, flexures, interests of ' all parties in church or state, that were either to be encouraged or suppres- ' sed, with the seasons and opportunities to do it, so well as Doctor Laud.' The Feoffees for impropriations he laid aside, the Sabbatizing and Predestinarian controversies he silenced, the licentious press he reduced, dignities and preferments he worthily filled up, bribes at Court he retrenched, no interest, no alliance could ever advance an unworthy person while lived: ' Breed up your children well, and I will provide for them,' was his saying to all his relations. Many a man would be disobliged by his sternness at first view, for whom, if deserving, he would afterwards contrive kindnesses by after and unexpected favours. No place of experience did he ever miss, none of employment did he ever decline. He would never see authority baffled, but ever wave all proceedings against all offenders, or go through with them. His prosecutions, as in Leighton's case, were close; his observation of all circumstances, as in Lincoln's, wary; his declaration of the cases clear and convincing, as in Prynne's, Bastwick's, and Burton's; his sentence mild and compassionate, as in Waller's; his resolution and justice ever making way to his mercy, and his mercy crowning his justice. Often did he confer with the ablest and most orthodox clergy, with the most experienced and most observing and reserved courtiers, with the profoundest lawyers, with the skilfullest and discreetest mechanics; out of all whose opinions, the result was his most exact judgment in any case that came before him at Court or at Lambeth."

except in God, I will seek for no consolation beyond myself.* In the mean time, those things concerning which I indulge some hopes are very few, and those about which I entertain fears are numerous. There is nothing of which the Reformed Church ought to have a greater dread, or about which she

* "It is no marvel," that a man, who had such a presentiment as this, should refrain from marriage, according to the apostolical direction under nearly similar circumstances: "I suppose therefore that *this is good for the present distress*, it is good for a man so to be. Art thou bound unto a wife? seek not to be loosed. Art thou loosed from a wife? seek not a wife. Brethren, the time is short: It remaineth, that they that have wives be as though they had none," &c. (1 Cor. vii; 26.)—In the following very eloquent extract from his speech at the bar of the House of Lords, when the articles of impeachment were first read, the Archbishop alludes to this peculiarity in his condition: "I am fallen into a great deal of obloquy in matter of religion, and that so far (as appears by the articles against me) that I have 'endeavoured to advance and bring in Popery.' Perhaps, my Lords, I am not ignorant what party of men have raised these scandals upon me, not for what end, nor perhaps by whom set on. But, howsoever, I would fain have a good reason given me, if my conscience stood that way, (and that with my conscience I could subscribe to the church of Rome,) *what should have kept me here before my imprisonment to endure the libelling and the slander, and the base usage that hath been put upon me:—and these to end in this Question for my life?* I say, I would know a good reason for this. Is it because of any pledges I have in this world, to sway me against my conscience? No, sure; for I had neither wife nor children to cry out upon me to stay with them: And if I had, I hope the calling of my conscience should be heard above them. Is it because I was loath to lose the honour and profit of the place I was risen to? Surely no; for I desire your Lordships and all the world should know, I do much scorn the one and the other, in comparison of my conscience. Besides, it cannot be imagined by any man, but that if I should have gone over to them, I should not have wanted both honour and profit: And, suppose not so great as this I have here, yet sure would my conscience have served myself of either [honour or profit], LESS *with* my conscience would have prevailed with me, more than GREATER *against* my conscience. Is it because I lived here at ease, and was loath to venture the loss of that? not so, neither; for, whatsoever the world may be pleased to think of me, I have led a very painful life, and such as I would have been content to change had I well known how. And would my conscience have served me that way, I am sure I might have lived at far more ease, and either have avoided the barbarous libelling, and other bitter grievous scorns which have been put upon me; or, at least, been out of the hearing of them."

It is one of the many anomalies in HUMAN REASONING, (1.) that Archbishop Laud refers to *the absence of a wife and children*, as a fact in favour of his not veering towards Popery; for his argument is, "I have neither wife nor children, who are Popishly affected, and who might cry out upon me to stay with them:" (2.) And that Bishop Atterbury refers (page 645) to *the possession of a wife and children*, as a remedy to "several temptations under which the Popish clergy lay towards embracing an interest distinct from that of their country;" and his argument is, "because, in the public safety and tranquility, that also of their wives and children, that is, of their nearest and dearest relations, is involved."—It is also among the consequent numerous anomalies in *human practice*, that Atterbury, who had been "the husband of one wife" and had a family, was accused of maintaining a correspondence with Papists and attempting to introduce a Popish monarch; and that Laud, who was an unmarried Bishop, was charged with "endeavouring to introduce Popery and to reconcile the Church of England to the Church of Rome." I leave the reader who has read the evidence produced against these two eminent Prelates, to decide to which of them the accusation most justly applies.

ought to be more cautious, than this,—now when she is attacked on every side among other nations,—not *to wound herself by her own hands, in our country and in yours*, (which are the only places in which she enjoys much safety,) till, by a more dreadful rent, she divide herself first into parties, and afterwards by degrees into fragments of parties, and thus at length entirely disappear and vanish into nothing.—There is likewise another disaster which I seem to foresee;* but it is better to pray that it may never take place, than to foretel its occurrence; yet even on this condition [of its not occurring] I am unwilling to become a prophet.—I wish to say no more on this subject, lest, while engaged in tracing these deplorable times, I be tempted to give utterance to such things as I particularly desire no one to know. Of one thing respecting me I wish you to be well assured, that is, by Divine assistance it shall be my endeavour to make peace and truth kiss each other: If, on account of our sins, God will not permit such a happy issue to my endeavours, I will indulge in the hopes of very speedily attaining to the blessed state of eternal peace, and leave those men who withhold from God the kiss [of peace] either to be converted by him in his own good time, (a consummation which I heartily desire!) or to suffer under his chastisements."†

Bishop Laud's "endeavours to make peace and truth kiss each other" relate to his attempts to suppress the unedifying Predestinarian controversy, which he kept down with a strong hand and in a most impartial manner, as long as the Parliament did not interfere. But the House of Commons seized on the new ceremonies, and on the attempt to extinguish all nice speculations about the unrevealed will of heaven, and compounded them with other grievances, for the politic purpose of obtaining a victory over the King's prerogative.‡ Arminianism and Popery

* This is a remarkable sentence; and, from other intimations, by the Archbishop, that I have had an opportunity of perusing, I am inclined to believe, even at that distance of time, he foresaw the destruction of the Constitution, which was then openly and violently attacked by the Calvinistic malcontents. It is also not improbable, that his seat at his Majesty's Council-board afforded him the means of ascertaining some of the nefarious schemes of the Popish party in the Court; which it required the exertion of all his prudence and address to counteract and prevent. To the mind of a man that was harrassed by the daring and unprincipled attempts of the Papists on one side and of the Puritans on another, the deplorable aspect of the times must have been very distressing; and the prognostications which he had formed were too soon and awfully realized.

† This conclusion is in every respect worthy of a christian Bishop, and I will not detain the reader by pointing out to him the remarkable manner in which this alternative occurred.

‡ "The time now drawing near for the meeting of the Parliament, the King for many weighty reasons, put off their assembling to the 20th of January, [1623,] and in the mean time Archbishop Abbot was admitted to kiss his hands, and commanded not to fail of his attendance at the Council table; which was done at this conjuncture to moderate the heats of certain ecclesiastics, who made great disturbance in the Church by some scholastical controversies, in the points of predestination, grace, and perseverance. Both

were then artfully combined together, to render the Archbishop odious; and when the House of Commons had published their invectives against Arminianism, the charge was repeated by the Puritans, who, having for a few years been prevented from uttering their speculative opinions, received encouragement from Parliament to vent with ten-fold rage* their antipathy to the

parties were abetted by several bishops, and each of them would pretend the opinions they held to be *the doctrine of the Church*, when, in truth, they were but *the opinions of private men*: For nothing can be called the doctrine of the Church, that is not so declared by the whole clergy, lawfully assembled in convocation. These were distinguished by the names of CALVINISTS and ARMINIANS: The first countenanced by the Commons in Parliament and some few of the Bishops; the latter justified by most of the Bishops and not discountenanced by the King. The first of these were likewise somewhat remiss in exacting a rigid conformity to the ceremonies; the latter perhaps more earnest than was needful therein at this time, but withal they were great assertors of the prerogative royal. The King was very intent for the peace of the whole, and caused the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church to be published, with a declaration to restrain all disputes in the points controverted; and now also a book, writ by one Mountague in King James his time, of these controversies, called *Appello Cæsarem*, was called in, and Dr. Potter, a Calvinist, is made Bishop of Carlisle. But these acts did not mollify the minds of those for whom they were intended; for, a while after, namely on the 20th of January, the Parliament assembled, and the grand Committees, which are usually the first things settled at the opening of that Assembly, were very busy and active. That of religion made great complaints of the invasions upon religion, which they pretended was much endangered by the increase of Popery and Arminianism, and many instances were made to heighten the apprehensions of the people therein, whilst the House was not less active in their inquisitions into the miscarriages in civil affairs." BAKER'S *Chronicle*.

Dr. Heylin's reflections on these devices of the Court, deserve to be quoted: "It never falleth out well with christian princes when they make religion bend to policy, or think to gain their ends on men by doing such things as they are not plainly guided to by the light of conscience: And so it happened to his majesty at this present time; those two last actions being looked on only as tricks of king-craft, done out of a design for getting him more love in the hearts of his people than before he had. Against the calling in of Mountague's book, it was objected commonly to his disadvantage, 'That it 'was not done till three years after it came out, till it had been questioned in 'three several Parliaments, till all the copies of it were dispersed and sold; 'and then too, that it was called in without any censure either of the author 'or his doctrines; that the author had been punished with a very good 'Bishopric, and the book seemingly discountenanced to no other end but to 'divert those of contrary persuasion from writing or acting any thing against 'it in the following Parliament.'—And as for Potter, 'What could he have 'done less in common gratitude, than to prefer him to a Bishopric, for so 'many years' service as Potter in his time had done him both as Prince and 'King?' So true is that of the wise Historian, *When Princes once are in discredit with their subjects, as well their good actions as their bad are all accounted grievances.*"

* I have frequently alluded to the unexampled rage manifested, by the Calvinists of that period, against Arminianism, and especially against the chief patron of what was generally accounted *English Arminianism*; and that rage is well described by Mr. Twells, page 632, where he says, "several of those who had been justly punished in the courts wherein the Archbishop was concerned, for seditious and immoral practices, were let loose against him to worry him even to death." Grotius utters frequent lamentations to his various correspondents respecting the ignorance and maliciousness of those who were then "let loose against Laud," as his public prosecutors;

doctrines of General Redemption, and to stigmatize them as Popery. Under such circumstances, it is not wonderful that

and no learned man, that has even cursorily perused Pynne's numerous productions on that memorable occasion, can remain in doubt respecting the incompetency of that individual to form a right conception, much less to give a correct representation, either of the sentiments or the practices of the Archbishop and his connections. No wonder therefore, can be excited at the incongruous mass of conflicting statements and absurd deductions of this pettifogging Calvinist; for, how despicably soever his task was executed, it was well received by the party, because the author "spake evil of dignities," &c. In May 1644, Grotius wrote the subjoined passage to his brother, "I seriously lament the crimes of which the Archbishop of Canterbury is accused,—that, in the books which have been dedicated to him, he has permitted himself to be addressed by the title of *Angel*, *Pontiff*, and *Holiness:* all of which, in the books of the ancients, are bestowed on every Bishop, by Presbyters, Bishops, Councils, and Emperors. You perceive what an injury it is, to fall into the hands of judges that are both exasperated and ignorant!" And, a month afterwards, he added: "You form a correct judgment concerning the Archbishop of Canterbury,—*that he has fallen among bad men and into bad times!* It is a great proof of his innocency, that so many of his most exasperated persecutors and declaimers convert such things into crimes against him."

But the most ludicrous part of the charges, preferred by the ignorant Prynne and his malevolent co-adjutors, relate to the persons who received promotion through the Archbishop's interest. The learned Dr. William Chappel may be quoted as an instance: Traces of his instructive correspondence may be found in the works of the most famous men of that age. He had been some time Fellow of Christ College, Cambridge, when, upon Archbishop Usher's importunate recommendation, he was appointed by his Majesty Provost of Trinity College, Dublin; and afterwards Bishop of Cork, through the interest of the Lord Deputy. One of our old writers gives the following brief description of the latter days of this exemplary Bishop: "Harrassed between the Rebellion in Ireland, and in England,—where it was imputed to Archbishop Laud as a crime *that he preferred Bishop Chappel*, and to him *that he was preferred by him*,—being thought a Puritan before his preferment, and a Papist afterwards, though he was the same godly and orthodox man always,—he died in 1649, dividing his estate equally (1.) betweeu *his relations*, to whom he was obliged in nature, and (2.) *distressed ministers*, for whom he had compassion as a fellow-sufferer," &c.

When Arminianism in England no longer received the fostering aid which its plain and scriptural principles had justly demanded, from a church that was famous throughout Christendom for its aversion to opinions that were merely speculative and that conduced little to practice, it was still stigmatized as POPERY, though then divested of all the pretended badges of Popery with which it had been arrayed in the days of Archbishop Laud. The POPERY therefore of Arminianism, while the Church of England lay in ruins, must have been of an entirely different species from that which it exhibited when this Church was in its prosperity: On this subject Bishop Sanderson very pertinently observes, in the celebrated PREFACE to his *Sermons* in 1657: "In the mean time, it is to me a wonder, that, if reason would not heretofore, yet the sad experience of the ill consequents so visible of late time, should not have taught them [the Puritans] all this while to consider what infinite advantage they give to the Romish party to work upon weak and wavering souls, by damning so many things under the name of POPERY, which may to their understandings be sufficiently evidenced; some, to have been used by the ancient Christians long before Popery was hatched, or but in the egg; and all to have nothing of superstition or Popery in them, unless every thing that is used in the Church of Rome become thereby Popish and superstitious: nor what great advantage they give to our newer sectaries, to extend the name yet farther, who, by the help of their *new lights*, can discern Popery, not only in the ceremonies formerly under debate, but even in the churches and pulpits wherein they used to preach against Popery, and

the Archbishop and all persons in ecclesiastical and civil authority should adhere to the cause of the monarchy, and should

the bells wherewith they used to call the people together to hear them. These are by some of them cried down as Popish, with other things very many, which their Presbyterian brethren do yet both allow and practise; though how long they will do so is uncertain, if they go on with the work of Reformation they have begun with as quick dispatch and at the rate they have done these last two seven years. The having of God-fathers at baptism, churching of women, prayers at the burial of the dead, children asking their parents' blessing, &c. which whilom were held innocent, are now by very many thrown aside as *rags of Popery!* Nay, are not some gone so far already as to cast into the same heap, not only the ancient hymn *Gloria Patri*, (for the repeating whereof alone, some have been deprived of all their livelihoods,) and the Apostles' Creed, but even the use of the Lord's Prayer itself? And what will ye do in the end thereof? And what would you have us do in the mean time, when you call hard upon us to leave OUR POPERY, and yet would never do us the favour to let us know what it is? It were good, therefore, both for your own sakes, that you may not rove *in infinitum*, and in compassion to us,—that you would give us a perfect boundary of *what is* POPERY *now*, with some prognostication or ephemerides annexed, if you please, whereby to calculate *what will be* POPERY *seven years hence!*"

In various parts of this volume I have shewn, that those who exclaimed most loudly against the reputed POPERY of the Arminians, were not the most eager in combatting the arguments of real Papists; and, in the following able passage from Bishop Sanderson, the same fact is repeated, with an additional charge which does not accord well with the declaration of Hugh Peters recorded in page 652: "As for those other regular sons of the Church of England that have appeared in this controversy on her behalf, how improbable, and so far forth uncharitable, the suspicion is, *that they should be any way instrumental towards the promoting of the Papal interest*, may appear, amongst other, by these few considerations following. (1.) That those very persons,—who were under God the instruments of freeing us from the Roman yoke, by casting Popery out of the church, and sundry of them martyred in the cause,—those very persons, I say, were great favourers of these (now accounted Popish) ceremonies, and the chief authors or procurers of the constitutions made in that behalf. *Hæ manus Trojam erigent?* (2.) That in all former times, since the beginning of the Reformation, our Archbishops and Bishops, with their Chaplains and others of the Prelatical party, (many of them such as have written also in defence of the Church against the Puritans,) were the principal (I had almost said *the only*) champions to maintain the cause of religion against the Papists. (3.) That, even in these times of so great distraction, and, consequently thereunto, of so great advantage to the factors for Rome, none have stepped into the gap more readily, nor appeared in the face of the enemy more openly, nor maintained the fight with more stoutness and gallantry, than the Episcopal divines have done, as their late learned writings testify, (Bishop Bramhall, Dr. Cosins, &c.) Yea, and some of them such, as (beside their other sufferings) have lain as deep under the suspicion of being Popishly affected, as any other of their brethren whosoever. (4.) That, by the endeavours of these Episcopal divines, some that were bred Papists, have been gained to our church; others that began to waver, confirmed and settled in their old religion; and some that were fallen from us, recovered and reduced, notwithstanding all the disadvantages of these confused times: And of each of these, I am able to produce some instance. But I profess sincerely, as in the presence of God, and before the world, that I have not known (at least, I cannot call to remembrance,) so much as one single example of any of this done by any of our anti-ceremonian brethren, whether Presbyterian or Independent!"

Those who know the ecclesiastical history of that period will recollect, that the spirited allusion to Richard Baxter, in the Bishop's Preface, was one cause why that celebrated Presbyterian wrote *The Grotian Religion Discovered*, in which he says, (sect. 66,) "But the Reverend Dr. Sanderson thinks, I should also have given notice how the taking down of Episcopacy, &c. hath advantaged the Papists, &c. To which I say, &c." After a few preli-

employ all the power which they possessed to repel the attacks of the republican assailants.* In the midst of these conflicts, he never desisted from his endeavours to establish peace in the

minary sentences, he adds the passage which I have quoted in page 294. But when requested to name those Papists whom he had described as apostates from the Church of England, and favourers of the pacific scheme of Grotius, in which there could then (1658) be no possible hazard, with his usual cunning he declines such an avowal: "For," says he, (1.) "Some of them have very lovingly sought to proselyte me, as having (by the reproaches of some unadvised brethren) been brought to have some hopes of me: And, truly, ingenuity prohibits me to betray them that manifested their love to me, though in a mistaken way: For I am confident, they think they are in the right, and intended my good while they endeavoured my hurt. (2.) What if I had named Bishop Goodman, and all the rabble that your friend in the *Legenda Lignea* describes (which are more than Dr. Vane, and Dr. Goffe and Dr. Baily, and H. P. de Cressy, as you may there see,) had it been reasonable that I should have thought there are no more? (3.) Grotius assures me himself, (whom I have reason to believe,) that not a few such there were among the prelatical men. And what if I knew not the name of one them, should I not therefore take any notice that such there are? He then adds the concluding sentences, which are quoted in page 294. The whole stock of his allegations against the POPERY of the Arminian clergy is exposed in that pamphlet, and in his *Key for Catholics;* and the reader who has perused both of them will have perceived how exceedingly small *the whole of that stock* appears. In the latter publication, Baxter could do nothing more, in his enumeration of Arminian apostates to Popery, than barely repeat his former list, as is apparent from the subjoined summary of that argument: "The Articles exhibited in Parliament against many of the Bishops will tell you, by their works, who were the instigators of them. Of themselves I know of none but Goodman that hath professed himself a flat Papist; and I shall not think it my duty to suspect any one man of holding an opinion which he professeth not himself, unless the evidence be very strong to move suspicion. But that many Papists were at work with them in that pretended reconcilement, Francis. a S. Clara and divers others put us past doubt. And that Papists crept into places in the Church under the garb of conformable Arminians, is too well known. It is no wonder therefore that Dr. Baily, Dr. Goffe, Dr. Vane, Hugh Paul de Cressy, and many more of them, did openly revolt when the game seemed to be spoiled that was played underboard. It had been far less hurt to us, I think, if all the rest had been as open." How far the account respecting Goodman is consistent with truth, may be seen by consulting the note in page 672.

This brief catalogue is in accordance with the following quotation from EVELYN'S *Diary*: "Nov. 4, 1684. Dr. Turner, now translated from Rochester to Ely, preached before the king [Charles II.] at Whitehall, on Rom. iii, 8, a very excellent sermon, vindicating the Church of England against the pernicious doctrines of the Church of Rome. He challenged the producing but of five Clergymen who forsook our Church and went over to that of Rome during all the troubles and rebellion in England, which lasted near twenty years; and this was to my certain observation a great truth."

* At the close of the right honourable Arthur Onslow's character of Archbishop Abbot, it is said, "It is not perhaps unworthy of observation, *that, in England,* CALVINISM *went along with civil liberty, and* ARMINIANISM *the contrary; and that, in Holland, it was at the same time the very reverse.*" As a general proposition, this is untrue. The facts of the case stand thus: Two Arminian Bishops, Laud and Juxon, became members of his Majesty's Privy council at the peculiar juncture when *the liberty of the subject* and *the prerogative of the Crown* were brought into open competition. Arminianism was not implicated in the origin of that contest, which had agitated the kingdom several years prior to Laud's advancement at Court, and while he occupied only a private station in the Church. It is allowed, that while these two excellent and judicious divines continued members of the administration, many impolitic as well as unlawful measures were adopted: Yet this concession, taken in its greatest amplitude, is no impeachment on their

Church; and, though he was fully aware of the unpopularity of such a course at that juncture, he tried to make a favourable impression upon Papists, since schemes of pacification from a

individual attachment to constitutional liberty; and Burnet will be praised by no man of genuine liberality for the following sentiment: "In most particulars, Laud excuses himself by this—*that he was but one of many, who either in Council, Star-chamber, or High Commission, voted illegal things*," &c. The responsibility of the constitutional advisers of his Majesty, it must be recollected in favour of the Archbishop, was a principle that may be said to have been almost unknown in England till after the Revolution. It may be answered, "Laud ought to have deserted a ministry that advised and adopted illegal measures." When this is said, the circumstances under which Laud came into power ought to be taken into consideration: He succeeded Dr. Abbot, who, for the sake of crushing Arminianism, subjected the Church of England to the daring inroads of its worst enemies. Was this noble structure to be deserted when in such a dilapidated condition? No, Laud with the intrepidity of a martyr placed himself in the main breach, carefully repaired its walls, and tried to make "Jerusalem a praise in the earth." This noble fearlessness of a great mind, resolved to adhere to the church, till he raised it to its pristine excellence or till he was buried under its ruins, is well expressed in the letter quoted in the text, which was written fifteen years before he fell a willing sacrifice to the fury of his enemies. That a man whose love for the prosperity and comeliness of the church was thus transcendent, should be willing to suffer many evils which he could not cure, will not seem wonderful to those who are acquainted with the secret springs which were the motives of actions in that eventful æra.

But no one who has carefully studied the history of the incroachments made on the constitution at that period, will pretend to say, that *civil liberty* did not receive as much injury from the aggressions of the republican party in the House of Commons on the one side, as from some of the more unprincipled of the king's ministers on the other: So that, even in this view, *civil liberty* cannot be said "to have gone along with Calvinism," any more than with Arminianism. The subjoined extract from BAKER'S *Chronicle* will serve to elucidate this topic: "The King's extraordinary wants put him, as you have heard, upon some unusual courses for levying of money, not very warrantable by our ancient laws; and some, that were unwilling to countenance such courses, or otherwise disaffected to the government, upon refusal were imprisoned; and, because no legal cause could be assigned for such restraint, the warrants whereby they were imprisoned had no cause specified in them, which was exclaimed against as *not legal and a great grievance*. There is scarce any thing, short of death, more grievous than imprisonment; and though by our laws no man can be imprisoned without a legal cause expressed, yet those that are in the exercise of power in tumultuous times, upon extraordinary emergencies are constrained to pass over those bounds; for no such provision hath yet [been] or can be made, to exclude all manner of arbitrary exercise of government; but whoever they be, that exceed in this tender point, *it will become their prudence to do it with extraordinary caution!*—Upon the return of the fleet after the late actions at sea, the soldiers, for want of pay, were billeted in private houses, which was alledged to be against the law; and to aggravate this, the rudeness of their persons, and their country (being Scotch and Irish) did much contribute. Nevertheless, though their actions were bad, and their persons worse, the Commons liked not that they should be punished by law-martial. For there being a commission issued to try offences of the soldiers by martial law, they exclaimed at it, and it was urged as a grievance; yet till that time the king's prerogative, in making and establishing martial laws, was never questioned, though since the petition of right, there is doubt of it. Magna Charta, and six other statutes explanatory of it, were express against illegal levies of money and imprisonments; and though those Statutes were in force, (whether the Parliament thought them antiquated, and therefore less regarded, or for what other reason it is not said,) to provide against the grievances complained, &c. they drew up that memorable law, called *The Petition of Right*, and presented it to the king, to which he gave the royal assent in full

reputed Arminian found little encouragement among Puritans. In a subsequent note it will be shewn, that the British Calvinists

parliament, to the very great liking of the people. And it was now thought there was so sweet an harmony betwixt the king and the parliament, that nothing could hinder the nation of as much happiness, as it could be capable of; but this concession inflamed the zeal of many of the House of Commons to press a little further, and they immediately framed a remonstrance of several late miscarriages in government, in the conclusion whereof they said, 'The excessive power of the Duke of Buckingham, and the abuse of 'that power, is the principal cause of all the evils and dangers therein men-'tioned; and therefore they humbly submit it to his Majesty's wisdom, 'whether it can be safe for himself, or for his kingdom, that so great power, 'both by sea and land, as rests in him, should be trusted in the hands of 'any one subject whatsoever.' On the 17th of June, 1628, this remonstrance was presented to the king, with the Bill of Subsidies, in the banquetting-house at Whitehall; who, when he had heard it read, told them, 'He little 'expected such a remonstrance, after he had so graciously passed the petition 'of right; and for the grievances, specified therein, he would consider of 'them as they should deserve.'"—Other stronger facts than these, and of a more recent date, might be quoted in proof of the existence of *faults on both sides:* But this quotation will suffice to shew, that Arminianism is not chargeable either with the attack upon *the liberty of the subject*, or upon *the rights of the crown*, upon both of which the old historian passes some just animadversions. On the just rights of the monarch, consult page 640, in which are contained the brief remarks of Grotius, who may be regarded as a distant and an impartial spectator.

But this will be granting more than is correct respecting these two eminent prelates; for both of them gave stronger proofs of their attachment to genuine liberty, than several of the most vociferous of their accusers. With regard to Dr. Juxon, it is sufficient to observe, that his mild and equitable conduct had prepossessed even the republican innovators in his favour; he was therefore the last of the English bishops who were despoiled of their dignities and revenues: And with regard to Archbishop Laud, it is sufficient to quote his own dying declaration, which it would not be difficult to corroborate by other testimonies:—"I have been accused likewise as an *enemy to parliaments:* No, I understand them, and the benefit that comes by them, too well to be so. But I did misl'ke the misgovernments of some parliaments many ways; and I had good reason for it: For *corruptio optimi est pessima*, there is no corruption in the world so bad as that which is of the best thing within itself; for the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is [when] corrupted. And that being the highest court over which no other hath jurisdiction, when it is misinformed or misgoverned, the subject is left without all remedy." He had strong reasons for talking thus about "the misgovernments of some parliaments;" for how excellent soever their professed objects may appear to us who reap the fruit of their labours, the unjust and outrageous measures which out of pure contradiction to the court they chose to pursue in attaining those objects, can never be justified by men of impartiality. The faults on both sides were many and egregious; and at this distance of time they will be obvious to all who are not violent partizans. In the spirit of the expressions here quoted, it is easy to imagine, that, in relation to many subjects beside those with which we are acquainted, the Archbishop would have been pleased to behold an amelioration of practice; but at that peculiar juncture of public affairs, the slightest concession would have been interpreted by the opposite party as a complete triumph, as was afterwards perceived when his majesty commenced the work of unguarded yielding. On the same principle, that intrepid and intelligent statesman, the late right honourable William Pitt, previously to his becoming Prime Minister, ably advocated what he considered to be the just rights of the people; yet when he was elevated to that distinguished place in his Majesty's Council which he filled with such honour to himself and benefit to his country, he discovered good and valid reasons for refusing the boon which he had himself instructed the people to demand; and, on account of this oppor-

at the Synod of Dort, long before Dr. Laud's advancement, had maintained "that the Pope ought not to be called ANTICHRIST

tune refusal, I never heard that upright minister blamed except by the most illiterate of modern republicans, who would have delighted in beholding England emulate France in acts of licentiousness and atrocity. But the sound part of the nation were too well-instructed to suffer our former scenes of republican frenzy and profaneness to be re-acted: A single beacon of this description was accounted a powerful warning in the history of any people. Without any intention to compare the Archbishop's notions of liberty with those of Mr. Pitt, (for the latter entertained such as were far more correct and liberal,) I may be permitted to ask, If Mr. Pitt's reasons be deemed just and valid at the period to which I have referred, what can with propriety be alleged against those of Archbishop Laud, who lived at a most eventful crisis, when Church and State were assailed by insidious and powerful adversaries? We have a remarkable testimony to the correctness of his views, and to *the general propriety* of his measures for procuring a strict uniformity, in the conversion of some bishops and other divines of Calvinistic principles, who had been disciples of Abbot, and who had acted towards their inconformable predestinarian brethren, upon that Archbishop's maxim, quoted in page 673, till they perceived its erroneousness, and the dangerous results which it produced. This will be rendered apparent in two subsequent notes, one of which relates to the alteration of conduct in Bishop Hall, and the other to that in Bishop Davenant. But the testimony of his declared enemies, the Presbyterian Calvinists, will probably be considered still more remarkable and convincing. In Robert BAYLIE's *Dissuasive*, which was "published by Authority," and dedicated to that curious political character "the Earl of Lauderdale," only five years after the extirpation of episcopacy, the author attempts to remove the reproach, that "the new monsters of sects" were to be ascribed to "the [Calvinistic] reformation in hand, and Bishops were "magnified, as if they had *kept down*, and this [the Presbyterian church-"government] did *set up*, the sects which now predomine." To this he replies: "The tyranny and superstition of this step-mother Episcopacy was the seed of Brownism—the great root of the most of our sects, all which were many years ago brought forth, however kept within doors *so long as any church discipline was on foot*. Now, indeed, every monster walks in the street without controulment, *while all ecclesiastic government is cast asleep*: this too too long inter-reign and mere anarchy hath invited every unclean creature to creep out of its cave, and shew in public its mis-shapen face to all who like to behold. But if once the government of Christ were set up amongst us, as it is in the rest of the Reformed Churches, we know not what would impede it, by the sword of God alone without any secular violence, to banish out of the land these spirits of error, in all meekness, humility, and love, by the force of truth convincing and satisfying the minds of the seduced. *Episcopal Courts* were never fitted for the reclaiming of minds; their prisons, their fines, their pillories, their nose-slittings, their ear-cuttings, their cheek-burnings, did but hold down the flame, to break out in season with the greater rage. But *the Reformed Presbytery* doth proceed in a spiritual method, evidently fitted for the gaining of hearts; they go on with the offending party with all respect," &c. In this quotation, which is introductory to the extracts already given in pages 326 and 348, the impartial reader will perceive the indirect praise which is most reluctantly ascribed to Episcopacy, in "keeping all the sects within doors." Respecting the absolute necessity of suppressing all sectaries, Robert is very decided: The sole difference between him and Archbishop Laud lies in *the mode*,—the "spiritual method of the Reformed Presbytery" being, in his opinion, the best adapted for that purpose. To page 443, and to that curious pamphlet *the Burden of Issachar*, published in 1646, I refer those who are desirous of knowing more concerning Baylie's intolerant views, and "the mild methods" adopted by the Presbyterians towards those who were under their ecclesiastical regimen.—But Bishop Barnet asserts, that "Laud's Diary represents him as an abject fawner on the Duke of Buckingham." Every man

till it had been fully proved in that assembly by what right the epithet appertained to him or to his office." Yet of this opinion

who has perused Bishop Burnet's sermons on public occasions, as well as some of his other productions. will be inclined on this point to address him in the language of scripture, " Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?" For there are fewer traces of any thing that resembles fawning or flattery in Laud than in Burnet. I shall embrace another opportunity to shew the difference between the influence which Laud exerted over the Duke of Buckingham, and that which was exercised by Archbishop Abbot. At his entrance on a court-life, Laud found no great statesman like Lord Burleigh, in Queen Elizabeth's days, when the Lambeth Articles were abrogated, who could apprize his sovereign of the injurious tendency of rigid predestinarian principles when pushed to their obvious consequences. He soon discovered that the Duke of Buckingham, a nobleman of some talents, possessed such an ascendancy over king James the First and his royal son, as is usually accounted the power of a strong mind upon one that is weaker; and as the royal favourite was the common attraction of all parties for their own *private benefit*, and was consequently a man of no fixed principles or consistent conduct, Bishop Laud resolved to win him over to *the public benefit* of the Church, which was then in a suffering and abject condition. The reader has already seen the manner in which Laud prevailed with some men of eminence in the literary world, when he was desirous through them to promote the interests of his royal master; and he was equally successful in attaching to the service of the Church and of the State the Duke of Buckingham, and afterwards the Earl of Strafford. The felicitous results of that particular enterprize, which with the others is in proof of his great abilities, offended those men in power, who had accounted the Duke a creature of their own, that was enlisted in their service and entirely devoted to their interests. Any man of competent literary acquirements, who would engage in such a labour, might produce abundance of proofs from the correspondence of the Calvinists themselves, *that nearly all the contumely and opposition encountered by Laud during life, arose from the powerful court-influence that he gained in favour of the doctrines of General Redemption, which, though explicitly recognized and taught in the public formularies of the church, were objects of supreme aversion to those who were then entrusted with the chief management of affairs ecclesiastical.* Yet in effecting these desirable purposes, Bishop Laud was never betrayed into any mean action or servile compliance that was unbefitting either a gentleman, a christian, or a bishop; but this cannot be said, with truth, concerning those who have been among the most acrimonious of his censurers. His intimacy with the Duke was of the greatest personal service to that nobleman. It rendered him a more considerate and prudent man, and consequently a more efficient member of his Majesty's Council; and it has been well observed of the Duke, " if he had lived a few years longer, to have seen through the temptations of greatness, he might have proved as great a pillar of this State as any that went before him."—The firmness of mind and self-devotion, that were throughout life eminently conspicuous in the Archbishop, have been well described by Dr. Heylin, who, after shewing the desolating effects of the prevalence of Calvinism in Oxford, gives the following account of the liberal course of Laud's studies at the University in 1598:—" But Laud, being forged and hammered on a better anvil, would not be wrought on by the times, or captivate his understanding to the names of men, how great soever they appeared in the eyes of others. Nor would he run precipitately into common opinions, (for common opinions many times are but common errors,) as Calderinus is reported to have gone to mass, because he would not break company with the rest of his friends. His studies in divinity he had founded on the Holy Scriptures, according to the glosses and interpretations of the ancient fathers; for doing which he had the countenance and direction of a canon made in Convocation, Anno 1571, by which it was appointed, 'That, ' in interpreting the scriptures, they were to raise no other doctrines from

the Archbishop has, by several of his ignorant accusers, been depicted as the first and chief patron. The injustice of such an

' them than what had been collected thence by the ancient fathers, and ' other godly bishops of the primitive times.' And laying to this line the established doctrines and determinations of the Church of England, it was no hard matter to him to discern how much the church had deviated from her self, or most men rather from the church, in those latter times; how palpably the articles had been wrested from the literal and grammatical sense, to fit them to the sense of particular persons; how a different construction had been put upon them, from that which was the true and genuine meaning of the men that framed them, and the authority which confirmed them; and finally, that it would be a work of much glory, but of much more merit, to bring her back again to her native principles. But then withal, it was as easy to discern how desperate an attempt it must needs appear for a single man, unseconded, and not well befriended, to oppose himself against an army; how vain a thing to strive against so strong a stream, and cross the current of the times; that the disease by long neglect was grown so natural and habitual, that more mischief might be feared from the medicine, than from the malady; that he must needs expose himself to many censures and reproaches, and possibly to some danger also, by the undertaking. But these last considerations, being weighed in the scale of the sanctuary, appeared so light, that he was resolved to try his fortune in the work, and to leave the issue thereof unto God, by whom *Paul's planting and Apollo's watering do receive increase.*"—From these and other brief notices it will be perceived, that even the most culpable parts of Laud's conduct admit of great palliation, if not of complete defence; and his frequent and candid acknowledgments of *the impetuosity of his natural disposition*, notwithstanding Bishop Burnet's insinuation to the contrary, (653,) shew him in an amiable light and prove him to have been an upright moral character, and most exemplary in all his private relations, but especially in his secret intercourse with God as his Father and his Judge, through Christ his Intercessor and Atoning Sacrifice. In the judgment of all *charitable persons* he will be acquitted of many grievous charges, if he be allowed to plead his own cause, as he did in Sept. 1643, when he replied to some accusations, " that the words charged upon him at the Council-table and elsewhere, might well have been spared; that no ill effect did follow on them; and that they were innocently though suddenly spoken,—which, he hoped, might, without involving him in the crime or guilt of treason, proceed from *a man of such a hasty and uncircumspect humour as himself*, made so, as well by *nature* as by *the multiplicity of vexations which were put upon him*, &c. Grant me, indeed, but one small and not unreasonable concession, similar to that which in our days is demanded for the personal obliquities of every republican demagogue or petty Independent pastor under the Commonwealth,—allow me to plead *a consideration of the aspect of the times, the peculiar difficulties of his situation, and the inflamed state of parties*, and I will undertake to prove, that Laud's patriotism was in reality purer and more disinterested, than that of any of his Calvinistic cotemporaries, who had an opportunity of displaying the genuineness of their patriotism in their public actions.

But these observations are merely personal. When, however, we briefly advert to the general proposition at the commencement of this note *in reference to the great body of English Arminians*, we shall find it to be still less tenable, than when it is applied to Laud and Juxon. In Appendix M, it will be shewn, that the Arminians had strong reasons for appealing to the Articles and other Formularies of the Church of England, in support of the doctrines of General Redemption; and the remark quoted from Phillips in page 676, will appear very correct: " Nothing can be called *the doctrine of the Church*, that is not so declared by the whole clergy, lawfully assembled in Convocation." By such a " lawful assemblage," *the Predestination to life*, which restrains itself to " a few particular persons without any respect to *their faith in Christ* or *to Christ's sufferings and death for them*," has never yet been declared to be the doctrine of the Church; or that " the few particular

assumption will be rendered apparent by a reference to Balcanqual's Latin Journal of the proceedings of that Synod, and to

persons, thus predestinated to life eternal, shall by an irresistible grace be brought to God, and by the infallible conduct of the Holy Spirit be preserved from falling away from grace and favour." But "a lawful Convocation of the Clergy" has avowed, at the close of *the Seventeenth Article*, "that we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture; and that, in all our doings, *that will of God* is to be followed which we have *expressly declared to us* in the word of God." How inconsistent such a "declaration" is with the *habitude* of Calvinism, I have shewn in various parts of this volume, but more particularly in pages 432 and 668. By comparing those two notes together, the reader will discern, that the Calvinists considered the Articles of the Church of England *not to be sufficiently explicit on unconditional election and reprobation*, and consequently to require emendation in that point as well as in others; and that, though the most exasperated of his enemies could never accuse Archbishop Laud of any desire or endeavour to amend the DOCTRINES of the Church, however loud and bitter might be their complaints about his reputed innovations with regard to CEREMONIES, yet they could never forgive his attempt to give a greater prominence to the last clause of *the Seventeenth Article*, which prominence he virtually gave, nearly in the very expressions of that clause, in the King's Declaration of 1628, quoted in page 668. In *the Life of Laud*, Dr. Heylin says, "Nothing better proves the doctrine of the Church, in the points of Election and Reprobation, than the Church itself, by holding forth—the universal redemption of all mankind by the death of Christ,—the free co-operation of *the will of man* with *the grace of God*, in the chief acts of his conversion,—the possibility of falling into grievous sins, into God's displeasure, and consequently from the grace received: All which are utterly destructive of Calvin's doctrine in this point." The Doctor then proceeds to confirm all these Arminian tenets, by apposite quotations from the Articles and Public Liturgy, which it is unnecessary here to repeat, as others of a similar description will afterwards be given. The men who had such strong-holds as these in the established Articles and Liturgy, under which they might with perfect congruity shelter themselves and their scriptural sentiments, were under no necessity whatever of deriving their reputed Arminianism from Holland; for the benign doctrines of General Redemption were constituent parts of the Creed of the National Church of England long before the birth of Arminius.—Some of her admirable and unaltered Arminian features are exhibited in the following sketch from Dr. HAMMOND'S very eloquent PARÆNESIS *or Seasonable Exhortation to all true sons of the Church of England*, which he wrote in 1656, after Cromwell had issued his severe and tyrannical interdict against the Episcopal clergy: (page 419:) "When the characters or discriminative marks of the English Reformation are two:—ONE, the conforming all our *doctrines* to the Primitive Antiquity, receiving all genuine Apostolical traditions for our rule, both in matters of *faith and government*:—THE OTHER, in uniting that fair and beautiful pair of FAITH and WORKS in the same degree of *necessity* and *conditionality* both to our justification and salvation, and to all the good works of *justice* and *mercy* of which the Romanist speaks, adjoining that other most eminent one of *humility*, attributing NOTHING TO OURSELVES when we have done all, but ALL TO THE GLORY OF THE MERCY AND GRACE OF GOD, purchased for us by Christ;—it is but just, that they who have walked unworthy of such guides and rules as these, who have lived so contrary to our profession, should at length be deprived of both, not only to have our 'two staves broken, BEAUTY and BANDS,' the symbols of order and unity, (Hosea iii, 4,) both which have now for some years taken their leaves of us, but even to have the whole fabric demolished, the house to follow the pillars' fate, and so to be left; 'and to abide without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim,' deprived of all our ornaments, left naked and bare, when we had misused our beauty unto wantonness."—The conclusion of this affecting passage will convey much

the trimming conduct of King James, whose extreme predilection for Popery has been already recorded and blamed. (See

instruction to the attentive reader, in addition to the purpose for which it has been quoted.

Though the immense advantages of a Confession and Rubric of such a catholic amplitude as that of the National Church have been ascertained on more than one great crisis in the ecclesiastical history of this country; yet those advantages were never more conspicuously displayed than when the attempt was made by Laud and his able co-adjutors to revive Arminianism. This scriptural system, under a different name, had been professed by many of the Martyrs in queen Mary's days; and had been publicly taught both from the Chair and the Pulpit during the reign of queen Elizabeth, who by the advice of Lord Burleigh withheld her royal sanction from *the Lambeth Articles*, which had been surreptitiously and cunningly framed with the avowed design of discountenancing the spreading doctrines of General Redemption. The pragmatical conduct of king James in the affair of the Synod of Dort, and his subsequent endeavours to maintain some degree of consistency by an awkward and evidently reluctant encouragement of Calvinism, gave an alarming prepounderance to that rigid system of Predestination, and rendered it a work of extreme difficulty on the part of those to whom the care of the established religion was afterwards consigned, to induce the members of the Church to recur to some of its first principles, which, through disuse, had become inefficacious and nearly obsolete. The succeeding long period of peace and plenty, which is described with classic simplicity by Lord Clarendon in page 309, assisted in fixing the yoke of Calvinism upon the necks of Englishmen. For the soothing doctrine of *eternal irrespective election* is flattering to the pride of man, and always succeeds when it is artfully applied to a people immersed in luxury, who seldom delight to hear much concerning works of mercy and justice, of self-denial and cross-bearing. St. Augustine was one of the first of the Ancient Christian Fathers who speculated deeply on *the unrevealed will of heaven* with regard to the eternal destinies of individuals; and though several modern authors, who have written with much confidence on this subject, make no distinction between the Predestinarian opinions of that Father and those of Calvin, yet all who have compared them together will not require to be told, that the latter held far more *rigid* and *fatal* tenets than any which had been taught by St. Augustine or his immediate successors. As Calvin outstripped this Father, so on some points connected with this *unrevealed sort of Predestination* Beza outstripped Calvin; on others Zanchy transcended Beza; and the climax was completed by a regular gradation upwards, through Perkins, Piscator, Gomarus, and Lubbertus, to Maccovius, Archer and Twisse.—The most learned and ingenuous of these individuals confessed, that their Predestinarian opinions were beyond what was written in the Holy Scriptures, and received no countenance from the Ancient Fathers who lived prior to the age of Augustine. This principle of defection both from the SCRIPTURES and from the *Fathers* was of very dangerous tendency, especially in a Church that acknowledged the FORMER as the sole unadulterated fountain of its faith, and the *latter* as the only conduit which conveyed the pellucid waters in refreshing purity. Its baneful effects may be traced in the Church of England, from the Dispersion under the persecuting Mary down to the commencement of the reign of King James, before the tenets of Arminius *as such* were promulgated in England: For it will be found, that, with very few exceptions, the most violent Puritans and the greatest sticklers against the prescribed ceremonies, during that period, were always the highest Predestinarians; and that their best and most successful opponents were generally learned and pious individuals, who were as conspicuous for their attachment to the doctrines of General Redemption as to the decent rites and observances of the Ancients. The very principle which impelled men to speculate on matters which were not among the revealed veritics of heaven, induced them at the same time to give the reins to their imaginations in inventing modes of worship different from those which were

page 557.) This important fact was studiously concealed in that age, by those whose party prejudices were concerned in its

enjoined by public authority. That this principle was inherent in the system of Calvinism itself, and not a bare creature of circumstances, is proved by the immense diversity of predestinarian schemes, as well as new forms of devotion, which were produced in Great Britain during the Interregnum, though the Confession of Faith fabricated by the Westminster Assembly of Divines was highly Calvinistic. This fact admits of further and stronger proof from the conduct of foreign churches, some of whose Confessions of Faith were more decided in favour of rigid predestination than that of England; yet in those very churches, whose Calvinism was of the most refined description, many writers arose who indulged in diversified fancies concerning the modes and procedure of the Divine Decrees, beyond both the letter and the spirit of their different Confessions. That the same foreign writers on Predestination did not as universally as the speculative Calvinists in England busy themselves in framing new modes of *worship* as well as of *faith*, is easily accounted for when it is recollected, that the Predestinarian churches to which they belonged were under the Presbyterian form of government, and that in several of those countries this propensity to innovation was discountenanced and forbidden by the civil magistrate. But in other countries, as in the United Provinces and some of the minor German States, in which a toleration of religion was admitted, this innovating principle displayed itself as amply as in England during the Protectorate. The reader will not require me to point out to him the practical difference, in both these respects, between the Calvinistic parties whom I have designated in this paragraph *on the one part*, and the moderate Lutherans throughout Europe and those who were accounted the chief patrons of Arminianism in this country *on the other part:* For, the two latter, even when they enjoyed opportunities for innovation, were evidently under the restraint of the purer, more social, and uniform spirit of their Creeds, and in consequence meddled not with those who were given to change either in Church or State.

The existence of this principle of innovation among the Calvinists will solve the phenomenon, that *all the English Arminians were in that age members of the Episcopal Church, and that not a single congregation of them was to be discovered among the numerous sects that had then separated from the ecclesiastical establishment.* This remarkable phenomenon is seen to have been purely accidental; and the English Arminians did not forsake the cause of "civil liberty," but many of them thought they contributed best to its security when they became "assertors of the prerogative royal." After the period of the Synod of Dort, when every doctrine or practice that connected itself with General Redemption became unpopular, and more particularly after Archbishop Laud had attained to some influence in the government, the public profession of Arminianism, instead of being (as it has generally been depicted) "the direct road to fame and honour," resembled in most instances the early profession of Christianity itself, in being an actual choosing of obloquy, disgrace, and a living species of martyrdom. When Laud first attempted to direct the attention of the clergy to the neglected tenets of their own church on the subject of *General Redemption*, at least three-fourths of the right reverend occupiers of the Episcopal Bench were decided Calvinists; and their ranks had not been so greatly thinned by death, in the fifteen succeeding years, as many persons have imagined. Indeed, the greatest single creation of Bishops that took place at any subsequent period of that age consisted entirely of Calvinists, as will be shewn in the second volume. How unenviable the condition of Arminian clergymen must have been in those dioceses over which a Bishop of Calvinistic sentiments presided, may easily be conceived. But their condition was not desirable, even in those Bishopries in which their opinions received countenance and support from their ecclesiastical superiors: For though those superiors were very naturally inclined to bestow their patronage on such as co-incided with them in sentiment, yet they were scarcely

suppression, and who with manifest inconsistency stigmatized Arminianism as POPERY, not only when it was supported by

able to maintain themselves, much less their clergy, against the torrents of reproach and calumny with which they were publicly assailed. The very name of "Arminianism" was industriously traduced and rendered so odious to the common people, as to be disclaimed by those who were the greatest admirers of the system itself, but who at the same time knew that it was contained in the formularies of their own church, and was capable of deriving from them most ample confirmation. The subjoined quotation from BAKER'S *Chronicle* will be explanatory of this matter:—"In his first year, [Charles I.] some differences were revived about the tenets of Arminius, which began in the latter end of his father's reign, and were heightened by the Commons House of the Parliament then newly assembled, the members whereof generally favoured the oppugners of those points: And the controversy was the more remarkable, because it divided the Bishops themselves; but those of that order that were reputed Arminians did not own themselves to be such, but maintained *That what they held was ever the doctrine of the Church of England, contained in the Seventeenth Article thereof;* and the like was asserted by those that opposed those tenets, so that both made claim to that article; and about the exposition thereof, and the consequences from thence derived, the peace of the Church was not a little disquieted."—I shall embrace another opportunity to prove, that many of the Arminian clergy of that age and some even of the Bishops themselves derived, immediately from Holland, not only their religious opinions with a taint of the infection which had then broken out in Amsterdam, but likewise their relish for civil freedom and an enlarged religious toleration.—The two classes of exemplary Arminian divines, who chose thus for many years to encounter certain reproach without any equivalent accompanying inducements, except such as arose from the highest and most disinterested source, could not be expected to join the ranks of the republican levellers that were trying to subvert not only the Monarchy, but likewise the Episcopal Church, from which the doctrines of General Redemption drew their best sanction. Instead therefore of this circumstance being quoted in disparagement of the Arminian clergy, it is to their perpetual honour and credit that they adhered to the declining interests of the King and the Church; and when the cause of both was utterly ruined, those excellent men presented to the world a magnanimous example of patient suffering for righteousness' sake, which, were it to receive as large and studied an illustration as that of the comparatively small number of Nonconforming ministers who were ejected from the bosom of the Church in the year 1662, would in several particulars transcend all the instances of suffering virtue that have been known since the Christian Religion was first planted in Great Britain. On this subject the following quotation, written by Dr. Gauden a few months prior to the Restoration, is exceedingly just and appropriate:—"The renown and value of Episcopacy is much risen since Englishmen have seen added, to the other excellencies of our English Bishops, the miracle and magnanimity of their Christian patience; who, after their hard and long studies, attended with many meritorious and useful virtues, after they had lawfully obtained and many years peaceably enjoyed such honors and estates as adorned Episcopacy in England,—after they had no way and by no law forfeited these or misused them; yet in the decline of their lives, in the colder and darker winter of their age, these grave and gallant men can bear with Christian patience and heroic composedness of mind the loss of all, and that from their own countrymen, professors of the same *Christian* (yea and *Reformed*) *Religion:* And this without any respect had either to their present and future support, or their pristine dignity. A fate so sad and tragical, as is scarce to be paralleled in any age or history; yet have none of them been heard to *charge God foolishly*. They say and write either nothing, or only the words of soberness, truth and charity; they still possess their souls in silence and patience, when dispossessed of all things: Wherever they live, their lustre shines through their greatest obscurity and tenuity, as the bright sun through small crevices, far beyond the most sparkling Presbyters or

the powerful influence of the Church, but when the Hierarchy itself was shorn of its strength and deprived of its beauty.

glittering Independents; whose new popular projects for Church government, compared to primitive and old Episcopacy, are like comets or blazing stars compared to the sun and moon. I know some of those Lords and Commons who in the huddle helped to destroy Bishops and their order, now not only pity the undeserved sufferings of such brave men, but repent of their own compliance; and so do many Ministers."—This description is as applicable to the Arminian clergy as to the Bishops, which is obvious from other remarkable passages in Dr. Gauden's work; and the whole of it serves to prove the prepared state of the public mind for the return of Monarchy, Episcopacy, and Arminianism in 1660.

But the remarks in the preceding long paragraph apply to the Arminian clergy, rather than to the laity, whose numbers previous to the overthrow of the monarchy were not so vast as is generally supposed. Indeed, the criterion by which the *quality* as well as the *quantity* of both Arminians and Calvinists are usually tried, is exceedingly fallacious; for the persons who composed the two opposing armies in the Civil Wars, are frequently adduced as accurate specimens of those two religious parties,—a mode of calculation which I shall afterwards shew to be manifestly erroneous. It is only necessary in this place to observe, that several good Arminians, both among the Clergy and Laity, did not approve of all the measures of government; that some of them expressed their displeasure at the rigorous proceedings of the High Commission Court and the Star Chamber; and yet that all of them considered it better to endure a few temporary, known, and defined evils, than seditiously to rush into others which were unknown to the laws of the realm, and unsanctioned by scripture: For they were well assured, that there existed a constitutional remedy for all those evils, in strong yet respectful petitions and remonstrances from the people to their monarch. Though the Arminian laity were small in number, and though during the days of republican anarchy their influence was feeble and confined, yet this "little leaven" of righteousness diffused itself in an amazing manner among all ranks of the community, and its gracious effects were rendered apparent at the Restoration. It will hereafter be a part of my grateful duty, to demonstrate the existence of that Divine energy, in the establishment of scriptural Arminianism during the inter-regnum, which had been so conspicuously exerted in the original establishment of Christianity itself. For, after all the well-intended labours and arduous efforts of Archbishop Laud and his pious coadjutors, the expression of the Prophet may, not unfitly, be applied to the rapid and extraordinary diffusion of Arminian principles at the period to which I have referred; those principles were then disseminated, "not by [human] *might* or *power*, but by the SPIRIT of the Lord of Hosts."

I am quite ready to acknowledge, that, in England, the Calvinists opposed the introduction of new ceremonies into the church, or, more properly, the revival of old ones; and that, both in England and Holland, they strenuously and effectually resisted the toleration, which the Civil Powers were willing to grant to Arminianism, and which was not incompatible with the Confessions of either of the National Churches, though that of the Church of England was, of the two, far the more liberal. (See *Works of Arminius*, vol. i, p. 665)—I have exposed in the preceding pages (494—543) some of the principles on which their opposition was grounded. I have also shewn, (p. 676) that "the encouragement which the House of Commons gave to the English Calvinists, to utter their speculative Predestinarian opinions, and to vent their antipathy to the doctrines of General Redemption," was the real origin of their opposition to the salutary restraints then attempted to be imposed upon their metaphysical and unchristian refinements on the Gospel. This politic encouragement gradually extended itself, till the Parliament ultimately became the avowed patrons of seditious movements, in favour of the ecclesiastical supremacy due to Calvin's dogmas. The establishment of this supremacy was rendered more hopeful and palatable to the Calvinists themselves, (p. 313, 443) and to the irreligious and unprincipled part of the

(Page 677.) Some persons of the same class, in our days, are willing to have it generally believed, that no divine of eminence except Archbishop Laud felt the least hesitation about the posi-

nation, by the plausible association effected by the republican statesmen between Calvinism and a Commonwealth. But every one who is acquainted with history, knows that A REPUBLIC is not actually synonymous with CIVIL LIBERTY; and *Calvinism* is certainly a term which is far from being equivalent to *Religious Freedom*. It would be singular, indeed, and a circumstance altogether anomalous in the moral history of mankind, were those narrow principles which are peculiar to Calvinism accounted the parents of a liberal toleration, either civil or religious. The mistake which has arisen concerning this alleged *Calvinistic love of freedom*, will be rendered still more evident by briefly advertiug to the model of civil government which the English Calvinists proposed to adopt: It was that of the Dutch Republic, which had recently ejected from its bosom, and banished into foreign countries, some of its most valuable and industrious citizens, in the persons of the pious Arminians: That was one trait of Dutch freedom! A consummation like this against Arminianism, the British Calvinists could not hope to obtain under a Monarchy; but, under a Republic, they did obtain it to a considerable extent, (though far beneath their wishes,) when they procured the suppression of the Bishops, and the ejection of almost every Arminian clergyman in the kingdom. Such were some of the appearances of this *Calvinistic love of freedom*,—a freedom to exclude, from the benefits of their confined Toleration, all those who professed the sanctifying doctrines of General Redemption. Dr. Hammond has given a good description of the natural incongruity between CALVINISM and CIVIL OBEDIENCE,—the latter of which, to whomsoever it may be due, is the foundation of all rational liberty,—in his treatise *of Fundamentals*, written in 1654, while Cromwell's Committee of Fourteen Predestinarian Divines were sitting in consultation about the nature of *Fundamental Truths*, or rather about the terms on which Calvinists might tolerate each other. "To these christian and theological considerations," says the Doctor, "it will not be amiss to add what care the writers of Politics have had, to warn us of the noxiousness of this doctrine [Absolute Predestination] to all *civil governments; which* the Christian religion, rightly understood, is so very far from disturbing, that, beyond all other aphorisms political, beyond the sagest provisions of the profoundest lawyers, it is incomparably qualified to perpetuate the public weal and peace, would men but live according to the rules of it. But, [as] for the doctrine of those who so mistake the christian religion, as to think it is only *a chain of fatal decrees*, 'To deny all *liberty of man's choice toward* 'good or evil, and to affix all events to *God's predetermination*,—This,' say they [the Politicians] 'is utterly irreconcilable with the nature of civil 'government, with the foundation thereof laid in laws, or with the punish-'ments and rewards which are thought necessary to the continuance thereof;' and Campanella chooseth to instance in: a republic or free state. For when the people, who think their liberty (of which they are very tender and jealous) to be retrenched or impaired by the restraint of laws, can further answer their rulers, though but in heart without proceeding to farther boldness, 'that they cannot observe the laws, being led by *irresistible decrees* to the 'transgressing of them,' the consequence is easy to foresee—the despising and contemning of laws, and hating and detesting of those who are obliged to punish them when they have offended, which two are soon inflamed, beyond the rate of popular discontents, into actual seditions and tumults, as soon as opportunity shall favour, or opinion of their own strength encourage them to it." THE JUSTICE OF THESE REMARKS was felt even by the Republican rulers; and Cromwell himself was compelled to employ measures of severity and co-ercion against many of his once-dear Predestinarian friends, who were the intolerant advocates of that species of liberty which has been described in this paragraph.

The contrast which is attempted to be established, by comparing the genius and progress of Arminianism in Holland with its genius and progress in this country, is likewise unjust and inapplicable. The case of the early

tive ANTICHRISTIAN character of the Roman Pontiff, wished to conciliate the affections of Papists, or attempted to overcome their objections by mild and gentle methods. But whatever blame

Arminians in England has received only a very brief elucidation in this note; but more ample justice will be rendered to it in the second volume. Sufficient evidence, however, has been produced to shew, that they were no such enemies to "civil liberty" as they have been generally represented. The author of the first sentence in this note ought to have known, that the Dutch Arminians are depicted in *the Historical Preface to the Synod of Dort* as movers of sedition, while the very opposite to this was the fact: They were thus stigmatized, because, while their own friends were in power, they refused to subscribe to a fresh formulary of faith in *the Heidelberg Catechism;* and since this Catechism and the Dutch Confession had received from the Calvinists the appellation of "THE LITTLE BIBLES and the MARROW OF SCRIPTURE," the Arminians were desirous that both these documents should be subjected to a regular canonical revision, and rendered as unexceptionable as possible, if *both of them* were afterwards to remain standards of faith for all the Dutch Churches. They could not obtain this reasonable concession for themselves when their patrons were at the head of government; and their violent brethren, who had previously intended to alter both the Catechism and Confession and to make them more accordant to their own opinions, succeeded ultimately in their crafty design, by framing the Canons of the Synod of Dort, and imposing them on the churches of the United Provinces and on those of neighbouring nations, as *still higher standards of Calvinian orthodoxy*. These facts are copiously detailed in the First Volume of *the Works of Arminius*, pages 514, 644 and 664, and through the whole of his *Declaration;* and I refer the reader to pages 432, 573, 575, 585, and 594 of the present volume for additional information respecting the mild and tolerant conduct of the Dutch Arminians, which is highly characteristic of that scriptural system wherever it is permitted freely to develope itself. Such a permission it did not obtain in England in the days of Archbishop Laud, much as has been asserted to the contrary, or even under the boasted rule of Cromwell; but after the Restoration, its genial influences gradually diffused themselves till the Revolution of 1688, when they communicated an extensive and salutary impulse to the whole nation, which is felt at this day among all denominations of British christians. I have repeatedly admitted in these notes, that the opinions about civil and religious liberty which Grotius and his Arminian friends in Holland defended, were of a purer and more philanthropic description than those which were openly avowed and acted upon by Archbishop Laud, and some of his immediate advisers: This is only tantamount to the admission, which every one acquainted with the affairs of England will be prepared to make, that we then received from Holland the masters who excelled us in painting, engraving, printing, commerce, legislation, &c. But the effects of the rivalry then excited between the two countries were soon afterwards apparent by our rapid march and improvement in all matters connected with intellect, business, navigation, ingenuity, mechanism, legislation, art, science and literature, in which we obtained a striking superiority, and still retain the enviable trophies of those grand national efforts. It is not wonderful therefore if we began to surpass our teachers in religious toleration and civil government, as soon as we received a monarch from Holland in the person of King William the Third. Other curious circumstances both of resemblance and difference between the Arminians in England and those in Holland, might be adduced: In both countries they constituted the minority, while their patrons were the chief members of government; they wished to continue in the Established Churches of England and Holland; both of them offered their opponents the most ample toleration in the bosom of that Church from which they were themselves excluded by the Calvinists; and, to effect their exclusion, a gross outrage was committed on the constitution of each country. To prevent the infliction of that outrage, some of the English Arminians made common cause with Monarchy and Episcopacy, and engaged in a civil war to secure what they deemed their just immunities. In Holland, the Arminians, though better prepared for resistance than their English brethren,

some of the Calvinists of that age might attach to his Grace for indulging in such enlarged designs and benevolent sentiments, it is

declined an appeal to arms, and yielded to their tyrannical conquerors without any other resistance than that of remonstrance and petition, which are the only weapons recognized by true christians. In neither country did the Calvinistic pastors fully succeed in their wishes, though in both they had indulged vast hopes of supreme dictation in Church and State. Those hopes, however, were frustrated by the statesmen in the two nations, who had designs of their own to execute. In Holland the statesmen maintained their authority, not only against the insidious aggressions of the predestinarian ecclesiastics who were elated with their victory over the Arminians, but likewise against those bolder attempts of Prince Maurice who failed in his intention to elevate himself to the rank of a monarch and to render himself absolute. (See pages 524 and .) To the republican statesmen of England I have adjudged their due meed of measured approbation in pages 400, 436 & 448, for the resistance which they gave to the "exorbitant demands of the Calvinistic pastors;" yet those interested legislators allowed themselves and the whole nation to be duped and abused by Cromwell, whose tyrannical conduct became at length disgusting even to his supple dependant, Dr. John Owen. The effects of these Calvinistic movements in both countries may be thus stated: Prince Maurice failed in his hazardous and tyrannical enterprize: Cromwell, availing himself of the experience afforded by the failure of the Dutchman, adopted more decisive measures than Maurice had done, for obtaining political supremacy by means of the triumphant Calvinists. The Dutch Arminians opposed in a legal manner the ambitious designs of Prince Maurice; and the English Arminians boldly opposed Cromwell, and censured him for his mal-practices, both in personal interviews and from the press, at the very time when these Calvinists who have been depicted, by their party, as "the grand defenders of English liberty," exhibited the most abject subserviency to the tyrant, flattered his passions, frequented his court, and offered him the grateful incense of fulsome adulation. So that the Dutch and the English Arminians did not differ so much in the *kind* as in the *degree* of "the civil liberty" which they severally patronized and defended: And if we make allowances for the difference of name between a REPUBLIC and a MONARCHY, and for the relative freedom of the institutions of each of those modifications of civil government, we shall find that the object of the Arminians in both countries was essentially alike, and that their spirited exertions were laudably directed to the preservation of their ancient laws and liberties.

More points of co-incidence and contrast between the Arminians of England and those of Holland might here be added; but those already enumerated will serve to shew, that the Dutch and English Calvinists are not entitled in any sense to the praise which has thus been inconsiderately adjudged. If it be alleged, that the latter were the authors of the Revolution of 1688, all commendation on account of that occurrence must likewise be withheld from them; for Bishop Warburton will afford them some correct information respecting the Inter-regnum, the Restoration, and the Revolution, in the subjoined brief quotation: "This miserable nation, now become the scorn and opprobrium of the whole earth, at length grew *tired*, rather than *ashamed*, of its repeated follies. In this temper they hastily recalled the heir of the monarchy: and as the cause of all these miseries had been their insisting on unreasonable conditions from the crown, they did [acted] like men driven out of one extreme, who never take breath till they have plunged themselves into another,—they strove to atone for their *unjust demands* upon the VIRTUOUS father, by the *most lavish concessions* to his FLAGITIOUS son; who succeeded to the inheritance, with all those advantages of an undefined prerogative which an ambitious prince could wish for the foundation of an arbitrary system: A sad presage to the friends of liberty, that their generous labours were not yet at an end! Indeed, within less than half a century, the old family-projects, taken up again by the two last princes of this line, revived the public quarrel. But it was conducted under happier auspices, not by the assistance of sectaries, but by the national Church; and concluded in the final establishment of a free constitution."

reasonable to suppose, that his plan for converting the Papists and ameliorating their condition,* will be viewed with complacency by modern Calvinists, many of whom are violent sticklers for what is commonly styled CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.†

The sentence, therefore, on which I have bestowed these prolix animadversions, would be far more correct, if it were thus expressed: "At the decisive "crisis of the Civil War in England, CALVINISM went along with *sedition*, "*fanaticism, innovation, democracy, oppression, licentiousness, and disorder;*— "while ARMINIANISM went along with *loyalty to the lawful sovereign*, "*enlarged toleration in doctrinal matters, veneration for the ancient laws* "*and institutions of the kingdom, the consolidation of Christianity, and a* "*studied regard to the important interests of the Church Universal;* the "great body of English Arminians being generally as favourable to *the due* "*liberty of the subject* as to *the just rights of the monarch.*"

* I have shewn, in page 550, what were the real views of Grotius respecting the Papists, both in early life and in his old age. And in some of the intermediate notes (619—630) I have elucidated "his endeavours to destroy the increasing influence of Popery, by his pacific method of infusing into the diseased body the only means of a radical cure,—*the introduction of purer and more scriptural principles.*" Archbishop Laud's endeavours were of the same healing complexion, and had a similar benevolent direction. But the Church of Rome was then too crafty to admit of renovating medicines, and to this day she manifests the same politic reluctance.

† I can easily understand the policy of those consistent advocates of *Catholic Emancipation*, who invent a plausible pretext for an indirect yet "feasible scheme of Protestant inoculation," for conveying into the body of the Romish Church healing and renovating principles. Thus the late right honourable William Pitt defended an amelioration of the condition of the Irish Papists, on account of the answer which he had received from certain Popish universities respecting the nature of spiritual allegiance to the Roman Pontiff. Such a great and well-informed statesman could not be deceived by that unsatisfactory reply; but he employed it as a politic pretence on which to ground the healing measures which it was his wish to promote. But I never could understand how it was possible for any man, especially a Protestant minister of the gospel, to justify the sweeping kind of *Catholic Emancipation* which has lately become popular among certain classes, on the abstract right of every man not only to worship God as he pleases, (which privilege has been long enjoyed by all religious denominations in these realms,) but likewise on that of the eligibility of every man to the highest offices in the State, whatever may be the religious tenets which he professes. When men argue for such *an abstract right* as the latter, in reference to the Roman Catholics, they argue for "the unalienable right" of a madman to possess a sword, though they know the first purpose to which he applies it will be the destruction of his fellow-creatures. The most noisy of those who reason thus, would, on a change of circumstances, be among the violent remonstrants against the large and noxious concessions to the Papists for which they now contend. We have a remarkable specimen of this convenient tergiversation in EVELYN'S *Diary*, under the date of October 29, 1687. It is known to every one, that the Common-Hall Orators of the city of London, in the days of Archbishop Laud, talked as largely and astutely *against* any indulgence to Papists, as some of their successors have argued *for* it: Yet a few years afterwards, when our Popish King James the Second and his Queen honoured the city with a visit in state, the Pope's Nuncio was invited with their Majesties, as Evelyn quaintly informs us: "An Anabaptist, [Sir John Peake,] "a very odd ignorant person, a mechanic I think, was Lord Mayor. The "King and Queen, and Dadi, the Pope's Nuncio, [were] invited to feast at "Guildhall. A strange turn of affairs, that those who scandalized the "Church of England as *favourers of Popery*, should publicly invite an emissary from Rome, one who represented the very person of their Antichrist!" Such mutations of conduct as this will be constantly exhibited, in the course of mundane affairs, while men argue and act upon untenable principles.

Dr. Peter Heylin has, in the Life of Dr. Laud, given an account of the concessions which, according to report, the Archbishop was willing to make to the Roman Catholics; but he

Some of the members of our national Senate have said many things on this subject, which, if the Journals report aright, require great correction: They have referred very fallaciously to the conduct of Holland and the North American Republic, as patterns by which we ought to regulate our practice. The very intolerant enactments of *some* of the United States of America, preclude any allusion to *the whole* as a proper guide in this respect. The following information with regard to Holland may, however, be worthy of perusal; it is an extract from *Batavia Illustrata*, by BURRISH, who says:

"There are very great numbers of Roman Catholics in the United Provinces; notwithstanding their religion, as Sir William Temple observes, is not immediately protected by the laws of the Republic. The same author has assigned the reason of this, which is, that the States believe *the Roman Catholic religion must make men bad subjects, whilst it teaches them to acknowledge a foreign power superior to that under which they live:* and accordingly they have made several penal laws to prevent the growth of it. But as each Province has reserved to herself the liberty of regulating religion within her own jurisdiction, these penal laws of the States General have never been put in execution. In Holland especially, neither prudence nor policy would permit them to exclude so large a body as the Roman Catholics out of the general toleration; and accordingly they are very numerous in the great towns of that Province, where the magistrates give them an equal protection with other dissenters. At Amsterdam, they have not fewer than twenty four chapels. There are great numbers of the same communion in Rotterdam and several other cities. But they are most numerous in the villages, insomuch that a miller, smith, or any other mechanic, *being a Protestant*, is sure to be a beggar if he settles in the country: For the priests never fail to enjoin their whole communion to neglect him. This perhaps may seem strange to the English reader, who considers Holland as a Reformed country, and a principal bulwark of the Protestant Religion: but I speak upon good grounds, and, amongst many proofs which I might bring of the truth of what I advance, I choose to instance the Remonstrance made to the States General, in 1725, by the deputies of the general Synod, who represented the growth of Popery in the most pathetic terms, and 'affirmed, 'that since 'the year 1650, the number of Roman Catholics, in the seven provinces, was 'increased three hundred and fifty thousand, of which they had authentic 'proofs.' This is plain evidence both of their great numbers, and the assiduity of the priests in their profession: For, considering how many of both sexes the monasteries and nunneries take off who engage in vows of celibacy and virginity, and that great numbers actually leave the United Provinces yearly upon these accounts, to settle in the religious houses of the adjacent countries; it will be difficult to account for so large an augmentation, without the help of new conversions. As necessary, however, as it may seem to restrain the growth of Popery, it would be difficult if not impossible to effect it without some degree of persecution; and therefore the States will act in it with the utmost caution. But were they less delicate, in vain are penal laws whilst the city and village schouts remain the overseers and prosecutors of criminal affairs; for these will ever dispense with the practices of the priests for a sum of money, which they are always in a condition to furnish upon such an occasion."

Without any allusion to these mal-practices in the Dutch administration of justice, which will find no parallel in Ireland, we may advert to the principle of *Popish caste* which pervades the whole of that intolerant system wherever it is allowed to hold dominion over the consciences of the populace. If these arts of exclusion were practised in a country in which Popery received only a *limited toleration*, it may not seem difficult to imagine the degree of tyranny exercised by the Popish ecclesiastics over the Irish people, who are involved in ignorance. Yet the enormities conceived by the most inventive imagination, will scarcely equal the real acts of tyranny from that impure source, which are conspicuous in Ireland, even at this enlightened period.

relates this affair in a manner very common with him when he had no certain *data* upon which to proceed. However, if the

The following quotation from Dr Gauden was published under the Protectorate, and faithfully depicts the dangers that accrue both to princes and people when no such bulwarks are raised against Popery as those which the Church of England affords. Though at that period through Cromwell's prohibition they were rendered inefficacious, yet, in the hands of able episcopal divines, they have in more than one important crisis of our history proved under God the real defence of the nation against Popery. This quotation likewise confirms the account which Burrish gives of the Dutch mode of tolerating the Papists: "Since experience shews us in England, that many subjects, by the scandal of our divisions, are turned Atheists, Papists, Socinians, Anabaptists, Familists, Seekers, Ranters, Quakers, any thing, yea nothing as to true religion, which consists in piety, equanimity, charity, the love of God and our neighbour, what shall hinder those that hereafter may be in sovereign power, and exposed to many temptations, to take the same freedom when they list, and to profess Popery or any thing when religion is left to their choice and indifferency,—there being no public worship, catechism, articles or canons, to which all agree as the card and compass of religion, by which both prince and people may safely and unanimously steer their course towards heaven in a christian consent and harmony, [and which would be] much more punctual and explicit than that is of owning *only one God*, which the Turks do, and *one Lord Jesus Christ*, which all heretics and schismatics do. Which sad fate of a prince and people, who are every day to seek and choose or change their religion, cannot befal England without sore conflicts and many bloody bickerings; the temper of the English being not so dull and phlegmatic and overawed, as that which possesseth some Dutchmen and Almaines [Germans], whose zeal for trade and gain (besides their social drinking, which begins and ends all their differences,) makes them more capable to endure different professions of religion among them, so far as they do not endanger the civil peace, nor obstruct their blessed commerce. Yet even these churches and states have some settled form and profession of religion in doctrine, worship, and discipline."

Among the numerous periodical pamphlets of a salutary description which are now published at a low price every week, I am glad to find a popular abridgment of Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, which will serve to counteract in the public mind that spurious kind of liberality towards modern Papists to which I have adverted at the commencement of this note. On this subject Dr. WORDSWORTH has observed, with great truth, in the preface to his *Ecclesiastical Biography*: "I am not ignorant of what has been said also by Dr. John Milner's predecessors, in the same argument,—by Harpsfield, Parsons, and others. But these writings have not proved, that John Fox is not one of the most faithful and authentic of all historians. We know too much of the strength of Fox's book, and of the weakness of those of his adversaries, to be further moved by Dr. John Milner's censures, than to charge them with falsehood. All the many researches and discoveries of later times, in regard to historical documents, have only contributed to place the general fidelity and truth of Fox's melancholy narrative on a rock which cannot be shaken."

No one has stated "the continual plots and attempts of the Romanists against the established church and government of England, ever since the Reformation," with greater brevity and clearness than Sir W. Dawes, Bart. afterwards Lord Archbishop of York, who tells us, in "a Sermon preached at St. Mary's church in Cambridge, on the 5th of November, 1705:"

"What endeavours did the Romanists use, (Pope Clement the Eighth by his Bulls, and the priests and other his creatures, by the influence which they had over any of the subjects of England,) to hinder King James's accession to our throne? And when they found that that would not do, they immediately contrived a desperate design for seizing the King and Prince Henry his son, even before his coronation. Which failing likewise, they soon contrived another, which they thought it was not possible should miscarry, *the Gun-powder Treason Plot.*—A plot so base, so barbarous, so

account of those concessions were correct, every man who is familiar with the progress of Lutheranism in Germany, will perceive, that they do not yield so much to the Roman Catholics

devilish in all its circumstances as hardly any age or history can parallel; and withal so cunningly contrived, so secretly carried on, so plentifully encouraged by those who pretend to have the keys of heaven in their keeping, that, had not the special providence of God interposed for its discovery, we, in all probability, had not been here this day to worship God in the pure way of the Church of England: Nay, perhaps the Reformation all over Europe had been, long before this time, rooted up and destroyed.

"In King Charles the First's reign, when the Papists boasted most of their loyalty,—and when, to do them right, many of them did shew themselves better than the principles of their religion in this respect, (Oh that they would do so in many more!)—even then, I say, we are not to learn, who first fomented the war in Scotland, even an holy Cardinal, [Richelieu]; who inflamed the troubles in Ireland, by a most horrid massacre of the Protestants; who conspired to take away the King's and Archbishop's life in England; who acted among the rebels in disguise; who kept a council at London and transmitted intelligence to Rome; and by whom it was resolved, *that the King's death was for the good of the Catholic cause.* Lastly, who submitted to, courted and fawned upon the usurped powers, and gave them to understand, that they might be much surer of *them* than of *the Prelatic party.*

"All the reign of King Charles the Second, how were we continually alarmed with fears and apprehensions of Popish conspiracies! What shrewd suspicious circumstances at least were there, that the Papists had had a hand in the firing of London! What plain proof of their designs upon the King's life, and the subversion of our religion and government! And when, at last, that unhappy prince began to open his eyes, and see the danger which he was in from them, a sudden, seasonable death for them, not very like a natural one, sealed up his eyes for ever.

"I need say very little of the next reign: POPERY and ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT were then barefacedly forcing themselves in upon us: And this learned body especially, as also her sister of Oxford, had their rights, liberties, properties, and (above all,) their most holy religion, invaded with so much violence, and were put into such imminent danger of losing all that was most dear and valuable to them, that it would be a severe and intolerable reflexion upon us to speak as if we had the least need to be reminded of that time.

"King William's reign was one constant struggle against Popery and arbitrary government, both dangerously threatened by a zealous bigot to both,—the French King! And when the Papists found that they could not be too hard for him in open combat, how pitifully, how basely did they contrive a secret assassination! How dishonourably did the French King deny his right and title to the crown, which for a present convenience he had owned; and set up and maintained a pretended prince against him!

"And even now, in the happy reign of our gracious Queen [Anne,] how zealously is the same pretence kept up, and the hopes of the Popish party here buoyed up with it! How vastly doth the number of Popish priests, those sure fore-runners of mischief, increase daily! What more than ordinary care has been taken of late, to reprint old Popish books; to set forth new ones; to give pretended answers to the writings of our most eminent divines against Popery; to draw schemes of catholic unity; and, in one word, to use all means that they dare to seduce her Majesty's subjects from their religion, and then, by necessary consequence, from their duty and allegiance to her!

"I shall only add the secret arts that the Romanists have always used, to divide us amongst ourselves, by keeping up, ever since the Reformation, a pretence of the necessity of *a yet farther and purer reformation*, and thereby hindering us (Oh that our Dissenters would be so wise, as to see and disappoint this their contrivance!) from uniting upon one bottom; by creeping into the assemblies of our Dissenters, nay even into their pulpits, and their blowing the coals of contention, between them and the Church of England," &c. Every reader will add, "May this nation never again be cursed with the prevalence of Popish superstitions and practices!"

as the pious and moderate Melancthon was inclined to concede to the Elector of Cologne.* But Dr. Heylin's statement is an

* Grotius often refers to the pacific measures of the benevolent Melancthon. As a practical illustration of his conduct, the following account of his labours in Cologne, undertaken at the request of Herman de Vida, the Popish Archbishop of that city, who had formerly been a persecutor of the Protestants, will be perused with interest:

"He had before desired the Elector of Saxony to send Melancthon to him. Accordingly, the latter set out about the end of April 1543, and drew up, in conjunction with Bucer, a plan of reformation, which was read to the Archbishop, and examined attentively by him. They gave him up certain things, that were not consonant to the doctrine of the Protestants, and which made Luther complain of Melancthon and Bucer, as conniving on that occasion. The Elector of Saxony was no less dissatisfied with this conduct, though the Landgrave [of Hesse] told him, that he must not promise himself the work would be completed at once. The Archbishop desired to have all such privileges retained as were not impious, and every order should preserve its privileges. He did not intend to abolish Episcopacy. 'It was proposed by Herman, as may be gathered from Melanchthon's letters, and 'as appears more evidently from Chrytæus, book xvi. to retain as 'many of the ancient ceremonies as had nothing of impiety in them; 'together with the dignity, liberty, and all the rights and prerogatives of 'Colleges; in order that there might be an example set of a moderate and 'pious regulation in his Cathedral. However, the event shewed, that it is 'extremely difficult to discover a medium where things are so greatly cor-'rupted. Hence all this care and caution proved ineffectual; and the retain-'ing of the pomp destroyed all the increase with regard to the purity of 'doctrine.' In the plan for a reformation published by him, he made no mention either of Luther or the Pope. And he couched his expressions with regard to the Lord's Supper in such a manner, that the Zuinglians might approve of it. Luther approved of his not being mentioned in it; he being sensible that his name might have offended people; but then he condemned the other parts of this cautious conduct, and was furiously enraged against Melanchthon; and would possibly have never been appeased, had not Melanchthon laid the blame on Martin Bucer; and if the Elector of Saxony had not endeavoured to prevent an open rupture between them. 'Melanch-'thon was not ignorant of Luther's displeasure, which afflicted him to such 'a degree, that he had thoughts of leaving Wittenberg, if he should be 'obnoxious to Luther; or that (which indeed was talked of) he should be 'publicly refuted by him. However, by the pious forecast of the Elector of 'Saxony, and Pontanus's meditation, Luther was softened, and allowed of 'Melanchthon's excuse, the latter saying, that it was not he, who drew up 'the article of reformation, with regard to the Sacrament, in Colen; and 'that he had not concealed from Bucer such particulars as he thought were 'wanting in it; but that no regard had been shewn to his remonstrance: 'Hence Luther's anger was turned, with greater fury, against Bucer.'"

The Popish clergy opposed the plans of the Archbishop, and applied themselves to the Pope and the Emperor. The Pope excommunicated and deposed this eminent ecclesiastic, and by the aid of the Emperor Charles V, compelled him to resign his See in 1547. Seckendorf says: "The various ranks of his subjects declared *they would stand by him;* and things now wore such a face, as if violence would ensue. However, the good old man complied with the persuasions of the Counts Manderschied and Nuenarius, the chief noblemen in the Archbishopric: Pitying his people, and desirous not to let them be involved in the calamities of war, he submitted spontaneously, and absolved them all from their oath of allegiance. He died six years after, on the thirteenth of August 1552, in the place of his birth; and, as Sleidan observes, of the death he desired: for he had frequently wished, either that he might have an opportunity of propagating the doctrine of the gospel and settling the Churches in his dominions on a right foundation, or that he might lead a private life. And upon his friends afterwards suggesting to

extract from two of the Archbishop's greatest enemies, and consequently cannot be expected to do justice to his designs. Having quoted the concessions which they enumerated, the Doctor observes:

"In which compliances, so far forth as they speak the truth, (for in some points, through the ignorance of the one and the malice of the other, they are much mistaken,) there is scarce any thing which may not very well consist with the established, though for a time discontinued, doctrine of the church of England; 'the articles whereof,' as the same Jesuit hath observed, 'seem patient, or ambitious rather, of some sense wherein they 'may seem catholick:' And such a sense is put upon them by him that calls himself *Franciscus a Sancta Clara*.* And if,

him, that *he would draw much envy upon himself by this change of Religion*, he used to reply, *that he could not be surprised with any thing that might happen*."—BAYLE'S *Dictionary*.

* The subjoined moving passage from Dr. HAMMOND'S *View of the New Directory*, published in 1645, is a proof, in addition to the many which this volume contains, of the truly catholic amplitude of the Creed of the English Church: "That the Liturgy of the Church of England, (which was at first, as it were, written in blood, at the least sealed and delivered down to us by the martyrdom of most of the compilers of it,) should ever since be daily solicited and called to the same stage and theatre, to fill up what was behind of the sufferings of those Fathers,—is no strange or new piece of economy in the Church of God. There is not a surer evidence and criterion, by which to discern the great excellency of moderation in that book, [the Liturgy,] and so the apportionateness of it to the end to which it was designed, than the experience of these so contrary fates, which it hath constantly undergone betwixt the persecutors on both extreme parts,—the assertors of the PAPACY on the one side, and the CONSISTORY on the other; the one accusing it of *schism*, the other of *compliance*; the one of *departure* from the Church of Rome, the other of *remaining with it*; like the poor Greek Church our fellow-martyr, [that is] devoured by the Turk for TOO MUCH Christian profession, and damned by the Pope for TOO LITTLE: It being the dictate of natural reason, in Aristotle, 'that the middle virtue is most infal-'libly known by this—*that it is accused by either extreme as guilty of the 'other extreme!*'"

It is undoubtedly one of the excellences on account of which the Articles and Liturgy of the Church of England are justly celebrated, that their sanction, like that of the Scriptures, is claimed by a multitude of dissidents in religious opinions—by moderate Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, Arminians, Baptists, Pædo-baptists, &c. The subjoined passage from BAXTER'S *Key for Catholics*, in continuation of that quoted in page 679, contains some just observations in reference to those Papists who sought to give such a catholic interpretation to the English Confession, as would render it ample enough to afford shelter to them and the less objectionable of their sentiments, and is undoubtedly an indirect compliment to the good intentions of Archbishop Laud and Grotius: "As for the King himself that was their head, if any conjecture that *he was a flat Papist*, (as I have heard many rashly say,) I think there is much evidence to confute them.—(1.) That very letter to the Pope, on which the suspicion is most grounded, if you mark it exactly, doth intimate no more than a desire of a union and reconciliation, with some additions that may bear a tolerable sense.—(2.) His own profession of the Protestant religion is sufficient evidence.—(3.) His disputation with the Marquess of Worcester cleareth it.—(4.) His speech at death, and papers since published, clear it more. So that I think we may be confident that he was no nearer to Rome than was the reconcilable part of the Greeks: and that he desired no more than Bishop Bramhall, and other of his Bishops offer

upon such compliances as those before on the part of the English, the conditions offered by the Pope might have been confirmed, who seeth not that the greatest benefit of the reconcili-

them,—to have the Church governed by Patriarchs, and the Pope to be *Principium Unitatis*, &c. Yea, for my own part I am persuaded, that the Papists were as much afraid of King Charles and the Grotian design, as of any thing that of long time hath been hatched against them. They are not all of a mind at home. The French and moderate party no doubt applauded the design, and liked such writings as S. Clara's, and would gladly have married England and France in religion. But others (the Italian Spanish Jesuited party) might easily foresee what danger was in brewing for them. Had France, England, Sweden, Denmark, and the German Lutherans, agreed together, to bear down the Calvinists as irreconcilable on one side, (as Grotius intimates it necessary,) and the Italians and their adherents that set up the Pope above a Council, on the other side, it would have made the Pope afraid, as no doubt he was. For though he was glad that we would draw nearer him, and make him the head in any sort, yet he knew not how to stop so great an inundation as was like upon the union to overflow him. And hence was the malice of the Jesuits against the life of the King, and withal that he was fallen into such hands where he was like to do them little service. Secret. Windebank's letter recited by Prynne, tells us, 'that it was 'the Jesuits that were the death of Father Leander, and so were the enemies 'of Francis. S. Clara and his book,' which caused it to incur a Roman censure. So that, with one part of them, that is the best way which the other is more afraid of than of Protestants. We see it by the Jansenian contest. We see it in that Cassander, Erasmus, Vives, &c. are *excellent Catholics* with some of them, and *heretical and vile* with the rest.—The persecuted Nonconformists of the Protestant party, though they were most adverse to the Papists, had some of the Popish brood at last crept in among them, not only to spy out their minds and ways, but to head the party, and sow among them the seeds of further discontent and error, and to make them a nursery for various sects. For every where, by their good wills, the Jesuits will have some."

In this and other passages of his book, Baxter acknowledges the existence of the leaven of Popery among the Puritans; the proofs of which fact, and the narrative of the proceedings of the Pope's agents among some, both of the Conformists and Nonconformists, would fill a volume, and, if well and impartially written, it might be useful to that class of men among us who account the Roman Catholics quite an artless and inoffensive race, that are peaceably pursuing "the noiseless tenour of their way" to heaven. The subjoined entry in EVELYN'S *Diary* contains a brief account of the labours of a Jesuit among the early Puritans: "24th June, 1690, I dined at the Bishop of St. Asaph's, [Dr. Lloyd,] Almoner to the new Queen, [Mary,] with the famous lawyer Sir George Mackenzie, late Lord Advocate of Scotland, against whom both the Bishop and myself had written and published books, both now most friendly reconciled. He related to us many particulars of Scotland, the present sad condition of it, the inveterate hatred which the Presbyterians shew to the family of the Stuarts, and the exceeding tyranny of those bigots who acknowledge no superior on earth in civil or divine matters, maintaining that *the people only have the right of government;* their implacable hatred to the Episcopal order and the Church of England. He observed, that the first Presbyter dissents from our discipline were introduced by the Jesuits' order, about the twentieth of Queen Elizabeth; a famous Jesuit amongst them feigning himself a Protestant, and was the first who began to pray extempory, and brought in that which they since called, and are still so fond of, *praying by the Spirit*. This Jesuit remained many years before he was discovered; [he] afterwards died in Scotland, where he was buried at * * * having yet on his monument, *Rosa inter spinas*, [a rose among thorns]!"

The following anecdote from Arthur WILSON'S auto-biography, while it illustrates this interference of the Jesuits in our national affairs, gives some

ation would have redounded to this church, to the King and people? His Majesty's security provided for, by the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, so far as it concerned his temporal power: The bishops of England to be independent of the Popes of Rome: The clergy to be permitted the use of marriage: The people to receive the communion in both kinds, and all divine Offices officiated in the English tongue: No innovation made in doctrine, but only in the qualifying of some expressions, and discharging such out-landish glosses as were put upon them. And, seeing this, what man could be so void of charity, so uncompassionate of the miseries and distractions of Christendom,—as not to wish from the very bottom of his soul, that the reconciliation had proceeded upon so good terms, —as not to magnify the men, to succeeding ages, who were the instruments and authors of so great a blessing?*

aecount of Sancta Clara, and contains a compliment to Archbishop Laud, which will possess a higher interest when it it considered what Puritanic prejudices the historian has expressed, and that the conversation occurred while the Archbihop was in authority. Wilson had accompanied the Earl of Warwick to the seige of Breda in 1637, and on his returo was detained some time at Bruges, "where," says he, "some English and Scots Jesuits found me out at my lodging, with whom I had often converse. Among the rest, one Dr. Weston, an old man, fell into discourse with me about the state of England. He loathed the memory of Queen Elizabeth. These times pleased him better, but the little Archbishop of Canterbury [Laud] he could not endure. I pulled a book out of my pocket, written by the Provincial of the English Friars, Johannes de Sancta Clara, which tended to reconcile the Church of England and the Church of Rome, if we would come up a step to them, and they come down a step to us. He told me, that it was impossible that the Church of Rome should ever descend in the least degree; and the author of the book, if he were at Rome, would be mewed up between two stone walls, and his book burnt under his nose. 'I know the man,' said he, 'he is one of Canterbury's trencher-flies, and eats perpetually at his 'table; a creature of his making.' 'Then,' said I, 'you should better 'approve of my Lord of Canterbury's actions, being he tends so much your 'way.'—'No,' replied he, 'he is too subtle to be yoked; too ambitious to 'have a superior. He will never submit to Rome. He means to frame a 'motley religion of his own, and be Lord of it himself.' He took me for some disguised English parson, as he after told me; 'for,' said he, 'they 'use to come over in scarlet, like gentlemen, as ours do into England.' But when he was acquainted with my relation, he feasted me at his lodgings, and used me with much civility. And being familiar with him, I asked him many questions, which are *Arcana* among them, and he was ingenuous to me in discovering the truth. Among the rest, I desired him to tell me, whether there were any kind of relish of truth, (which some Jesuits do write,) that the Puritans in England did machinate the Gunpowder Treason. He told me plainly, that was but to take off the first edge of the scandal; for he knew of it both in the contriving and acting."

* The following truly liberal observations were written by Dr. Gauden, after suffering, from the dominant Calvinists, nearly twenty years, the reproach of being "Popishly affected," though on this account he had far less to endure than many of his brethren in the ministry: For he was preserved from molestation during the inter-regnum by the powerful patronage of some of the nobility, who had joined the Parliamentary interest, and who were among his kindred and intimate connections. It was his relationship to them, as he intimates in page 657, which created in the mind of Archbishop Laud a degree of prejudice against him. The second paragraph in

"But then admitting, as we may, that *no such reconciliation was upon the anvil,* and that our *two discoursers have proceeded only upon suppositions,* yet Canterbury had good ground for what he

this extract will remind the pious reader of the reasons adduced by St. Paul, (Romans ix, 4,) why "the Israelites, his kinsmen according to the flesh," were entitled to much veneration: "Whose are the fathers; to whom pertain the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants," &c.:—

"Being now past juvenile heats and popular fervours in religion, I confess I cannot but vehemently approve the pious and learned endeavours of those excellent men, who,—after Melanchthon, Cassander, Saravia, Wicelius, Thuanus, Grotius, Casaubon, and others,—have not only seriously deplored the sad rents and wounds of Christian churches, but sought to pour in wine and oil of wholesome and unpassionate counsels; not palliating apparent errors, yet not aggravating needless jealousies, nor inflaming mutual angers, in order to gratify either the sacrilegious policies of princes, or the pride of Popes, or the factiousness of people.

"I have no antipathies in me, contracted by any education, custom or acquaintance, against the learned, wise, and worthy Romanists (or any others) either as MEN and CHRISTIANS: In both respects I love and esteem them, for their many excellent parts and works, which are worthy of commendation and imitation. To them and their pious predecessors, with whom we in England once were in full communion, we thankfully owe, under God, (as did our forefathers) the successive honour and happiness of our being baptized, and admitted to the privileges of Christ's flock and people. To them we owe that conservation, for the main, of true religion, as Christian, although (as Christ in the manger) it were wrapped up in some either rotten rags or unhandsome clouts for many years; the substance of which our Reformation in England no more changed, than the angel did the person of Jehoshua the high priest, when he bid take away from him the filthy garments wherewith he was clothed, and to put on him change of fair and goodly garments. (Zach. iii, 3, 4.) We owe to the Romanists, though ill husbands of religion in later ages, that Word and those Sacraments which they conserved and transmitted, like candles put into a dark lantern; by which, when we came to open the light side, we saw both our and their deviations from the good old way, which is God's right way: To which we rather chuse to return under the name of *pious novelty* and *just reformation*, than obstinately to continue with them in their *pristine aberrations* and *inveterate deformities*. Though they were our fathers in nature and religion, yet we think it not only lawful for us, but our duty, without any brand of *disobedient children*, to cure that leprosy or hereditary disease which we had contracted from them our less healthful parents, especially when themselves have preserved for us and afforded to us that receipt of GOD'S WORD, which teacheth and alloweth us the proper medicine and cure. The successful use of which is not more comfortable to us than commendable in us, notwithstanding our progenitors' obstinacy to continue in the same deformed maladies, after they have seen the happy experiments of its virtues and remedy upon us, who never gloried in or designed any NEW Christian Religion, but only the *just reformation and recovery* of the OLD from those crazy distempers and dangerous diseases which, by ill times and ill orders, it had contracted.

"I well know how little all religion signifies without CHARITY; that, next to gross ignorance, immorality, unbelief, and impenitence, UNCHARITABLENESS is the pest and poison of the soul, which infects, beyond the antidote of gifts, good works, and miracles. I consider that many imperfections and failings are venial with true charity, which covers a multitude of sins of infirmity, (1 Pet. iv, 8); but no perfections are acceptable to God, or available to the enjoyer of them, if destitute of charity; that the measure of a Christian is more by his *heart* than his *head*, by his humble and honest affections than his high and puffing speculations; that in the bosom of the church, as many perish by the rock of uncharitableness as the flats of ignorance. (1 Cor. viii, 7.) Therefore, however I see the Papists are mostwhat

did, were it no other then the settling of the Church of England upon the first principles and positions of her reformation. But he had further aims than so: He had some thoughts, (and I have reason to believe it,) by conferences first, and if that failed, by the ordinary course of ecclesiastical censures,* of gaining the Papists to the church; and therefore it concerned him, in point of prudence, to smooth the way, by removing all such blocks and obstacles which had been laid before them by the Puritan faction. He knew, that from their infancy they had been trained up in a regular order of devotion,† and that they

so supercilious and high in the instep, that they not only deny us Protestants of all sorts, (even the most noble, sober and moderate, which were in the Church of England,) their charity, but they despise all our charity to them; yet I cannot think it my duty to *requite evil with evil*, or uncharitableness in them with the like unchristian passion in myself, but rather to *requite evil with good*, to commend what is good in them, to own with thanks any good from them, to pray for them, to be ready to do all offices of christian love to them, to keep all inward christian communion with them, and to be cheerfully disposed to exercise all actual communion with them, in all such holy doctrines and duties of christian faith and worship as agree to the word of God and the mind of Christ, which are the CENTRE and CIRCUMFERENCE of all ecclesiastical union."

* The Archbishop's remark concerning his own conduct at the Council-board, (page 651,) would undoubtedly have been fulfilled in this case: "Well might I move, in some cases, CHARITY or CONSCIENCE to them; but I left them to the LAW, if thither they would go." Subsequently to the exercise of his CHARITY, the Papists would have found, to their great personal inconvenience, the Archbishop's LAW to be of a very heavy description.

† "These jealousies of *some Bishops*, being *Popishly inclined*, never had, so far as ever I could discern, any farther ground than this: Some Bishops pleased themselves, beyond what was generally practised in England, with a more ceremonious conformity than others observed; FIRST, to the canons and injunctions, which (they thought) were yet in force in the Church of England, being not repealed, but only antiquated through a general disuse. NEXT, being aged and learned men, and more conversant in the antiquities of the Church than younger ministers, they found that such ceremonious solemnities in religion were then very much used, without any sin or scandal; no godly Bishop, Presbyter, or other good Christian, ever making scruple of using the sign of the cross in baptism, and at other times of bowing, kneeling, prostrating himself, or of putting his mouth to the ground and kissing the pavement when he came to worship God, or to celebrate holy mysteries, expressing thereby that humility, faith, fervency, sense of his own sinful unworthiness, and that unfeigned reverence which he bare in his heart toward God and his service. This, I suppose, made some of our Bishops hope, that they might with the like inoffensiveness add such solemnity to sanctity, and such outward veneration to inward devotion, and yet be as far from Popery or superstition as the ancient Christians were; yea, as those Ministers and others now pretend to be, who make so much of lifting up their eyes and hands in prayer, or who are pleased to be uncovered in praying, preaching, singing, or celebrating the sacraments.

"Besides this, many Bishops found a secret genius of rusticity and rudeness, of familiarity and irreverence, strangely prevailing among country preachers and people so far, that they saw many of them placed much of their religion in affecting a slovenly rudeness and irreverence in all publick and holy duties; loth to kneel, not only at the sacrament, but at any prayers, or to be uncovered at any duty; enemies to any man, and prejudiced against all he did, if he shewed any ceremonious respect in his serving God. They saw some were grown so spiritual, that they forgot they had bodies; and pretending to approve themselves to God, *only as to the inward man*,

loved that Religion best which came accompanied with decency and external splendour; that they objected nothing more against us, than the novelty of our doctrine, the heterodoxies maintained in public by some of our preachers, the slovenly keeping of our churches, the irreverence of the people in them, the rude and careless slubbering over of our common prayers. And what encouragements had they for resorting to the congregation, when they should hear the Pope defamed,* whom they

they cared not for any thing that was regular, exemplary, orderly, comely, or reverent, *as to the outward celebration*, in the judgment and appointment of the Church of England. Hence some men grew to such great applaudings of themselves, (as if this were the only simplicity of the Gospel,) that they thought every man went about to cut the throat of Reformed Religion, who applied any scissars or razor to pare off rudeness and rusticity, or to trim it to any decency in the outward ministrations, according to what seemed best to the Church of England. Many Bishops thought, that religion would grow strangely wild, hirsute, horrid and incult, like Nebuchadnezzar's hair and nails, if it were left to the boisterous clowneries and unmannerly liberties which every one would affect, contrary to the public appointment of the church.—If some Bishops pleased themselves in using such outward and enjoined ceremonies, beyond what was ordinary to some men, yet certainly a thousand decent and innocent ceremonies, such as those enjoined by the Church of England were declared to be, do not amount to one Popish opinion; nor are they so heavy as one popular and erroneous principle, which tends to faction, licentiousness and profaneness."—GAUDEN's *Tears*, &c.

* The following extract from HEYLIN's *Life of Laud*, will prove, that the prohibition to call the Pope "Antichrist" was not peculiar to that Archbishop's regimen, but had been "the order of the day" in the reign of King James when the Spanish match was in agitation. It will likewise corroborate the opinion which I have given, in page 376, of the obedient conduct of King Charles, and of the hereditary attachment to Popery exhibited by nearly the whole of the Stuart family. (Page 557.)

"The Bishop of Exeter's [Hall's] book [*Episcopacy by Divine Right*] being finished, and recommended by the author to his [Laud's] last perusal before it went unto the press, he took the pains to read it over with care and diligence. In the perusal whereof he took notice, amongst other things, that the strict superstition of the Sabbatarians was but lightly touched at; whereas he thought, that some smarter plaster to that sore might have done no harm. He observed also, that he passed by this point, viz. *Whether Episcopacy be an Order or Degree*, as not much material; whereas, in the judgment of such learned men as he had consulted, it was the main ground of the whole cause: And therefore he desired him to weigh it well, and to alter it with his own pen as soon as might be. But that which gave him most offence was, that the title of *Antichrist* was positively and determinately bestowed upon the Pope; which being so contrary to the judgment of many learned Protestants, as well as his own, he allowed not of; but howsoever thought it fit to acquaint his majesty with the business, and, having so done, to submit it to his will and pleasure. Concerning which, he writes thus to the Bishop in his letter of Jan. 14. this present year, [1639]. 'The last (with 'which I durst not but acquaint his majesty,) is about Antichrist, which 'title in three or four places you bestow upon the Pope positively and deter-'minately; whereas king James of blessed memory, having brought strong 'proof in a work of his, as you well know, to prove the Pope to be Anti-'christ, yet, being afterwards challenged about it, he made this answer, 'when the king that now is went into Spain, and acquainted with it: *That he 'writ that, not concludingly, but by way of argument only that the Pope and 'his adherents might see there were as good and better arguments to prove him 'Antichrist, than for the Pope to challenge temporal jurisdiction over kings.* 'The whole passage being known to me, I could not but speak with the king 'about it, who commanded me to write unto you, that you might qualify

beheld with reverence as their common father; their ceremonies to be counted *Antichristian*, their mass Idolatrous, their whole religion worse than that of the Turks and Moors, conformity

'your expression in these particulars, and so not differ from the known judg-'ment of his pious and learned father. This is easily done with your own 'pen; and the rather, because all Protestants join not in this opinion of Anti-'christ.' According to which good advice, the Bishop of Exon. qualified some of his expressions, and deleted others, to the contentment of his sove-reign, the satisfaction of his metropolitan, and his own great honour."

No man can doubt that the Archbishop's prejudices against the Pope were as inveterate as those of Bishop Hall: But their royal master was connected with Papists, his Queen was a member of the Church of Rome, and it was therefore his majesty's pleasure that no undue stigma should attach to the Roman Pontiff. Bishop Hall's book was finished in 1639; yet the modera-tion which he then displayed, by a suitable deference to the suggestions of his civil and ecclesiastical superiors, was not a temporary piece of policy adopted solely on that occasion. It was the result of conviction; and he thus expressed his opinion concerning it, fourteen years afterwards, in a letter to Archbishop Usher: Having alluded (in 1654,) to "the disquisition of that Antichrist lately set on foot by Grotius and Dr. Hammond," he makes this frank acknowledgment:—"I must confess, if the times may accord, there may seem to be some probability in casting Antichrist upon an age not so far remote from the Apostolic age as hath been commonly reputed; since the Apostle speaks of it as a thing so near at hand, that the ordinary christians of Thessalonica were well acquainted with the bar of his revelation."—Nei-ther Grotius, Laud, Hammond, Hall, nor the British divines at the Synod of Dort, could perceive any utility in deciding "concludingly" respecting the Pope as *the predicted Antichrist*, whatever might be their opinions "hy-pothetically" concerning the Pontiff's close approximation to the scriptural characters of "the man of sin and the son of perdition."

To those who have compared Bishop Hall's early works with those which he wrote towards the close of life, it is unnecessary to remark, that his views of General Redemption, and even of the severe measures adopted by Laud, were greatly altered when he perceived the tendency of the principles avowed by the Archbishop's Calvinistic opponents, of whom he had at first been a great patron. In his celebrated letter from the Tower, he employs this expos-tulation: "Can my enemies challenge me as a close and backstair friend to POPERY or ARMINIANISM, who have, in so many pulpits and so many presses, cried down both? Surely the very paper which I have spent in the refuta-tion of both these, is enough to stop more mouths than can be guilty of this calumny!" When "he was by his Majesty in 1627 raised to the Bishopric of Exeter," he informs his readers: "I entered upon that place, not without much prejudice and suspicion on some hands; for some that sat at the stern of the Church had me in great jealousy for too much favour of Puritanism. I soon had intelligence who were set over me for espials; my ways were curiously observed and scanned. However, I took the resolution to follow those courses which might most conduce to the peace and happiness of my new and weighty charge; finding therefore some factious spirits very busy in that diocese, I used all fair and gentle means to win them to good order; and therein so happily prevailed, that they were all perfectly reclaimed, so as I had not one minister professedly opposite to the anciently received orders, (for I was never guilty of urging *any new impositions,)* of the Church in that large diocese. Thus we went on comfortably together, till some persons of note in the clergy, being guilty of their own negligence and disorderly courses, began to envy our success; and finding me ever ready to encourage those whom I found conscionably forward, and painful in their places, and willingly giving way to orthodox and peaceable lectures in several parts of my diocese, opened their mouths against me, both obliquely in the pulpit, and directly at the court; complaining of my too much *indulgence to persons disaffected*, and my too much *liberty of frequent lecturings* within my charge. The billows went so high, that I was three several times upon my knee to his

to whom in rites and ceremonies, was held to be more tolerable, by the Puritan preachers, than to those of Rome! These rubs were first to be removed, before they could have any

Majesty, to answer these great criminations. And what contestation I had with some great lords concerning these particulars, it would be too long to report; only this,—under how dark a cloud I was hereupon, I was so sensible, that I plainly told the lord Archbishop of Canterbury, 'that, rather 'than I would be obnoxious to those slanderous tongues of his misinformers, 'I would cast up my rochet.' I knew I went right ways, and would not endure to live under undeserved suspicions. What messages of caution I had from some of my wary brethren, and what expostulatory letters I had from above, I need not relate. Sure I am I had peace, and comfort at home, in the happy sense of that general unanimity, and loving correspondence of my clergy; till, in the last year of my presiding there, after the synodical [or *et-cetera*] oath was set on foot, (which yet I did never tender to any one minister of my diocese,) by the incitation of some busy interlopers of the neighbour county, some of them began to enter into an unkind contestation with me, about the election of clerks of the convocation; whom they secretly, without ever acquainting me with their desire or purpose, (as driving to *that end which we see now accomplished,)* would needs nominate and set up in competition to those whom I had, after the usual form, recommended to them."

Thus, it is seen, the good Bishop discovered the perverse dispositions and sinister designs of "these conscionably forward and painful" Calvinistic ministers, before he left his first diocese; in the management of which, it has been justly said, "he miscarried only in some inadvertent expressions which yet he submitted to the censure of the church, and in an over-credulous charity whereby yet he designed the kingdom's peace." The vile treatment which he received from his Predestinarian brethren, after his removal to Norwich in 1641, has been narrated in his own expressive language in pages 318, 329, and 334. Neither his former undisguised hostility to Popery and Arminianism, nor the piety and moderation of his latter years, afforded any protection against the assaults of his enemies. The fine picture of the ejected Bishops, which was drawn by the hand of a master, in page 666, is as applicable to this venerable Prelate as to any of his right reverend brethren: In his retirement on his own farm, at Higham near Norwich, "he spoke and wrote only the words of soberness, truth, and charity," &c. Of those excellent christian treatises which he published at that period, I never met with one that a pious Arminian would desire to have suppressed,—with the exception, perhaps, of his famous letter respecting *the oath tendered to the members of the Synod of Dort*, of which the reader will find a curious history in the second volume of this work. I have now before me a copy of the first edition (1652) of one of his small pamphlets, entitled "The Christian laid forth in his whole Disposition and Carriage." It is known to all who love the lore of that age, that when republican liberty was introduced, the freedom of the press was not established, and no book could make its appearance without an authoritative *Imprimatur*: For the removal of this stigma from a reputed free country, who that glories in the name of Englishman has not read "AREOPAGITICA, a speech of Mr. John Milton, for the liberty of *unlicensed* Printing?" The Bishop's pamphlet is licensed by a Presbyterian minister, and, as he informs the reader in his Preface, that "he has gathered up this true character of a Christian out of infallible rules and *long experience*," I shall quote a few passages, illustrative of the preceding observations which I have made upon the change effected both in the Bishop's views and practice:—

"Is the Christian *a subject?* He is awfully affected to Sovereignty, as knowing by whom the powers are ordained. He dares not curse the King, no, not in his thought; nor revile the Ruler of his people, though justly faulty: Much less dare he slander the footsteps of God's anointed. He submits, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake, to every *Ordinance of God,* yea to every *Ordinance of man,* for the Lord's sake; not daring to

thoughts of uniting to us: And, for the removing of those rubs, he fell upon the courses before-mentioned; which, being *Renovations only* of some ancient usages, were branded by the

disobey in regard of the oath of God. If he have reached forth his hand to cut off but the skirt of the royal robe, his heart smites him. He is a true paymaster, and willingly renders tribute to whom tribute, custom to whom custom, honour to whom honour is due, and justly divides his duties betwixt God and Cæsar. He hath fully informed himself of all the necessary points of religion; and is so firmly grounded in those *fundamental and saving truths*, that he cannot be carried about with every wind of doctrine: As for *collateral and unmaterial verities*, he neither despiseth, nor yet doth too eagerly pursue them. Matters of speculation are not unwelcome to him; but his chief care is to reduce his knowledge to practice; and therefore he holds nothing HIS OWN but what his heart hath appropriated and his life acted. He dares not be too much wedded to his own conceit; and hath so much humility, as to think the whole Church of Christ upon earth wiser than himself. However he be A GREAT LOVER OF CONSTANCY, yet, upon better reason, he can change his mind in *some litigious and unimporting truths*, and can be silent where he must dissent. Every man shows fair in prosperity; but the main trial of the Christian is in suffering. Any man may steer in a good gale and clear sea, but the mariner's skill will be seen in a tempest. Herein the Christian goes beyond the Pagans, not in practice only, but in admiration. *We rejoice in tribulation*, saith the chosen vessel. Lo here a point transcending all the affectation of Heathenism! Perhaps some resolute spirit whether out of a natural fortitude or out of an ambition of fame or earthly glory, may set a face upon *a patient enduring of loss or pain*, but never any of those heroic Gentiles durst pretend to *a joy in suffering*. Hither can christian courage reach; knowing that tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope; and hope maketh not ashamed.—Is he bereaved of his goods and worldly estate? He comforts himself in the conscience of a better treasure that can never be lost.—Is he afflicted with sickness? His comfort is, that the inward man is so much more renewed daily, as the outward perisheth.—Is he slandered and unjustly disgraced? His comfort is, that there is a blessing which will more than make him amends.—Is he banished? He knows he is on his way homewards.—Is he imprisoned? His spirit cannot be locked in; God and his angels cannot be locked out.—Is he dying? To him to live is Christ, and to die is gain.—Is he dead? He rests from his labours, and is crowned with glory.—Shortly, he is perfect gold, that comes more pure out of the fire than it went in; neither had he ever been so great a saint in heaven, if he had not passed through the flames of his trial here upon earth."

Those who know the last interesting passages of the good Bishop's life, will not require to be told, that this is an exact portrait of himself, the result of his own "long experience;" and that he derived the chief portion of these liberal sentiments, from the once-despised practical Arminian tenets of the Church to which he belonged.

Let the subjoined extract from his "Christ Mystical," which was licensed by the same hand, and published in 1653, be compared with the mutual railing of the contending Predestinarian sects, and it will soon appear that this diffusive liberality had a higher and purer source than the one from which their narrow opinions were deduced. Unless we had previously discerned some of the retaliative acts of Divine Providence, and had been apprized of the immense benefit which poor ignorant mortals derive from personal experience, we could scarcely have been induced to believe, that the man, who, as Dean of Worcester, assisted partially in expelling the pious Arminians out of the Dutch territories, did, in his ripe and mellow age, as the *Ex-Bishop of Norwich*, compose and publish the following sentences: "What would Saint Paul now say, if he saw hundreds of sect-masters and heresiarchs, (some of them opposite to other, all [opposite] to the truth,) applauded by their credulous and divided followers? All of them claiming Christ for THEIRS, and denying him to their gainsayers! Would

odious name of *Innovations,* by some of those who out of cunning and design had long disused them. Some zealous Protes-

he not ask, ' Is Christ multiplied? Is Christ subdivided? Is Christ shred ' into infinites? O God! what is become of Christianity?' &c. But be not too much dismayed, my son! Notwithstanding all these cold dishearteningS, take courage to thyself. He that is TRUTH itself hath said, *The gates of hell shall not prevail against his Church.* In spite of all devils, there shall be saints; and those are and shall be as the scales of leviathan, &c. (Job xli, 16.) In all the main principles of religion, there is an universal and unanimous consent of all Christians, and these are they that constitute a church. Those that agree in these, Christ is pleased to admit, for matter of doctrine, as members of that body whereof he is the head. And if they admit not of each other as such [members], the fault is in the *uncharitableness* of the REFUSERS, no less than in the *error* of the REFUSED. If any vain and loose stragglers will needs sever themselves and wilfully choose to go ways of their own, let them know that the union of Christ's church shall consist entire without them: This great ocean will be one collection of waters, when these drops are lost."

In another passage he says: "It is not the variety of by-opinions that should or can exclude them from having their part in that one Catholic Church, and from their just claim to the communion of saints. While they hold the solid and precious foundation, it is not the hay or stubble (1 Cor. iii, 12.) which they lay upon it, that can set them off from God or his church. But, in the mean time, it must be granted, that *they* have much to answer for to the God of peace and unity, *who* are so much addicted to their own conceits and so indulgent to their own interest, as to raise and maintain new doctrines, and to set up new sects in the Church of Christ, varying from the common and received truths; labouring to draw disciples after them, to the great distraction of souls and scandal of Christianity. With which sort of disturbers, I must needs say, this age into which we are fallen, hath been and is above all that have gone before us, most miserably pestered. What good soul can be other than confounded to hear of and see *more than an hundred and fourscore new* (and some of them dangerous and blasphemous) opinions broached, and defended in one once famous and unanimous Church of Christ? Who can say other, upon the view of these wild thoughts, than Gerson said long since, that the world, now grown old, is full of doting fancies; if not, rather, that the world, now near his end, raves, and talks nothing but fancies and frenzies? How arbitrary soever these self-willed fanaticks may think it, to take to themselves this liberty of *thinking what they list,* and *venting what they think,* the blessed Apostle hath long since branded them with an heavy sentence, (Rom. xvi, 17.) *Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which you have learned, and avoid them; For they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by good words, and fair speeches, deceive the hearts of the simple.*—But notwithstanding all this hideous variety of vain and heterodoxal conceptions, he who is the truth of God, and the bridegroom of his spouse the Church, hath said, (Cant. vi, 9.) *My dove, my undefiled is one.* One, in the main, essential, fundamental verities necessary to salvation; though differing in divers misraised corollaries, inconsequent inferences, unnecessary additions, feigned traditions, unwarrantable practices. The body is one, though the garments differ. Yea, rather, for most of these, the garment is one, but differs in the dressing; handsomely and comely set out by one, disguised by another. Neither is it nor ever shall be in the power of all the fiends of hell, the professed makebates of the world, to make God's Church other than one; which were indeed utterly to extinguish and reduce it to nothing: For the unity and entity of the church can no more be divided, than itself."

Stronger proofs will be hereafter adduced of the great alteration in the Bishop's sentiments. But, to the considerate reader, one part of this note will elucidate the other; especially on the loveliness and importance of a strict attention to conformity in the public worship of God, wherever it was practicable. See page 535.

tants beheld his actings with no small fear, as biassing too strongly toward Rome; the Puritans exclaimed against him for a Papist; and the Papists cried him up for theirs, and gave themselves some flattering hopes of our coming towards them: But the most knowing and understanding men amongst them, found plainly, that nothing could tend more to their destruction* than the introducing of some ceremonies which by late negligence and practice had been discontinued. For I have heard from a person of known nobility, that at his being at Rome, with a father of the English college, one of the Novices came in and told him, with a great deal of joy, 'that the Eng-'lish were upon returning to the Church of Rome; that they 'began to set up altars, to officiate in their Copes, to adorn 'their churches, and to paint the pictures of Saints in the 'church windows:' To which the old father made reply, with some indignation, 'that he talked *like an ignorant novice;* that 'these proceedings rather tended to the *ruin* than *advancement* 'of the Catholick cause; that by this means, the Church of 'England coming nearer to the ancient usages, the Catholicks 'there would sooner be drawn off from them than any more of 'that nation would fall off to Rome.'

"In reference to doctrinal points, *heterodoxies* and *new opinions,* and such extravagant expressions both from press and pulpit,† he took as much care as in the other. And to that end,

* The real dread with which the Archbishop's measures inspired the Papists, is well expressed in the following extract of a letter, which John Evelyn, Esq. addressed in 1694 to Dr. Tennison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury: "Mr. Pepys sent me last week the Journal of Sir John Narbrough and Captain Wood, together with Mr. Wharton's preface to his intended history of the Life of Archbishop Laud. I do not know whether I might do the learned *editor* (for, it seems, he only publishes a MS. written by that great Prelate of his own life,) any service, by acquainting him with a passage relating to that person, namely, the JUBILEE which the sacrifice of the Bishop caused among some at Rome; it being my hap to be in that city, and in company of divers of *the English Fathers* (as they call them,) when the news of his suffering and the sermon he made upon the scaffold arrived there; which, I well remember, they read and commented on, with no small satisfaction, and (as I thought) contempt, as of one taken off who was an enemy to them and stood in their way; whilst one of the blackest crimes imputed to him was, (we may well call to mind,) *his being Popishly affected!* I know not, I say, whether the Memoirs may be of any import to Mr. Wharton, with whom I have no acquaintance; I therefore acquaint your Lordship with it," &c.

† The Archbishop was careful concerning "extravagant expressions, not only from the press and pulpit," but likewise on other subjects than that of Popery; as the reader will perceive, from the subjoined anecdote, related by the Earl of Clarendon in the Account of his own Life: "From some academic contests in which Dr. Morley had been engaged during his living in Christ Church in Oxford, where he was always of the first eminency, he had, by the natural faction and animosity of those disputes, fallen under the reproach of holding some opinions which were not then grateful to those Churchmen who had the greatest power in ecclesiastical promotions; and some sharp answers and replies, which he used to make in accidental discourses, and which in truth were made for mirth and pleasantness sake, (as he was of the highest facetiousness,) were reported, and spread abroad to

he was not pleased that the Pope should be any longer stigmatized by the name of *Antichrist;** and gave a strict charge unto

his prejudice. As, being once asked by a grave country gentleman, (who was desirous to be instructed what their tenets and opinions were,) 'What 'the Arminians held,' he pleasantly answered, *that they held all the best Bishopricks and Deaneries in England;* which was quickly reported abroad as Mr. Morley's definition of the Arminian tenets. Such and the like harmless and jocular sayings, upon many accidental occasions, had wrought upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, Laud, (who lived to change his mind and to have a just esteem of him,) to entertain some prejudice towards him: And the respect which was paid him by many eminent persons, as John Hampden, Arthur Goodwin, and others, who were not thought friends to the prosperity the Church was in, made others apprehend that he was not enough zealous for it. But that disaffection and virulency, which few men had then owned and discovered, no sooner appeared, in these and other men, but Dr. Morley made haste as publicly to oppose them, both in private and in public; which had the more effect to the benefit of the Church, by his being a person above all possible reproach, and known and valued by more persons of honour than most of the Clergy were; and being not only without the envy of any preferment, but under the advantage of a discountenanced person: And as he was afterwards the late King's Chaplain, and much regarded by him, and as long about him as any of his Chaplains were permitted to attend him; so, presently after his murder, he left the kingdom, and remained in banishment, till King Charles the Second's happy return." Archbishop Laud could not relish the joke, because it was not founded in truth; and it was not capable of the same amplitude of meaning, as if it had been said in Archbishop Abbot's days, "The Calvinists hold all the best Bishoprics and Deaneries in England."

* This prohibition was not peculiar to France, (page 291,) nor was its origin in England restricted to the days of Archbishop Laud, though such an assertion has been often ignorantly made; but it formed a part of the instructions which King James delivered to the British Divines, whom he deputed as his Calvinistic representatives to the Synod of Dort. The manner in which they fulfilled those instructions, is thus related by Balcanqual, in the Latin notes which he took of the Synodical proceedings, and which he occasionally transmitted to the English Ambassador at the Hague for his private information:—

"In the 139th session, held in the afternoon of the same day, [April 25, 1619,] is read another shorter Preface framed by the synodical Deputies from several forms which had been offered to them; the whole of which pleased the Synod, provided a few alterations were made in it. The British divines thought '*the tyranny of Antichrist* might be more appropriately expressed 'thus, *the Antichristian tyranny.* Because although perhaps they might con-'sider it a truth, that *the Roman Pontiff was that great Antichrist;* yet they 'scarcely thought, that this point ought to be determined by the Synod with-'out a previous and fair examination. For this had never yet been done by any 'of the Reformed Churches, with the exception of that of France, which had 'already withdrawn this dogma from its Confession.' Some of the members of the Synod could not endure the idea of having this point called in question; to whom the British divines replied, 'that the fact itself, *whether the Roman 'Pontiff were that Antichrist,* was not now called in question; but that this 'was the real question, *Ought this point to be determined by the Synod with-'out any previous deliberation?*'"

The reader will perceive the very cautious manner in which the whole of their objection is expressed. If in their private opinions concerning *the Romish Antichrist,* they had been even more decided, than they here seem to have been, they scarcely committed themselves; and their unanimous wish to destroy Arminianism, by their votes at that Synod, would have induced them to make several more important concessions to their royal master's caprices. I subjoin a translation of one of MOSHEIM'S *Notes on the Letters of the ever-memorable John* HALES, in elucidation of the obsequious disposition of our pious countrymen:—

his Chaplains, 'That all exasperating passages (which edify 'nothing) should be expunged out of such books as by them

"When the Calvinistic divines hear the authority of the Synod of Dort diminished on this account—'that the men, who sat in it as JUDGES, consti-'tuted one of the two contending parties,'—they immediately invite our attention to 'the Foreign Divines who were present at that Council, to whom 'the same objection cannot apply, and who were devoid of all party attach-'ments.'—I shall probably embrace another opportunity to demonstrate, that this is a frivolous excuse, and that these foreign divines were not such men as they choose thus to depict. I will at present only make a few remarks upon the British Deputies; from which it will be apparent, that they did not bring with them to Dort even a permission to form their own judgments [upon the matters in dispute]. Dr. Hall [then Dean of Worcester] clearly testified, in the Latin sermon which he delivered before the Synod, 'that he 'and his colleagues had received his Majesty's commands *not to suffer any* 'innovations to be made in the received doctrine' [which was Calvinism]. The whole company of the British Divines frankly confess the same, in their judgment on the Five Points, which is recorded in the Second Part of *the Acts of the Synod*, p. 266. And our author, John Hales, very properly observes, 'It was the act of an imprudent man *to make such a confession;* 'for, by that declaration, this learned man shewed, that he and his asso-'ciates had come to Dort, not in the capacity of the *judges* of the Arminians, 'but as their *enemies*.' This indeed was proved in the result. The British clergy at that period were favourable to the dogmas of Calvin: This fact will be rendered apparent to every one who peruses the biography of the learned individuals who were then Professors of Divinity in their Universities. King James the First was likewise himself attached to the same decrees of Calvin, which were indeed agreeable to the rest of the opinions which he had imbibed. It is not surprizing, that no dogmas took deeper root in the heart of his Majesty than such as are maintained by the Calvinists, who assert, that *whatever the King can do, will be justly done, and that his Majesty is confined by no law;* and who believe, *that the people ought to regard the King's pleasure as just and equitable.* See an extract from the sixteenth volume of RAPIN'S *Actes Publics d'Angleterre*, in LE CLERC'S *Bibliotheque Ancienne et Moderne*. Such sentiments could not but induce the King to believe, that God also might, by his *absolute power alone*, decree the salvation of men. For he would have dissented from himself, if he had arrogated to himself an absolute empire over his own subjects, and had denied similar unbounded authority to God the Supreme of all Potentates. When, therefore, King James recommended to his divines *the patronage of the received doctrine*, he in reality commanded them *to defend Calvinism!* GEORGE ABBOT, who, as Archbishop of Canterbury, at that time presided over the British Churches, was addicted to the same principles, and desired, above every thing besides, the destruction of the Arminians. Let him who entertains any doubts of this, peruse the following extract of a letter addressed to his Grace, by Sir Dudley Carleton, on the 14th of January, 1618: 'If I be not deceived, *in conformity to what your Grace doth wish*, 'when the Synod hath done with the Remonstrants' *opinions*, this course 'will be taken with their *persons*,—that the chief ring-leaders (as Uyten-'bogardt, Episcopius, Grevinchovius, and Vorstius, with some others,) will 'be branded with some note of infamy, and thrust out both of Church and 'State.'—Thus before the Synod had determined any thing about the doctrines of the Arminians, it was settled and decreed to brand them with a mark of infamy and to send them into banishment: And this was the sole wish which the Archbishop of Canterbury indulged.—What man will now venture to proclaim to us the *wisdom* and the *sanctity* of the Dort Fathers? Are these virtues displayed in deceiving men, and in affording a fund of ridicule for the whole world?—ROBERT ABBOT, Bishop of Salisbury, who was brother to the Archbishop, was such a favourer of the doctrine of Calvin, as to publish in a quarto volume, at the very time when the Synod was sitting, his *Exercises on Grace and the Perseverance of Saints*, London, 1618; in

' were to be licensed to the press ; and that no doctrines of that ' church should be writ against, but such as seemed to be in- ' consistent with the established Doctrine of the Church of

which he refuted the Arminians and defended the Absolute Decree. He accommodated his doctrine to the King's principles: This is evident from his book *On the Supreme Authority of Kings*, which was published in octavo at London, in 1619. Indeed, it was not possible for him, on this account, to teach any other doctrine."

The arbitrary principles to which Mosheim here alludes, and which he asserts to have been derived from the school of Calvin, are finely elucidated by an anecdote contained in *the Life of* WALLER *the Poet*, who was " chosen into the last Parliament of King James the First, in which he served as burgess for Agmondesham in Buckinghamshire. On the day of its dissolution, he went out of curiosity or respect to see the King at dinner, with whom were Dr. Andrews Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Neile Bishop of Durham, standing behind the King's chair. His Majesty asked the two Bishops, ' My Lords, cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, ' without all this formality in Parliament ?'—The Bishop of Durham readily answered, *God forbid, Sir, but you should! You are the breath of our nostrils.*—Whereupon the King turned and said to the Bishop of Winchester, ' Well, my Lord, what say you ?'—*Sir*, replied Bishop Andrews, *I have no skill to judge of Parliamentary cases.*—The King answered, ' No put-offs, ' my Lord ! Answer me presently.'—*Then, Sir*, said he, *I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neile's money ; for he offers it.*—Mr. Waller said, The company was pleased with this answer, and the wit of it seemed to affect the King," &c. The attempt to eradicate these tyrannical principles out of the King's mind, was a difficult enterprize. It was equally difficult to erase them from the memory of the three succeeding monarchs of his family ; and no man would hazard much by asserting, that this was one of the principal reasons why Laud did not feel himself at liberty to promote the views of Grotius, when that great man wished to obtain employment at the Court of England. (Page 634.) The Archbishop himself was compelled to submit to many inconveniences, before he could rise at Court. To have become the avowed patron of such a liberal species of Arminianism as had been espoused by Grotius, Episcopius, and the other worthies of Holland,—would have been the direct method to render both himself and his tenets obnoxious to the monarch, who subsequently learnt many useful lessons in the school of adversity, but who, unhappily, was never afterwards favoured with an opportunity of reducing them to practice, in the government of the country. Laud, therefore, deduced his Arminianism from the public formularies of the English Church, and left the politics of the Court to adjust themselves. Arbitrary power had made rapid advances before he obtained any influence at Court ; and it is a fact worthy to be recorded in his favour, that after his admission to the King's council-board, several important concessions were voluntarily made, by which *the liberty of the subject* was greatly augmented. But the complete eradication of the absolute principles which the whole of the Stuart family had imbibed, required a stronger course of medicine than Archbishop Laud was either qualified or inclined to apply. From Calvinism those principles had been derived ; and by Calvinism, when slighted and neglected, they were in the first instance transferred into the hands of " the many" to no practical advantage. But their utter expulsion was at last effected, by the great men who professed a purer kind of Arminianism than that which Laud had imbibed.—The deteriorating influence of Absolute Predestination on men in power, both in kingdoms and republics, is thus described by Dr. Hammond, who had perceived and lamented its effects in King James and Oliver Cromwell: " This doctrine being imbibed by governors, is very apt to instil into them principles of tyranny, if it be but by imitating and transcribing from God the notions which they have received of him, by doing that themselves which they believe of him,—punishing their subjects by no other rule but that of their wills, decreeing their destruction first *without intuition of any voluntary*

'England.' Upon which ground it was that Baker, Chaplain to the Bishop of London refused to license the reprinting of a book about the Gunpowder-Treason, saying to him that brought

crime of theirs, and then counting it *a part of their glory* to execute such decrees. Thus when Suetonius describes Tiberius as a professed contemner of all religion, and from thence soon improved into the most intolerable tyrant, he renders the original of it—*that he believed all things to be wrought by a fatality.*"

In another part of Mosheim's note, the characters of the five British Divines are briefly delineated; and he very properly eulogizes WARD and DAVENANT; "for they were inclined to the sentiments of those who believe in *the universality of Divine Grace.*" He then adds. "If therefore the affair had been determined by the judgment of these men, we should at this day have had decrees of the Synod of Dort, of a far milder character than those which we possess. But they were compelled to obey the times and yield to circumstances. When they perceived, that the commands of the King, the pleasure of the Archbishop [Abbot], the authority of the English Ambassador, and the wishes and admonitions of the Bishop [Carleton], who was the President of their company, were all opposed to their desires, these very excellent men suffered themselves at length to be induced to affix their hands and seals to an equivocal and ambiguous formula, and to give it their approval. Indeed these British divines, with those from Bremen, (page 576,) have made it appear doubtful to some persons of the present age, when they have had regard only to the decrees of the Synod, what is the public doctrine of the Calvinists. Though if we inspect the other matters that were transacted in the Synod, none of us can be ignorant of the disposition and intentions of the majority of the members. But since the Fathers of that Council were not unanimous in their sentiments, they were under the necessity of making such laws as might be accommodated to every one's dogmas. Let other people consider, whether such a course was consistent with candour and seriousness."

The following paragraph of Bishop Carleton's letter to the English Ambassador, dated Feb. 8, 1618, is important; for it proves, that the two men best qualified to form a correct judgment about such a matter,—Dr. Davenant who was then Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and Dr. Ward who became the Margaret Professor in that University,—both concurred in asserting GENERAL REDEMPTION as *the received doctrine* of the Church of England:—"When we were to give up our sentence to the Second Article, having first thought of certain Theses, we parted our labour, so that each one had his part of the Theses to confirm. When all was conferred together, it was found that Dr. Davenant and Dr. Ward had proceeded so far in declaring their parts, that the rest could not follow them; whereupon we were at a stand for a time. They perceiving, that neither myself nor the rest of my fellows could approve that which they had set down, took occasion of divers conferences, which did rather set us farther asunder: Yet this was private among ourselves. They held that *the Redemption of Christ*, and the *Grace thereof*, *was* GENERAL TO ALL WITHOUT EXCEPTION: Which being put, I could not see why we should not grant GENERAL GRACE in the largest sense that the Remonstrants would have it. Their answer was, 'that it was so far 'to be granted, and we were to yield so much to them.'—Upon this there was some difference; I took it neither to be *a truth of the Scripture*, nor *the doctrine of the Church of England*; and they thought IT WAS BOTH. After some time and discourses spent, I told them, that there was a necessity of our agreement. If we could not agree in all things, we must come to such points wherein all may agree; and willed them to give me liberty to remove the things wherein we could not agree, that we might all agree in the rest. To this they yielded, and so we agreed in some things.—We wrote to your Lordship, 'that Mr. President [Bogerman] was offended at some things 'which we exhibited, and was desirous that we should write to know my 'Lord's Grace his opinion thereon.' In moving of that to my company, I told them, that we might yet take such order as to quiet all things without

the book, 'That we were not so angry with the Papists now, 'as we were about twenty years since; and that there was no

troubling my Lord's Grace; namely, if we should recall our Theses, and alter them at our pleasure. To this Dr. Davenant answered, *that he would rather have his right-hand cut off than recall or alter any thing!* Thus were we driven to send to his Grace. If I could have drawn them to another course, my Lord's Grace should not have been troubled. Whatsoever will be done in this, if we should do what we can, we cannot sway the Synod; for the Synod will ever have a major part against these opinions, and we can do nothing herein but only shew our devices; for we are sure beforehand, that this device of the Universal Grace of Redemption will not be received in this Synod."—In a letter to Archbishop Abbot, after a brief recapitulation of these transactions, Bishop Carleton thus alludes to Doctors Ward and Davenant: "I cut off all that discourse, which proved this GENERAL GRACE, before our writings were exhibited: This I did, by their good-wills and consent. Yet if the matter shall come to be disputed in the Synod, I fear that they will not be persuaded to be silent in it. A private admonition from your Grace may quiet all!" This "private admonition" seems to have been received by the good men, in the spirit of meekness.

Yet Dr. Davenant, when Bishop of Salisbury, was in 1630 induced to comply so far with the humours of the party with whom he acted, as to infringe the terms of the King's Declaration, (p. 668,) by preaching a Lent-sermon before his Majesty, in which he boldly treated on some of the prohibited points. The King was much offended at his rashness, and caused him to be called before the Lords of his Council, before whom he made due submission and promised amendment. On that occasion, the pious Bishop uttered the memorable saying, which was indicative of the native benevolence of his mind: "I may have been *indiscreet*, but I will not be *disobedient*." Yet, in common with many Episcopal Divines, who had imprudently afforded countenance and encouragement to the enraged and dissatisfied Calvinists, he lived long enough to perceive and deplore his error. The following judicious summary of his mature and painful convictions on this subject, is given by LLOYD in his *Worthies*:—"John Davenant, Lord Bishop of Salisbury, told Dr. Ward, when he saw what his and other men's indulgence to dissenting persons was like to come to, 'that he was ashamed to live when he should 'have nothing left him but to live; and when such immoderate courses 'against government were taken by *them*, for *whom* he and others had so 'often interceded for moderation from the government:' To see the most *irreligious* things done, under the pretence of *religion*: To see, that he,—who had with so much success moderated controversies in the schools, offered expedients in Convocations, decided the debates of Synods, (his prudent directions, interpositions, seasonable and obliging authority contributing much to the peaceable end of that [Dort] Convention,) governed Universities, persuaded Kings, nay, and, by reason of his agreement with the [Puritanic] faction in some doctrines, done them many favours in discipline,—could not (among the leading men of the party that he had so much obliged,)—by their oaths and their allegiance, by the honour of religion and the dangers of it, by love to brethren, or respect to the designs of enemies, by the spirit of peace and the God of love, by their bowels towards their country, or their posterity the children yet unborn, by the prayers and tears of their ancient friend and a reverend Bishop, [he could not] gain so much as christian accommodation and mutual forbearance. But—after a most excellent tract of *the Peace of the Christian World*, wherein he taught how that *the few necessary things* wherein men agreed 'should be of more 'power to unite them, than *the indifferent things* wherein they dissented 'should have power to divide them: That the christian world might have 'UNITY in the few fundamentals that are necessary, LIBERTY in the things 'that were indifferent, and so CHARITY in all things,'—despairing of persuading men to peace by arguments, who were set on war and tumults by their lusts, which were to be subdued rather than convinced, he died of an old consumption, improved with new grief for the misery of those times which he foresaw sad, and saw dangerous, April, 1641."

'need of any such books to exasperate them, there being now 'an endeavour to win them to us by fairness and mildness.'

This note was commenced with a design to prove, that, long before Dr. Laud came into power, the British Calvinists at the Synod of Dort had pleaded, in behalf of the Pope, that he might not be designated the ANTICHRIST. That point has been established, by an extract from their own abridged Journal of the public acts; and the subsequent part of the note exhibits the necessity of the caution given by Grotius, in page 275, where he shews "of what immense consequence it is to every man, to be judicious in the choice of the christian teacher whom he employs!"—I will conclude with an instance of the vast influence of a man's tenets, both on the arguments which he uses, and on the practice which he recommends. If rigid Calvinism too frequently depicts *the God of all grace* and of infinite compassion as *a relentless tyrant*, who has no regard in his decisions to any thing beyond the indulgence of his mere pleasure; the milder species of Calvinism, known under the name of CAMERONISM or BAXTERIANISM, is too apt to display the GREAT JUDGE of the whole earth *who will do right*, as *a truce-breaker* or *an artful deceiver!* After perusing the subjoined passage from one of Amyraut's productions, and Courcelles' remarks upon it, no man of common discernment will aver, that I delivered a rash opinion in page 225, when I said, "Arminianism teaches men to consider God as a Being of INFINITE VERACITY,—an attribute of Divinity that seems to have been overlooked by many of the Cameronists."

"The following paragraph occurs in Amyraut's Dissertation [*on the right of God over his creatures:*] 'Some persons indeed have doubted 'whether, in strict right, chief magistrates may be held to adhere to their 'compacts and agreements, when at any time they have transactions with 'their own subjects. For, with regard to those treaties which are concluded 'with FOREIGN POWERS whose dignity is on an equality with their own, or 'nearly so, there is no cause for entertaining a doubt that even the greatest 'monarchs are in every possible way bound by such treaties. But, with 'regard to SUBJECTS, so eminent is the authority of the supreme rulers, 'that, as it appears to some persons, it cannot be diminished even by the 'just solemnity of a promise.—If this be true concerning *men*, it is much 'more so concerning *God*, whose high elevation above human beings is, 'without doubt, far greater than that of men themselves above their inferiors. 'But we are under no necessity of having recourse to this argument. For 'in the assertions which we have made concerning *what it is lawful for God 'to do to an innocent creature*, we must understand such assertions to relate 'to that creature between whom and God no other covenant has been con-'tracted, than such as the very nature of things has procured.'—It is a happy circumstance for Amyraut, that he does not require this argument! If he had required it, he might have driven us to insurrections. But although, in thus passing it by, he renders it unnecessary for us to give any reply, we still judge it worthy of receiving a brief criticism. And here we might call to our assistance the Dutch, who threw off the yoke of the king of Spain, because he had violated the faithful promise which he made to them at the period of his inauguration. To this purpose we might also call upon the English and Scotch, who at this day employ the same pretext, as a reason for the war with which they persecute their king,—but whether this pretext be in their case *just* or *unjust*, it is not my present business to enquire. But there is no necessity for resorting to such large armies as these: We appeal to you alone, O inhabitants of Montauban, Rochelle, Montpelier, and to others of the Reformed in France, who some few years ago took up arms against your king Louis the Thirteenth, not because he had receded from the treaties into which he had entered with you,—for that would have been most repugnant to his piety,—but because you were afraid lest he should recede when he might subsequently have an opportunity of doing so in safety, that is, after he had deprived you of your fortifications and ramparts. To you I make my appeal against Amyraut, who thus abandons to your enemies the edicts which have been promulgated for

And, on the same ground, Bray, Chaplain to the Archbishop, refused the licensing of another, called *The Advice of a Son,*

securing the liberty of your consciences. Since your own interests are here immediately concerned, I request you to declare, *whether the Chief Magistrate is not bound by his agreements, when he has entered into a treaty with his own subjects?* But why should I wait for an answer from your lips, when facts themselves speak out with sufficient clearness?

"I will now briefly declare my own thoughts on this subject. I certainly do not approve of private individuals rising up in arms against their sovereigns, under any pretext of the violation of their promises; such a course is expressly forbidden in the Holy Scriptures. But unless I were desirous of becoming a courtly parasite or an encourager of tyranny, I would not allow it to remain a doubtful point, *whether kings* MAY OR MAY NOT *perjure themselves with impunity.* For every one is *a perjured person*, when he abandons the agreements which he has rendered valid by the subscription of his hand and the impression of his seal. I know well the dreadful consequences which befel Saul and his house, on account of his attempt to destroy the Gibeonites, (2 Sam. xxi,) with whom, long before his days, a peace had been concluded by Joshua. And yet that treaty of peace had been fraudulently obtained. (Joshua ix.) In such estimation ought the sanctity of an oath to be held, as not to permit a man, even *when he hath sworn to his own hurt, to change.* (Psalm xv, 4.) Besides, the promise which is made to common robbers and pirates must be observed; because, as Quintilian justly observes, 'fidelity is the principal bond in all human concerns:' And Silius Italicus informs us, (lib. ii,)

> Without *good faith*, this earth, or seas that ebb and flow,
> The pleasing fruits of lasting peace could never know:
> Stern *Justice* is her lawful spouse; she sits enshrin'd
> A *silent Deity* within the upright mind.

If faith is to be kept even with *thieves*, how much more is it to be kept with *subjects*, to whom PRINCES ought to act in the capacity of FATHERS, GUARDIANS, and PROTECTORS! Should these Princes once entertain the persuasion *that they are not bound by any contract or obligation into which they have entered*, the certain consequence would be a perpetual distrust, which would, on the other hand, produce this bad effect,—the impossibility of their reposing any confidence in the assured good-will of their subjects, of which they stand in the greatest need. And thus, it will be seen, this pernicious opinion is calculated in its very nature to induce both *Prince* and *People* to rise up in arms against each other, to their mutual destruction.

"It cannot therefore be proved, from the example of earthly kings, that God is not under any obligation to fulfil those promises, by which he has bound himself unto men, of his own accord, and with a will perfectly free and at liberty. Such a sentiment as this respecting the Almighty was undoubtedly never cherished by those divinely inspired men, who have assured us, that *God has performed his words, because he is just and righteous*, (Nehem. ix, 8,) and that *He is not unrighteous to forget his promises.* (Heb. vi, 10.) Nay, God himself is most abhorrent of such a thought: For He, *willing more abundantly to shew unto the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsels, confirmed it by an oath: That by* TWO IMMUTABLE THINGS, *in which it was* IMPOSSIBLE FOR GOD TO LIE, *we might have a strong consolation.* (vi, 17, 18.) Nor is it without good reason, that God should thus express himself: For the contrary opinion [*that God is not under any obligation to fulfil his promises*] is subversive of the Christian Religion, which consists entirely of *faith in God's promises* and *obedience to his commands:* It does not attempt to overthrow religion by secret craft and guile, but in a bold and undisguised manner. For if God can recede from his promises, who will repose with firm confidence and faith upon HIM when HE promises eternal life to his worshippers? And if faith and trust be withheld, who will obey him? especially since St. John says, in his First Epistle, *This is the victory that overcometh the world, even* OUR FAITH! (v, 4.)

"Amyraut has no ground for replying, *that he does not fight with the*

unless he might expunge some unpleasing expressions, affirming, ' That those passages would offend the Papists, whom we ' were now in a fair way of winning, and therefore must not ' use any harsh phrases against them.' The Chaplains not to be condemned for their honest care, and much less their Lords ;*

weapon which this argument affords. For he has produced it, and has not by a single word manifested his disapprobation of it, but he has rather shewn his approval. He did not employ it, solely because he did not require it for obtaining his purpose, which was this—' it is not repugnant to the remune- ' rative justice of God to inflict eternal torments on an innocent creature !' For, by *an innocent creature*, he understands ' a being with whom God has ' not yet entered into any compact.' On this part of his reasoning I will now give my opinion. Although God did not enter into any express covenant with man at the period of his creation, yet equity itself would not permit the Divine Being to act thus unmercifully towards his creature. For the mode of creation, which was *in the image of God*, constituted a tacit kind of covenant: Because God would not have formed man *after his own likeness*, unless it had been his pleasure to treat him in a manner that corresponded with that dignity. And that first benefit drew after itself another, in the nature of love and beneficence ; unless man should render himself undeserving of this additional blessing. Otherwise it would be better for him to have been made a *toad* or a *serpent*, than to have been a *man* formed after the likeness of God, if, immediately after his creation, and without any sinful demerit, he might have been liable to be cast into eternal burnings !"

This was published in 1645, the very period when, as Courcelles here intimates, the English and Scotch were persecuting king Charles the First, among other causes, on account of an alleged violation of his coronation oath. Highly as I venerate the memory of that virtuous and unfortunate monarch, I am compelled to express my fears, that, if his Majesty's arms had been finally successful against the Parliamentary forces, he would have been induced by some of the more artful of his counsellors to adopt the principle which was thus avowed and defended by Amyraut. His Majesty's sense of justice might for a season have prevented its adoption ; but the powerful influence of the Queen in the management of public affairs, (pages 344, and 647,) and the decided predilection of many of the courtiers for French principles and manners, might have ultimately overpowered the dictates of his more upright judgment. Those who have any doubts concerning the Popish origin of this politic and sanguinary maxim, may consult the note in page 605 : And the affairs of the Rochelle Calvinists, to whom the whole of the preceding quotation applies most aptly as *argumentum ad homines*, will be explained by the notes in pages 210, 215, 265, & 291. Those who wish to see the more daring and seditious sentiments of the high Calvinists in England about the same period, may find a specimen of them in page 388. An able refutation of the infernal politics advanced by Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridge, Stephen Marshall, John Goodwin, and others of the Republican party, will be found in the admirable writings of Dr. Henry Hammond, particularly in his " Address to Lord Fairfax and his Council of War," an extract from which is given in pages 297-304; his " Vindication of that Address ;" his treatise " Of resisting the lawful Magistrate under colour of religion," &c. Let no wise and good man hereafter neglect the caution which Grotius inculcates !

* This extract from Mr. MEDE'S *Life* will serve to display some of the arduous duties which the examining chaplains of that age had to perform :— " Nor would he be discouraged and taken off from such acts of merciful beneficence, by the unworthy returns he sometimes met with from some disobliging persons. There was one in Cambridge to whom Mr. Mede had shewed favour in lending him money at a time of need ; but he, being put in mind of his engagement, instead of making due payment, repaid Mr. Mede only with undue words to this effect, *that, upon a strict and exact*

though I find it very heavily charged as a crime in all. In the English Litany set out by King Henry VIII. and continued in both Liturgies of King Edward VI. there was this clause against the Pope, viz. 'From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord,' &c. Which being considered as a means to affright those of the Romish party from coming diligently to our churches, was prudently expunged by those who had the revising of the Liturgy, in the first year of the Queen [Elizabeth].* In imitation of whose piety

account he had no right to what he claimed.—'No right!' answered he.—*No: No right*, it was told him, *because he was none of God's children: For that they only have right who are gracious in God's sight.*—Ungracious and unthankful sectary! His name might be mentioned! but let him be anonymous, as fit to be numbered only among *the men of no name*, as Job (xxx, 8,) doth express men of a vile character.—The story was related by Mr. Mede, upon the occasion of some intelligence received from London, that there was at that time a more strict examination there of those who came to take Holy Orders, concerning that strange position, *Dominium temporale fundatur in gratia*, [Temporal dominion has its foundations in grace,] at which one then in company being astonished, as supposing none would be so impudent as to assert it, Mr. Mede replied, that he had particular experience of the evil effect and consequence of such doctrine as in the foremeutioned story."

The following brief yet characteristic notice of Bishop Juxon's and Archbishop Laud's chaplains, as given by LLOYD in his *Worthies*, presents many points that will interest a reflecting mind:—"Ingenious Dr. Samuel Baker, and Dr. William Bray, both bred together under the exact logician, Dr. Chappel, at Christ College in Cambridge; both came together to seek their fortunes in London; both, hitting the Puritan vein, were preferred Lecturers; and growing infinitely popular and followed, both together were taken off, the one to be chaplain to Archbishop Laud, and the other to Bishop Juxon; and no sooner favoured by the government, but they were deserted by the populacy; both preferred, the one, (Dr. Baker,) to be Prebendary of Canterbury, and Parson of St. Mary hill; the other, (Dr. Bray,) to be Prebendary of Canterbury, and Vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields; both sequestered together; and both hated upon the same grounds, viz. *because they would not license every phantastic pretender against Popery and Arminianism;* both having great advantage against their adversaries, by having been of them; and likewise plucking them by the long locks of their immoderate boasting, and touching them to the quick. Dr. Baker died about the the year 165—; Dr. Bray, 1644. The fault general of these and other Bishops' chaplains in those times was, that *they were willing to keep the press sober between the bigots of the extreme opinions in doctrine and discipline.*"

* "The bond of church-communion should be something common to strong and to weak christians; and certainly the Primitive church, that did not charge men's faith with such a load of articles, as now in these latter ages men are charged with, would much less burden men with imposing doubtful practices upon them as the ground of church-communion. Public forms of divine service, certainly, should be so composed, as to be the least subject to any scruple from any persons whatsoever; being on purpose composed for the declaring men's unity and consent in their public worship: It argued very much the prudence and temper of the French churches, in composing their public forms of prayer, that they were so far from inserting any thing controversial into them, that Amyraldus tell us, 'the Papists themselves 'would use them: And that which men would scarce believe unless they 'saw it, they inserted them into their own prayer-books.' The same temper was used by our reformers in the composing our Liturgy, in reference to the Papists, to whom they had then especial eye, as being the only party then appearing, whom they desired to draw into their communion, by coming as near them as they well and safely could: And certainly those holy men,

and christian care, it was thought fit by the Archbishop [Laud] to change some phrases which were found in the Books of Prayer appointed for the Fifth of November. The first was this, ' Root out the Babylonish and Antichristian sect, which ' say of Jerusalem, *Down with it,*' &c.; which he changed only unto this, *Root out the Babylonish or Antichristian sect, (of them) which say,* &c. The second was, ' Cut off those workers

who did seek by any means to draw in others, at such a distance from their principles as the Papists were, did never intend, by what they did for that end, to exclude any truly tender consciences from their communion. That which they laid as a bait for them, was never intended by them as a book for those of their own profession." STILLINGFLEET's *Irenicum.*

The following information on this subject occurs in the Preface to the Life of Bishop JEWELL:—

" In the settlement under Queen Elizabeth, all the care imaginable was taken to unite the whole nation in one religion, if it were possible; and whatever was in the former liturgy that might exasperate or offend them, was taken out: By which compliances, and the expunging of the passages before remembered, the book was made so passable amongst the Papists, that for ten years they generally repaired to their parish churches, without doubt or scruple, as is affirmed not only by Sir Edward Coke in his speech against Garnet, and his charge given at the assizes held at Norwich, but also by the Queen herself in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, then being her resident or Leiger Ambassador in the Court of France: And there is a report recorded by Camden, that the Pope offered by his Envoy Parapalia to the Queen, ' That he would confirm the English Liturgy by his authority, and ' grant the English the use of the Sacrament under both kinds, provided the ' Queen would unite herself to the Church of Rome, and acknowledge the ' primacy of the Roman See.' Since that time nothing has been added, that might in the least offend them. Why then do they act contrary to their ancestors? Why do they pretend more conscience than either their forefathers or the Pope? Ten years was a sufficient time for them to have found out the heresy in, if there had been any in the establishment. And we all know their separation was not upon any scruple of conscience they had, but in obedience to the Pope's Bull. The Pope, in the mean time, did what he did, purely out of worldly interest and policy, to advance his own grandeur and wealth at their cost and trouble. If he could have secured this, the liturgy and doctrine of the Church of England should have been owned for Catholic, and have been confirmed by his Holiness's authority.—About the same time, another sort of men separated too upon direct contrary pretences. Why it is our antiquity, our decency, our too great resemblance to the Church of Rome that offends them. We are not sufficiently purged for these pure men to join with: We have *too little* of the Primitive Church, cries the one; *too much*, says the other; *too few ceremonies, too much simplicity*, say the Papists; *too many of the first, too little of the latter*, cry the Dissenters."

On this topic I transcribe a valuable note from Dr. WORDSWORTH's *Ecclesiastical Biography*: " The facts of the conformity of the generality of the Roman Catholics who then remained in England, till the æra of the publication of this Bull, [in 1569,] and that from thenceforth they began to cease to repair to their parish churches, are admitted on all hands. But, perhaps, there were other causes which contributed to this unwelcome event, besides the thunders of the Vatican; the declension, for example, of that zeal among the Protestants which blazed out, on the re-establishment of their religion, at the accession of Elizabeth; the lamentable divisions amongst themselves occasioned by the Puritanical controversy, which now began to turn aside the heads and hearts of so great a portion of the best men of the nation, from real and unfeigned religion, to the agitation of the merest trifles, in which the folly and the deceitfulness of man's heart ever led him to be zealously engaged; and the uncharitable and unreasonable intolerance in which the Puritans indulged themselves against every thing which bore any relation to the Romish religion."

'of iniquity whose religion is rebellion, and whose faith is fac-'tion;' which he changed no otherwise than thus, *Cut off those workers of iniquity who turn religion into rebellion,* &c. The alterations were but small, but the clamour great which was raised about it; the Puritans complaining, 'that the prayers so altered, were intended to reflect on them,' seemed to be conscious to themselves of turning *Religion* into *Rebellion,* and saying of Jerusalem, (like the old Babylonish sect,) *Down with it, down with it to the ground!* But he had better reason for it, than they had against it: For if the first reformers were so careful of giving no offence to the Romish party, as to expunge a passage out of the public Liturgy *when the Queen was a Protestant,* much greater reason had the Archbishop to correct those passages in a formal prayer not confirmed by law, *when the Queen was one of that* [*the Popish*] *Religion.**

* I have always viewed the inveterate Popish bigotry of Queen Henrietta, as one of the worst disasters which King Charles encountered. This gave a colourable pretext to all the reports of the Puritan party; while the Queen's imprudent zeal in affording public patronage to Popish priests, and the King's easy connivance at their bold and seducing practices, justly alarmed the best friends of the Protestant interest. In the words of Clarendon on another occasion, (p. 318,) "the King's condescension *in this particular* abated the courage of too many, who had always opposed them and heartily detested their proceedings."

No man could have behaved with more courtesy and prudence, than Archbishop Laud did, under such difficult circumstances. (Page 502.) Yet, with all due respect to the Queen's Popish prejudices, the Primate could neither be deterred nor flattered from his just concern for the Protestant Church of England; as will be apparent, by the subjoined extract from Dr. Heylin, the commencement of which receives some explanation from the note in page 647: "It is not to be thought that the Papists were all this while asleep, and that neither the disquiets in England, nor the tumults in Scotland, were husbanded to the best advantage of the Catholic cause. Panzani had laid the foundation of an agency or constant correspondence between the Queen's Court and the Pope's; and having so done, left the pursuit of the design to Con, a Scot by birth, but of a very busy and pragmatical head. Arriving in England about the middle of summer, 1636, he brought with him many pretended relicks of saints, medals, and pieces of gold with the Pope's picture stamped on them, to be distributed amongst those of that party, but principally amongst the ladies of the Court and country, to whom he made the greatest part of his applications. He found the King and Queen at Holdenby House, and by the Queen was very graciously entertained, and took up his chief lodgings in a house near the new Exchange. As soon as the Court was returned to Whitehall, he applied himself diligently to his work, practising upon some of the principal Lords, and making himself very plausible with the King himself, who hoped he might make some use of him in the Court of Rome for facilitating the restitution of the Prince Elector: And finding that the King's Councils were much directed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, he used his best endeavours to be brought into his acquaintance. But Canterbury neither liked the man, nor the message which he came about, and therefore kept himself at a distance, neither admitting him to compliment nor communication. Howsoever, by the King's connivance and the Queen's indulgence, the Popish faction gathered not only strength but confidence; multiplying in some numbers about the Court, and resorting in more open manner to the masses at Somerset-house, where the Capuchins had obtained both a chapel and convent. Of this none bears the blame but Laud, who is traduced, in libels and common talk, for the principal archi-

" Nothing in this, or any of the rest before, which tends to the bringing in of Popery, the prejudice of the true Protestant religion, or the suppressing of the gospel. Had his designs

teet in the plot, and the contriver of the mischief. On this account, and the proceedings of the Star-Chamber, one libel is dropped at the south gate of St. Paul's, on August 23, [1637,] declaring 'that the devil had left that 'house to him for the saying of mass, and other abominations of the Church 'of Rome;' another, two days after, fastened to the north gate of it, signifying 'that the Church of England was like a candle in a snuff, going out in 'a stench.' His speech in the Star-Chamber put into a kind of pillory, and hanged up at the Standard in Cheapside; and another short libel made against him in verse, four days after that. Awakened by so many alarms, he had good cause to look about him; but more at the great noise, not long after raised, about the seducing of the Countess of Newport, a kinswoman of the late Duke of Buckingham's, to the Church of Rome; effected by the practices of Walter Mountague, a younger son of the Earl of Manchester, and the importunities of Toby Matthews, (an undeserving son of a worthy father,) Con interposing in it as he found occasion. The Archbishop had long stomacked at the insolence of Matthews and Mountague, and had forborne the taking of any public notice of them, till he had almost lost himself in the sight of the people. But laying hold on this opportunity, he passionately declares himself at the Council-table, on October 22, in a full and free speech to the King, concerning the increase of the Roman party, the frequent resort of Papists to Somerset house, the unsufferable misdemeanors of Matthews and Mountague in practising upon his subjects, and chiefly upon those which lived within the verge of the Court and were nearest to him, humbly beseeching him to put some strong restraint upon them, whereby they either might be barred from coming into the Court at all, or to give no offence and scandal by their misbehaviours. Of this the Queen had notice that very night, who seemed much displeased at the matter, and let him see it in her countenance whensoever he had any cause of coming where she was. But the pill was given in a very good hour, and wrought so effectually with the King, that Mountague and Matthews were purged out of the Court; the one betaking himself to his country practice, the other for a time to his former travels in France and Italy: Which the Queen finding to be past remedy, and knowing how necessary a servant the Archbishop was to his great master, and how useful he might be to her in her own affairs, she admitted him to her speech again in December following; and after some expostulations concerning Mountague, she began to clear her countenance, and to part fair with him.—But that which did most generally vindicate his reputation, was the enlarging and reprinting of his *Conference with Fisher the Jesuit*; to which he had been moved by some of his private friends, (none of them knowing that any other but himself had made the motion,) when the libellers were most fierce against him, and afterwards advised to it by the King himself at the Council table. The former propositions had disposed him to it, and this desire of the King's served for a command to confirm him in it: But multiplicity of business gave him so little leisure to attend his studies, that the year was almost ended before the book could be made ready for the public view. But at the last it came from the press, and was presented to his Majesty on Sunday, the 10th of February, and the next day exposed unto open sale. A piece so solidly compacted, that one of our historians (who shews himself to be none of his greatest friends,) gives it the commendation of being 'the exactest masterpieee of polemic divinity of any 'extant at that time;' further affirming, 'that he declared himself therein 'to be so little theirs,' (he means *the Papists*,) 'as he had for ever disabled 'them from being so much *their own* as before they were.' And Dering, his most professed adversary, in the preface to his book of Speeches, could not but confess, 'that, in his book, especially the last half of it, he had muzzled 'the Jesuit, and should strike the Papists under the fifth rib when he was 'dead and gone. And being dead, that wheresoever his grave should be, 'PAUL'S would be his perpetual monument, and *his own book* his epitaph.'"

tended to the advancing of Popery, he neither would have taken such pains to confute their doctrines, nor they have entertained such secret practices to destroy his person. Had he

Queen Henrietta was a descendant from the family of De Medicis, the stains of whose infamy can never be obliterated from the records of European history, after all the misplaced eulogies which have been lately bestowed on some of its accomplished but dissolute branches. Her mother, *Mary De Medicis*, was the daughter of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and became the royal bride of Henry the Fourth of France, after the death of his first Queen, Margaret. That pragmatical woman, who inherited all the ambition of her family and their dreadful antipathy to Protestantism, was, after the murder of her husband, appointed regent of France, during the long minority of Louis the Thirteenth. The embroiled state of the contending political and religious parties in France, under her role, can be compared to no preceding period in the history of that nation, except it be to the minority of Charles the Ninth, when her royal and unprincipled relative, *Catherine De Medicis*, held the reins of empire, and with equal presumption and fatuity, by the aid of the villainous *House* of *Guise*, involved the country in all the horrors of a civil war, the conclusion of which she crowned, in Paris and the provinces, with the horrid massacre of above seventy thousand Protestants, that commenced on the eve of St. Bartholomew's day, in the year 1572. The Duke of Sully says, "Catherine De Medicis imputed to the French Protestants "the death of her husband, which she could no more pardon than their "having treated the members of the House of Medicis as ANTICHRIST." This *Antichristian* complaint had been rankling in the breasts of all that ambitious House nearly a whole century, and had manifested itself at every fit opportunity, by the horrid symptoms of domestic warfare, rapine, murder, and desolation. It cannot therefore excite the least surprize if Queen Henrietta was infected with the Antichristian distemper which was common to the rest of her Popish kindred, and wished to resort to strong measures for preventing or removing the stigma of ANTICHRIST, which attached to the Head of her Church, and which had likewise become hers by family inheritance. Neither can any one wonder at the violent antipathy which the English Calvinists manifested against the youthful Queen, when the great intimacy which subsisted between them and the Rochelle Calvinists is considered: Her mother had waged a bloody war against them, and her royal brother had been their conqueror. (Page 266.) This feeling of detestation was not diminished by the genealogy of King Charles the First; for his Popish extraction, however remote, was remembered to his injury, when he married into a family to which his royal ancestors had been nearly allied. His grandmother, the unfortunate *Mary Queen of Scots*, was early united in marriage to Francis the Second of France; and her royal mother, the Queen of James the Fifth of Scotland, was *Mary of Lorraine*, a member of the bloody House of Guise!

The extent of this general feeling of detestation against the family of De Medicis, among all ranks of Britons, may be readily estimated by an extract from *the Life of Archbishop Laud* by Dr. HEYLIN, from whose pen few of the Puritans would expect such a vituperative passage as this to proceed. But the Doctor had a heart as truly Protestant as the best of them, and could not greet with feigned congratulations any bird of ill omen. Speaking of the King's preparations for war, he says: "These preparations were sufficient to give notice of a war approaching, without any further denouncing of it by a public herald; and yet there was another accident which seemed as much to fore-signify it as those preparations. Mary De Medicis, the widow of King Henry IV. of France, and mother to the Queens of England and Spain, arrived at Harwich on October 19th, [1638,] and on the last of the same month, was with great state conducted through the streets of London to his Majesty's Palace of St. James: A lady which for many years had not lived out of the smell of powder, and a guard of muskets at her door; embroiled in wars and troubles when she lived in France, she drew them after her into Flanders, where they have ever since continued. So that most men were

directed his endeavours to suppress the Protestants, he wouldnot have given so much countenance to Dury a Scot, who entertained him with some hopes of working an accord betwixt the

able to presage a tempest; as mariners, by the appearing of some fish or the flying of some birds about their ships, can foresee a storm. His Majesty had taken great care to prevent her coming, knowing full well how chargeable a guest she would prove to him, and how unwelcome to the subject. To which end Boswel was commanded to use all his wits for persuading her to stay in Holland, whither she had retired from Flanders in the year precedent. But she was wedded to her will, and possibly had received such invitations from her daughter here, that nothing but everlasting foul weather at sea and a perpetual cross-wind could have kept her there."

In the very important correspondence embodied in BRAY'S *Memoirs of Evelyn*, is a letter addressed to King Charles, on the 28th of August, 1641, by Secretary Nicholas, in which he thus alludes to the departure of the Queen: "The Queen Mother remains still at Dover, expecting, as my Lord Marshall writes to me this morning, the return of a messenger from Flanders, so as Tuesday next will be the soonest that her Majesty will embark."—To this extract Mr. Bray has appended the following interesting note: "The departure of the Queen Mother from England, where she had arrived in 1638, was palatable to the Parliament party, whose scribes at that period vomited forth the barshest vituperatives against her. In a curious astrological reprint of Grebner's book, accompanied by observations on the life and death of Charles, it is said, that on her coming, 'all men were against her; for it 'was observed, that wherever or unto whatever country this miserable old 'Queen came, there followed immediately after her either *the plague*, *war*, '*famine*, or one misfortune or another.'—Yet the same writer, when speaking of her departure, says, 'A sad spectacle it was, and produced tears from 'mine eyes and many other beholders, to see an aged, lean, decrepit, poor 'Queen, ready for her grave, necessitated to depart hence; having no place 'of residence in this world left her, but where the courtesy of her hard for-'tune assigned it. She had been the only stately and magnificent woman in 'Europe.'—She had, whilst in England, an allowance of £100 per day; and the Parliament gave her £10,600 for travelling expences when going away."

In EVELYN'S *Diary*, under the date of "10 Sep. 1641," the following brief account is given of the Queen Mother's subsequent reception in Holland:—"I took waggon for Dort, to be present at the reception of the Queen Mother, Mary De Medicis, Dowager of France, widow of Henry the Great, and mother to the French King Louis the Thirteenth and the Queen of England, whence she newly arrived, tossed to and fro' by the various fortunes of her life. From this city she designed for Cologne, conducted by the Earl of Arundel and the Heer Van Bredcrode.—There was little remarkable in this reception befitting the greatness of her person, but an UNIVERSAL DISCONTENT *which accompanied that unlucky woman wherever she went*."

The plotting disposition of Mary De Medicis was inherited by her royal daughter Henrietta; and their consanguinity to the Queen of Spain and to the King of France afforded both of them an opportunity of practising their devices upon the unfortunate King Charles, by keeping him in a state of oscillation between the Courts of France and Spain, or, rather, in a state of amity with Spain, quite contrary to the Protestant interests of Europe as well as to those of his own dominions, (page 613,) till neither of those rival states had any confidence in his overtures; and, without a struggle in his favour, both of them suffered him at length to fall a prey to the rage of his rebellious subjects. Grotius laments this crooked policy in several of his letters; and he says, (page 611,) "I doubt whether the King of France be willing to do any thing for the King of England, before he has fully withdrawn him from the Emperor and the King of Spain." In a letter to his brother, dated "Paris, the 8th of March, 1642," Grotius says: "I do not clearly perceive what I can say about the affairs of England and Ireland. All things are in a state of confusion: So that one can scarcely form any judgment about the termination which may be expected. I am decidedly

Lutheran and Calvinian Churches. In which service, as he wasted a great deal of time to little purpose; so he received as much encouragement from Canterbury, as he had reason to

opposed to the removal of the Bishops out of the Church; and my wishes go with the King, that he may still retain the things which anciently belonged to him: Let the former usages be preserved. I have no doubt, that the King of Great Britain might receive assistance from this Court, if he could create a complete assurance that he will not *Iberize*, that is, become a partizan of Spain."

The subjoined extracts from the letters of Grotius will illustrate the Queen Mother's visit to England and Holland, and will serve to shew the dread which was entertained of the presence of these two intermeddling females, by a great part of the English nation, by the King of France, Cardinal Richelieu, the Prince of Orange, &c. On the 26th of February, 1639, Grotius informs the Chancellor Oxenstern: "The Queen of England is suffering from a premature birth, and is so infirm in health as to be threatened with a consumption. The advice of the medical attendants is *a change of air;* and her Majesty talks about a voyage to France. But her journey is suspected by this Court, lest she should advocate her mother's cause before the King; for she is a daughter whom her mother always loved, and who is in return much attached to her mother."—On the 12th of March, he again addresses the illustrious Chancellor: "A nobleman, whose name is Germain, has come again to Paris from the English Court to recommend the business of the Queen Dowager. He meets with little success; for the King is afraid not only of seeing his mother in France, because she is, in his opinion, addicted to revenge, but he is likewise timorous about affording her any support in the States contiguous to France, lest with his money she should encourage a faction. His Majesty is not ignorant, that the present state of public affairs is exceedingly displeasing to many people."—In a letter addressed to Camerarius, the Swedish Ambassador at the Hague, in March, 1641, Grotius says: "It is reported, that the Queen of England will come here in April: Apartments are prepared for her Majesty at Fontainbleau, at a sufficiently great distance from the King. Fears are entertained lest she should attempt something in favour of her mother [Mary De Medicis], who in a most sorrowful letter which she has sent, *ad Egiloniam*, deplores her deep poverty. The English are tired of the great charges, and the old Queen has not yet learnt to be frugal in her expences. But the Cardinal is afraid when she is present, lest she should raise tumults in France; and he is not without fears during her absence, lest, if she have a good supply of money, she should employ it in exciting factions."—In another to the same individual, a few days afterwards, he says: "It is here considered a certainty, that the Queen of England will come here. Her mother has written to the Cardinal and to Melleray. It will be a much easier matter for her to obtain a small supply of money, than permission to enter the kingdom."—And in another: "I hear, that the Queen Dowager of Sweden will find no difficulty in obtaining leave to return to Sweden, as she suffers those to whom that office legally belongs to manage the public affairs of the kingdom: But equal facilities are not granted to the Queen Dowager of France to return into this kingdom; for there is no scarcity of mischievous wits, who may point out to an irritated female several methods of revenge in a disturbed nation."—In June he says: "The Queen Mother is quitting England and proceeding to Holland; but it is uncertain whether she will remain in quiet at Liege, or among the Dutch."—On the 6th of July, he again writes: "It is believed, that the Queen Mother will retire to Brussels, to add fuel to the flames of discord which have already been kindled at Sedan. The person who transacts the Pope's business with the Queen of England, is not invested with the title of *Nuncio*, but with that of *Agent*."—On the 27th of the same month, he says: "The Queen Dowager, it appears, is going to Cologne, where she is to be maintained ostensibly at the expence of the Queen of England, who is secretly refunded by her brother the King of France. Yet the old Queen will scarcely be able to keep her nails from meddling with the Sedan ulcer, if it continue unclosed."—On the 3d of August, Grotius writes

expect. Welcome at all times to his table, and speaking honourably of him upon all occasions, till the times were changed; when either finding the impossibility of his undertaking, or

thus: "The Queen of England wishes much to go to drink the waters of the Spa. But the French Ambassador places as many impediments as possible in her way; for he is afraid that she will endeavour to foment the faction of the Sedan Princes, either on her mother's account, or for the sake of promoting peace."—A few days afterwards, he writes: "No one prevents the departure of the Queen Mother from England: Neither do the French themselves care much about her, now that she is grown old and feeble. But the Queen of England seems to be induced, with the Parliament's consent, to abandon all thoughts of a transmarine excursion; for, if we may give credit to *Majarmus*, her sickness lies more in her mind than in her body. If her constitution be inclined to consumption, the waters of Spa are said not to be useful to those who are afflicted with that disorder."—On the 17th of August, Grotius again addresses Camerarius: "The Queen Dowager of France, mother of his Majesty, will remain at Cologne at the charge of the King of Great Britain, who will endeavour to obtain some indemnity for this expence from the French monarch: But I would not venture to be his surety for the re-payment of that money. The Queen of England seems to remain, lest her departure should inflame the national enmities, which appear now to be subsiding."—On the 22d of February, 1642, he wrote to the same individual: "The more attentively I consider the affairs of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the more fears I feel lest they should have a bloody termination,—which may God of his mercy avert! But I lament greatly the misfortune, which, in addition to many others, the Prince Elector [Palatine] has to endure, in the aversion which the Parliamentarians have manifested. At Dieppe, two regiments are embarked in ships: The conjectures about their destination are various; some think they are proceeding to re-inforce Count Guebrian; others, that they are sailing to the assistance of the King of Great Britain, who is believed still to retain in his possession Portsmouth and some other sea-port towns. This, however, is a certainty, that French assistance would not be with-held from the British Monarch, if the King of France could but be induced to divest himself of the opinion—'that the King of England has concluded a closer treaty with the Court of Spain.' The Queen of England has many persons here in her favour, not only because she is sister of the French Monarch, but because they believe her to have become an object of hatred to the English, solely on account of her religion, the free exercise of which was secured to her by the marriage treaty."—On the 8th of March, he writes thus to the same person: "If the report be correct which is circulated here, 'that the King of Great Britain has so far complied 'with the wishes of the Parliamentarians, as to have expressed his pleasure 'to eject the Bishops out of Parliament, and to place all the ports of the 'kingdom in the power of the Parliament,'—in this case, there will undoubtedly be peace in England. Yet suspicions will not be entirely banished; these, however, his Majesty might most commodiously remove from the minds of his subjects, by shewing that he has the affairs of the Elector Palatine seriously at heart. (Page 611.) For composing those differences which relate to religion and ceremonies, a National Synod, it appears, is to be convened in England: But, I am afraid, new controversies will arise respecting the form and mode of holding it. If the populace be desirous of seeing the Bishops ejected out of the Church, [as well as out of Parliament,] after the example of the Scots, the event will possibly be—that those who are attached to Episcopacy may discover some way of restoring themselves to the communion of the Church of Rome, or of uniting their strength with that of the Romanists, which they have already begun to do in Ireland. Unless I am deceived, the Prince of Orange would prefer having his daughter-in-law [the Princess Royal of England] at his Court, without her mother [Queen Henrietta] and her grand-mother [Mary De Medicis]. But if the Hague is to be favoured with the sight of three Queens at one time, [the Queen of England, of France, and of Bohemia,] this will be truly a novel example.

wanting a supply of that oil which maintained his lamp, he proved as true a Scot as the rest of the nation; laying the blame of his miscarriage in it, on the want of encouragement; and

I hear that the tumults at Cologne have subsided; and I think that city, which is a free one that avoids war, will obtain permission [from the belligerent powers] to continue in a state of tranquillity. It is not upon these considerations, I believe, that the Queen Dowager of France is endeavouring to migrate thither, but because she can there with greater facility procure necessaries for herself."

Two of the conjectures of Grotius in the last of these extracts, proved ultimately incorrect: (1.) "That his majesty's concession respecting the removal of the Bishops out of Parliament, would tend to secure the peace of the kingdom." On the contrary, Lord Clarendon has very clearly proved, in a preceding page, (317,) that "the passing of that act was an introduction to the entire destruction of the government of the Church," &c. (2.) His other mistake was, that, "on the extirpation of Episcopacy, those who were attached to it would seek out some way of restoring themselves to the Church of Rome." But, whatever intimations of this kind might have been given by the two female members of the House *de Medicis*, who were complete dupes to the Popish priests with whom they were constantly surrounded, the event disproved all their prognostications. For Dr. Turner's just assertion, in page 679, which was corroborated by Mr. Evelyn, is that "Not five clergymen forsook our church and went over to that of Rome, during all the troubles and rebellion in England." The Protestants of the Church of England in that age, were far superior to the Nonconformists in possessing that genuine trait of British feeling which was well-defined by Archbishop Laud, when a Cardinal's hat was twice offered to him by the Court of Rome and manfully refused, "My answer again was, that something dwelt within me which would not suffer that, till Rome was other than it is!"—This modest yet firm reply, so opposite to the inflated rhapsodies of the Puritans, will be duly appreciated by an unprejudiced posterity.

On the 15th of March, 1642, Grotius addressed the following lines to Camerarius: "The judgment formed by your Lordship is very true—'that 'in such a perturbed state of the English affairs no good hopes can be 'indulged respecting the business of the Palatinate.' But in the marriage of his daughter, and much more if there be any discussion about the marriage of his son, the king of England might add this condition—'that the Dutch shall engage to continue the war until the Electoral House be restored;' which will be done with the good wishes of France for the purpose of increasing the impediments to peace.—It is believed in Paris, that the British monarch will make several concessions, in hopes that the [Long] Parliament will some time or other discontinue its sittings, and afford his majesty an opportunity of gradually recovering what he has thus suddenly lost. But it is not to be doubted, that the Parliamentarians will imitate the Scots, in leaving some of their own body invested with authority to execute the acts and resolutions which they have unanimously passed: Such a proceeding will prostrate still more the power of the king, which is already low enough. All the accounts whatsoever, that are published here concerning these matters, serve to mitigate and support the cause of the Irish, and to bring the Parliamentarians into disrepute. But the king of France ought not to be considered so occupied with war, as to have no means remaining for affording his assistance to the Irish, or to the king of England in his difficulties. For in my opinion, the Prince of Orange will withhold his hand from touching that sore, lest he give offence to those among the Dutch who have the greatest influence over the people. The Queen of England will now be among you; and you will be at liberty to form some probable conjectures from her discourse and actions. The Medicëan Queen [Dowager of France], though advanced in age, cannot endure tranquillity; and the old lady, by frisking up and down, raises much dust."—The allusion in this extract to the temporizing policy of king Charles, will tend to confirm the opinion which I ventured to express in page 716, respecting the adoption of

speaking disgracefully of the man which had given him most. Had he intended any prejudice to the reformed religion, reformed according to the doctrine of Calvin, and the Genevian forms

Amyraut's principle: And while the subjoined communication from Grotius to Camerarius, dated "March, 1641," exhibits the impartiality of the writer, it will prove still more clearly the close approximation which the English ministry made to French politics: "With regard to English affairs, I have no doubt whatever that the king does many things with a sorrowful heart for the sake of gaining time, particularly in the matter of triennial parliaments. This makes me still more apprehensive, that the Elector Palatine will gain no advantage in England, especially when I perceive a return made to the old procrastinating devices of wasting time in conferences with the Elector of Bavaria, who is a man most tenacious to his purpose. There are now better hopes, I find, concerning the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland [the Earl of Strafford], than were at first entertained. The danger of the Archbishop [Laud] is far greater, not only on account of *the crime of his religion*, which is always a powerful consideration with the people; but likewise because *he is believed to have endeavoured to increase the regal power*. The English are terrified with the example of such an augmentation in the royal prerogative as France presents, in which the supreme domination has no further boundaries beyond which it can now extend itself. For it has been determined here to arrest the Duke of Vendome, and, if that be impossible, to issue a citation against him,—not that he may be tried by the Parliament, or by his own chamber of Dukes and Peers, but by certain individuals selected from the list of Marshals and Presidents of Parliament."—The allusion to Archbishop Laud as a great defender of the king's prerogative, will receive a sufficient explanation in pages 653—656, 670, 680—684. Without any reference to the unprecedented circumstances of the Archbishop's own trial, the attentive reader will find ample materials, in the disclosures which were made on the trial of the Earl of Strafford, for convincing himself, that both the Earl and the Archbishop had been most unfortunately associated with an administration, some of the members of which were traitors to their sovereign, enemies to their country, and betrayers of their colleagues. Heylin has well remarked concerning one of these men, (p. 365,) "all matters of GRACE and FAVOUR were ascribed to him, matters of HARSHNESS or DISTASTE [were ascribed] to the king or Canterbury." The quotation from Dr. Heylin, at the commencement of this note, will shew the weight of unmerited opprobrium which Laud was compelled to endure on account of the Queen's Popery, and the fearless manner in which he discharged his duty in that delicate affair. If the Archbishop be accused of prodigality in bestowing his censures, the fact here recorded and others of a similar kind will shew that his reproofs were indiscriminate and given "without respect of persons," for neither peasant nor prince was exempted from their operation. The odium which he was doomed to bear in relation to the management of civil affairs, was that which belonged to the whole of his Majesty's Council; but, for party purposes, it was charged upon him alone. The circumstances of unexampled difficulty in which he was placed, have never received that notice to which they are entitled by their importance. A few of them are detailed in the preceding pages; but their complete developement would fill a large volume.

The deterring example of France in the matter of *the king's prerogative*, to which Grotius alludes as producing a bad effect on Englishmen, and of the progress of which he gives a striking instance, may be said to have had its commencement in 1631, when Louis the Thirteenth, "having notice of the great preparations carrying on to raise a war in the Duke of Orleans' behalf, throughout the whole kingdom, and knowing that the province of Burgundy was to be the chief theatre of the rebellion, went thither with all speed. This great diligence of the king obliged the Duke to retire into the territories of Spain, with his abettors, who were proclaimed traitors. The proclamation being verified and recorded in the Parliament of Burgundy, was sent to the Parliament of Paris, where the members were so divided, that, instead of recording the Proclamation by a solemn act, they made only

both of worship and government, he would not have so cordially advanced the general collection for the Palatine churches, or provided so heartily for the Rochellers and their religion. Had

an act, whereby they declared that the house was divided. The king, on his return to Paris, would not leave such a disorder unpunished; and sent for the Parliament to wait upon him at the Louvre, with orders to come on foot like criminals, and in a condition to receive the censure they deserved, to give them to understand, that it was not their business to deliberate on matters of state; that he sent them his Proclamations upon those matters, only that they might publish and register them, and take care to have them obeyed by the people &c. This was performed at the Louvre, the king sitting in his Council, and the Parliament in a body on their knees before him; and even after the Chancellor had told them, by the king's command, that they had no right to judge of the Proclamations, and other declarations relating to matters of state, which his Majesty sent them, the king tore off with his own hand the *Act of Division*, which had been written in the Register of the Parliament Rolls, and ordered to write down, instead of it, the Act of the Council by which the other was declared void; with a strict prohibition never to pretend for the future to deliberate on such declarations. And lastly, in order to punish the faults of the whole body on some particular members, the Presidents Gayan and Barillon, and the Sieur Lesné Counsellor, were, by his Majesty's order, commanded to retire for some time from Paris, and suspended from their functions, because they had spoken too disrespectfully of his Majesty's conduct and administration." On reading this account by Auberi in connection with the remarks of Grotius, and on tracing the gradual consummation of tyranny in France, no one will evince any surprize at finding several excellent men enlisted in the Parliamentary interest, when the first proper and constitutional opposition was made to the incroachments of power in England. In forming a correct estimate of the subsequent conduct of such men, they will be found entitled to much of our indulgence and commiseration, on account of having early committed themselves so far as not to be able to recede, after they saw and lamented the illegal and tyrannical method pursued by their own party, against which some of them strongly remonstrated, but did not possess the power of applying an adequate remedy.

Such were some of the evil consequences of the marriage of King Charles with a Popish Princess! How strongly soever Queen Henrietta's conduct as an affectionate daughter, wife and mother, may gain upon our esteem, we cannot, under the influence of a foolish and misplaced gallantry, pretend to overlook the confusion which she introduced into the national affairs, by her silly intermeddling, till her husband's cause was rendered irretrievable. In a preceding page, (343,) Lord Clarendon has described with much truth, yet in polite and measured language, "the unlimited power" which the Queen had gained in "the disposal of all favours and preferments, and "which in truth, what other unhappy circumstances soever concurred in "the mischief, was the foundation upon which the first and the utmost pre-"judices to the King and his government were raised and prosecuted." What course could be more preposterous than that which the King pursued—to wait for the Queen's decisions whenever any important proposals of pacification were made to him by his rebellious subjects! Without divulging *the true cause* of his lengthened delays, he introduced frivolous distinctions into the negotiations which ought to have been promptly concluded; and when he ultimately received the Queen's replies on the matters under discussion, the whole had assumed a new aspect, and required fresh instructions from his head-quarters. How pure soever the intentions of King Charles might be, (and my belief is, that his native integrity was unimpeachable,) this want of promptitude and decision effected the ruin of his cause, which could not be averted by the able advice of his judicious and experienced counsellors: For, by his apparent unwillingness to conclude the war, and by the needless procrastination which he employed, his Majesty alienated the hearts of many persons, that may with propriety be said to have been till then *a kind of neutral party*. Such persons could account for the King's delays and subterfuges, only on the principle of his Popish connections; and on this point subsequent disclosures, from authentic docu-

he projected any such thing as the suppressing of the gospel, he would not have shewed himself so industrious in preventing Socinianism from poisoning those of riper years; in turning

ments which are before the public, have proved these popular jealousies to have been only too well founded.—Ungracious as the occupation undoubtedly is, I must be permitted to expose still further the evils of Catholic influence when exerted on the Chief Magistrate of this country: These were sufficiently manifested by Queen Henrietta's exploits in the reign of her son Charles the Second.—During the exile of the royal family in France, her endeavours to obtain the suppression of the Protestant worship within the precincts of the French Court, and her attempts to seduce her son, the Duke of Gloucester, to the Romish faith, were circumstances which declared in language sufficiently explicit her zeal and intolerable bigotry. Few people will cherish any doubts concerning the deleterious power which she exercised over the weak mind of King James the Second; and she was never reconciled to his clandestine marriage with the Earl of Clarendon's daughter, till she had received satisfactory proofs of the Duchess of York's obsequious compliance with the Popish prejudices of her husband. Another reason for Queen Henrietta's ultimate approval is given in EVELYN's *Diary*, who, under the date of "Oct. 7, 1660," says: "There dined with me a French Count, with Sir George Tuke, who came to take leave of me, being sent over to the Queen-mother to break the marriage of the Duke with the daughter of Chancellor Hyde. The Queen would fain have undone it; but, it seems, matters were reconciled, on great offers of the Chancellor's to befriend the Queen, who was much in debt, and was now to have the settlement of her affairs go through his hands." In brief, the character of Mary De Medicis, which is quoted at the commencement of this note, was equally applicable to her daughter Queen Henrietta in her advanced age; and the baneful effects of her interference in the government of England may be truly said to be distinctly perceptible in every subsequent act of the two Kings, her immediate descendants, till the last of them was compelled to abdicate the throne of these realms, and to find an asylum in a foreign land. May this Protestant kingdom never again be cursed with a Popish Queen!

But though most decided in my aversion to Popery, even under its mildest forms, and notwithstanding all these *real causes of fear* from the family *De Medicis* and from their Popish connections, I cannot allow that any just reason existed for the unnatural rebellion which was subsequently excited under the name of RELIGION. If this were a proper opportunity for introducing such a discussion, I would be found one of those who could concede much to the doctrine of *lawful resistance to the aggressions of arbitrary power*: But my concessions would be grounded on the broad basis of *the acknowledged rights of the citizens of a free state*. It was not on this plain and intelligible principle that the Puritans and the minor sects in 1640 founded their opposition to the measures of King Charles's administration; but it was on that of *a reputed difference in religious profession and belief between themselves and their opponents*, and, in the capacity of CHRISTIANS, they enrolled themselves under the banners of sedition. Before their open appeal to arms, they renounced *the formerly alleged infringements of the laws and constitution of the land*, which were then in a course of being redressed; because they found the pretext which produced the desired effect upon the people, who were more afraid of the loss of their RELIGION than of their CIVIL LIBERTIES, was that of representing the Church of England as Popish, and "the willing people" were soon encouraged by false glosses upon the scriptures to assist in the overthrow of this system of reputed "idolatry and superstition." The doctrine of resistance assumed in that case a new character, which is not to be found among the doctrines of the New Testament: And when I read the very ingenious corollaries which the accomplished Bishop Hoadley deduces from St. Paul's pointed interrogation to the centurion, *Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?*, I am not so far convinced by his arguments as to believe, that the Apostle intended to convey, by that expression and by other traits in

afternoon sermons into catechising for the instruction of children; in prohibiting all assemblies of Anabaptists, Familists, and other sectaries, which oppose the common principles of the

his conduct, the rather *indefinite kind of resistance* which the Bishop depicts. The truth is, in religious communities, the words of the Great Lawgiver of his Church will have their accomplishment in the practice of all real Christians: "If my kingdom were of *this world*, then would my servants fight." This principle runs through the whole of the New Testament; and whatever *legal resistance* St. Paul offered on the occasion just quoted, and when he was maltreated by the magistrates of Philippi or by Ananias the Jewish High-priest, it did not amount to the *fighting* posture assumed by such republican divines as Dr. John Owen or Robert Baylie. (Pages 457 & 505) As long as human nature is corrupt, "*men of this world*" will be found throughout all lands in sufficient numbers to avenge their own wrongs, to redress the grievances of others, and to abridge the exorbitant power of tyrants, without calling upon "all upright professing Christians," as the belligerent Calvinists did in imitation of Mahomet and his followers, to come forward in an armed mass for the destruction of their brethren, "who had obtained like precious faith with themselves through the righteousness of God and their Saviour Jesus Christ," but who, unfortunately, employed such rites and ceremonies in their worship of the true God as did not accord with the ideas of their oppressors. Whatever diversity of opinions Jewish Rabbins or Christian commentators may entertain about the real character of the destroying angel, whom God commissioned under the Old Testament regimen to execute his righteous indignation, there can be but one opinion respecting the character of the human agents, whom, in the administration of his punitive providence, God generally employs to effect his great and salutary purposes, "from seeming evil still educing good." By the light of New Testament principles we can discern these human executioners of Divine vengeance upon the ungodly to be, not *good men*, but *the wicked themselves*, who, whether viewed as conquerors or the conquered, may in a justifiable sense be said to have been made by the Lord "for the day of evil." (Prov. xvi. 4.) This sentiment is beautifully amplified by a British Poet, when personating a bard of ancient Greece:

> The good can never be unblest,
> While impious minds can never rest;
> A plague within themselves they find,
> *Each other plague, and all mankind!*

If this doctrine be true concerning *the wicked*, St. Paul renders it equally applicable to *those professors who unchristianize themselves*, by not fulfilling this law, *thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*. For he immediately adds, "If ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another,"—a passsage of scripture, which received a striking fulfilment in the public events of this kingdom between the years 1640 and 1660; as did also that memorable passage in St. Matthew, when applied to the followers of the meek and lowly Jesus, *as such*, "All they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword." The following extract from Dr. HAMMOND'S treatise *of resisting the lawful magistrate under colour of Religion*, contains an accurate and scriptural view of the untenable principles and bad practices of the Calvinistic champions of that age:

"Religion is not so truly professed by endeavouring to kill others, as by being killed patiently ourselves rather than we will renounce it. When I fight, it may be malice, revenge, some hope of gain by the present service, any one of an hundred worldly interests, that may help to whet my sword for me; or most clearly, a hope I may kill and not be killed: And so, all this while, here is no act of confession of Christ in thus venturing my life, although I do affirm *I do this for my religion*.—Whosoever considers himself as a man, much more as a father of posterity, must have many things to trust God with, and only God; and, among those, nothing more than the future

christian faith. For, that *his silencing of the Arminian controversies* should be 'a means to suppress the gospel,' or his favouring of those opinions designed for *a back-door to bring in*

estate of those who are come from him. There is nothing, after his prayers to God and his paternal blessing upon them, so likely to entail his religion upon them, as his sealing it by his sufferings. This will be a more probable way to recommend his religion to them, when they shall hear that *their fathers thus hoped in God*, than that other so distant, that *they died in a rebellion against the king*. All this upon *supposition*, but not *concession*, 'that the religion of him that would fight for it were *the truth* and *only truth*:' Whereas indeed there is not a more suspicious mark of a false religion, than that *it is fain to propagate itself by violence;* the Turks and Papists being the only notable examples hitherto of that practice, till some others have fallen upon the same conclusion, directly through Popish principles a little varied in the application. It seems, we are resolved to have no more to do with martyrdom, think that the thousand years for the saints to reign on earth are at hand,; and so, suffering, or conformity to the image of Christ [being] no longer the thing we are predestined to, we must set up a new trade of fighting, destroying, resisting, rebelling, and leave enduring 'to those christians which were furnished with extraordinary strength from heaven:' which are the objector's words of the primitive christians.—The doctrine of allegiance to Kings, and of their supremacy in all cases, hath always been counted a principal head of difference between the Protestants and the worst of Papists: And a special evidence which most men have used to conclude the Papacy to be *the Antichrist*, is this, that the Pope exalteth himself above all that is called God, that is, above *all the kings of the earth;* that he, in case the king be not a Catholic, absolves subjects from their allegiance to him, &c. Bodin is fain to pas a sad observation upon the fact of those German princes in taking up arms for religion against Luther's advice: *Ita funestum bellum &c.* I would to God those words were Englished in every one of our hearts: 'A 'direful and calamitous war, with the slaughter of all sorts; because though 'it were for religion, yet no cause can be counted just of taking up arms 'against one's country.' One general notion there is of our laws, which from my childhood I have imbibed, and therefore conceive common to all others with me; and it is this, that *the laws of this kingdom put no man* (no Papist I am sure,) *to death for* RELIGION. When Jesuits and seminary Priests have suffered, every man is so perfect in the law, as to know that it is for TREASON, by a statute that makes it such for them to come into this kingdom. From whence I conclude, that in the constitution of our state, *no war for religion is accounted a lawful war*, &c. And therefore Sleidan tells us of Martin Luther, 'that he would not allow a war, though but defensive, with 'the Turk himself:' And though he had mitigated his opinion upon a new state of the question, and persuaded the emperor to it, yet it was with this limitation, *modo nec vindictæ* &c. 'provided that it be undertaken on ac-'count of neither revenge, glory, nor profit, (three things which are very 'rarely kept out of war,) but that they attack this most foul and despicable 'thief, not on the plea of his *religion*, but on that of his *thefts and the injuries* which he has inflicted.'—In his Postil on Matthew 13, Luther likewise says, 'Observe here how mad we have hitherto been. who would by war com-'pel the Turks to the faith, heretics by fire, the Jews by fear of being put to 'death; and to pull up the tares by our own strength, as if we were they 'who have power over the hearts and spirits of men, and as if it were in our 'hands to recal men to justice and picty.'—For this war to be waged, not not against POPERY truly so called, but against the only true Protestant Religion as it stands established by the old laws of the land; and therefore it is fain to be be called *Popish* that it may be fit to be destroyed, and our Martyr reformers not able by those fiery chariots of theirs to get out of the confines of Babylon,—just as the primitive christians were by the persecutors put in wild beasts' skins, that in those shapes they might be devoured,—this, I confess, is to me a complication of riddles," &c.

In the last extract which I have given in this note from the letters of Grotius, the English are said " to have been terrified with the example of

Popery, no wise man can think. The points in controversy between the Calvinists and Arminians, in the reformed churches of Calvin's Plat-form, are agitated no less fiercely by the Dominicans on the one side, the Jesuits and Franciscans on the other side, in the Church of Rome ;* the Calvinists holding with the

such an increase of the King's prerogative, as France then presented." I here subjoin an extract from another letter on the same subject, addressed by Grotius to his brother, in February, 1641 ; in which he attributes the alarm felt by the French ministry, and the increased severity of the tyrannical yoke imposed on the Parliament of Paris, to the audacious aggression of the English republicans upon the prerogative of their monarch. Thus it will be shewn, that TYRANNY in one kingdom, and LICENTIOUSNESS in the other, were mutually pernicious, and exercised a fearful re-action on the few liberties which remained among either people.—" The King was yesterday in Parliament, and complained, that the members abused the right which had been granted to them by their Kings ;—that after the death of Henry the Fourth, they had exercised the prerogative of conferring the government of the kingdom upon the Queen Mother ;—that there were no laws to countenance the further spread of this evil ;—that he would not allow the Parliament to interfere in affairs of State or of finance ;—and that it was his pleasure for all his edicts, as soon as they were issued, to be registered among the Acts of Parliament without any consultation. The King's brother [the Duke of Orleans, who had been in rebellion against him and recently pardoned,] was labouring under an attack of the gout ; but the King ordered him to be brought into the hall in a chair, that he might be present at the rescinding of the Parliamentary decree, which had moderated and softened the King's edict, [recorded, as the King issued it, by the Parliament of Burgundy,] that declared *guilty of treason* all the adherents of his brother, [the Duke of Orleans,] who had forfeited his allegiance. The King granted permission that the votes of the Cardinal and of the Princes who were present, those of a few of the Presidents, and that of the Archbishop, should be delivered. The Secretary of Parliament declared, that all these proceedings must be inserted in the Acts of the Chamber without the least exception, and must be strictly obeyed. The titles and dignities of the Presidents and Senators who had been banished, were then all abolished: The same severities will be exercised hereafter, whenever any member obtrudes himself into affairs, the consideration of which has been prohibited by law.—Much trepidation prevails in every direction. The adoption of this measure has been hastened by the audacity of the English Parliamentarians in their open insurrections against the King's authority: It has also been accelerated by the fear, lest, in case of the death of the King [of France], the Queen [Anne of Austria] should obtain the regency by means of the votes of Parliament." —This last circumstance relates to the dread evinced by Lewis the Thirteenth, during the whole of his long indisposition, lest his Queen and his brother, the Duke of Orleans, should obtain the regency of the kingdom during the minority of his infant son, and, on account of their decided predilection for Spanish interests, should conclude a peace with that proud nation, which might prove injurious to his own kingdom. But, how often, in human affairs, is it seen, the best-concerted schemes are vain and fail of success ! This tyrannical spell, devised to bind down to the royal pleasure the supreme power in the government, was broken within less than a month after the proud monarch's decease ; and the two individuals, whose influence and management he had justly dreaded, were, by the suffrages of this dragooned Parliament, exalted to the supremacy

Many parts of this note will furnish additional information concerning the the facts recorded in pages 549, 557, 585, 598, 605, 611, 621, 624, 629, 681, 694, 698, 706.

* Dr. Hammond's Roman Catholic adversary says : " Our criterion or rule of faith keeps off dissensions when it is followed ; yours does not. Lutherans and Calvinists follow the same rule, and yet dissent and condemn one another ; ours do not so, but remit the differences to be decided to one and

Dominicans, as the Arminians do with the Jesuits and Franciscan Friars. And therefore, why any such compliance with the Dominicans (the principal sticklers and promoters in the Inquisition) should not be looked onas a back-door to bring in Popery, as well as a compliance in the same points with the other two orders, is beyond my reach."

The Archbishop's care for the Church of England, which Grotius styles (page 631) "a most honourable and praiseworthy purpose," has now received a part of the exposition to which it is richly entitled; and, to all unprejudiced men, it will appear to have been a plan of pacification which, without altering one of *the Thirty Nine Articles of Religion*, would have comprehended Calvinists, Arminians, Cameronists, and moderate Popish recusants. As far as his power extended, (and his own Diary shews it by no means to have been so *unlimited* as his enemies have industriously represented,) he endeavoured to effect a reconciliation among the chief parties of professing christians in the kingdom, and to accommodate all of them within the truly Catholic bosom of the Church of England. But his designs were frustrated, by the want of firmness on the part of his royal master, (which soon displayed itself in his first unguarded concessions respecting church-government,) as much as by the unchristian animosity of his illiberal adversaries; and the best comment upon the enlightened policy of Archbishop Laud, and on the usefulness of his scheme, will be found in the history of *the confused state of religion*, during the twenty succeeding years, some notices of which are given in various parts of this

the same judge both exterior and interior."—To this remark the learned Doctor returns the following answer in his *View of the Apology for the Infallibility of the Church of Rome:* "I was a proving, by the ancient catalogues of hereticks, that there were good store of hereticks in the world before the Reformation, from which it follows, that either your infallible judge was not then in fashion, or else that it is not such a sovereign means or antidote against hereticks. You seem to distinguish that your rule keeps off dissensions, not *always*, but *when it is followed*; and prove that farther, *because you remit the differences to be decided to one and the same judge*. I might answer, that our rule, the word of God, doth so too, at least in matters of faith; and that any such dissension, at least uncharitable censuring of Dissenters, is absolutely against that rule. But, I conceive, that is not the thing that commends a rule as a means to prevent dissensions, *that they that follow it dissent not*, (for the rule if it be but one rule, whatever it is, will do that,) but that it is able and apt to keep men obedient and to restrain them from excesses and not following of it. Now this is an excellence that these many Catalogues of Heresies proved, that you had no right to pretend to; and if we have not so neither, we are but partners in this piece of human infelicity, to which, as long as we carry flesh about us, it will be incident, for *there must be heresies among you*. As for your instance of the Lutherans' and Calvinists' dissensions, and condemning one the other, I must tell you that this little concerns the Church of England, which always disclaimed the being called by the names or owning the dissensions of LUTHERAN and CALVINIST, and professeth only the maintaining of the PRIMITIVE CATHOLIC FAITH, and to have no father on earth to impute their faith to. I might add more even for those Lutherans and Calvinists, that if they did really follow the same rule, they would certainly agree also."

volume.* The preceding varied extracts will prove, that this great man was never deceived respecting the subtlety of the church with which he was treating, and that he stood completely

* The numerous conversions to Popery during the Interregnum created much alarm, especially to those who felt a due concern for the interests of Protestantism. The laws against the Papists were in consequence put in execution, though, it will afterwards be seen, their operation was in several instances mitigated by Oliver the Lord Protector. The difficulties to be encountered by "an honest-hearted Papist," who might be desirous of receding from the communion of the Romish Church, are judiciously displayed in the following paragraph, which was published in those days of confusion, and which forcibly reminds one of a similar bold passage in Bishop SANDERSON's celebrated *Preface of* 1657 :

"The disadvantages of the reformed religion are now so palpable, and the danger of the people of this nation is so obvious in their returning to that Egypt and Babylon again which is not the *Church* of Rome, but its *disease* and *oppression;* that I know not in ordinary providence any means can be used or is left, to stop the daily prevalencies of Popery and the great apostacy of England to the Romish superstition and subjection in after times, unless God stir up such wisdom, zeal, and care in those that have honest hearts joined with public power and influence, not so much to fleece and depress Popish recusants by pecuniary exactions, but rather duly to restore and speedily to assert the honor, order, succession, unity, authority and majesty of this reformed church and its catholic ministry : from which when the Papists see ourselves to be such profound revolters, with what face can we expect they should ever come into our Reformation, which they now behold with joyful and disdainful eyes, so mangled, so deformed, so massacred by our own hands ? How can we with justice, honour, or humanity, inflict severe penalties upon Papists, as refusing to conform to our church and religion, when they protest, with so much truth to our faces, they cannot see any church, any religion among us, as *uniform, public, authentic, constant.* 'What,' they say, ' formerly had the goodliest figure and fairest presence of a christian ' church, and the best reformed of any, is now deformed, ruined, demolished, ' nothing but scattered rafters and pieces of that ship-wrecked vessel now ' appear floating up and down in a restless and foaming sea of faction, oppo- ' sition and confusion, between Bishops, Ministers and People: some are ' Episcopal, others Presbyterian, a third sort Independent : all are disparate or ' opposite in discipline, some are heterodox in doctrine : the Anabaptists rise ' *against* all, and the Quakers soar *above* all.' To which of all these, with many other sects, shall an honest-hearted Papist apply himself, to be safe and settled in religion ?—If to the poor and depressed remains of BISHOPS AND THE EPISCOPAL CLERGY, who yet adhere to the Church of England, alas, they are weak and exhausted, contemned by many, pitied by some, but asserted by few or none according to their true merit in former ages, or their present worth, courage, constancy and patience in this.—If the Romanists go to THE PRESBYTERIAN PARTY, which, like small shoots, sprang up so thick in England upon the cutting down of Episcopacy, to which they all formerly submitted; these, besides their levity, parity, and inconstancy as to their former stations, opinions, and oaths, seem so unseasonably insolent and magisterially domineering, before they had got a full and just dominion, that all sober men think them rather popular, plebeian, and impertinent in their heats, transports, and passions, than so modest, wise, and grave as becomes those who will undertake to wrest government out of the hands of their superiors and betters every way, and to impose a novelty of untried and undesired discipline upon such a great and stout nation as England is; which, disdaining the insolency of Popes, and offended at the indiscretion of some Bishops, will hardly ever bear the pertness of petty Presbyters, who cannot want vanity, impudence and arrogancy, when they fancy themselves in a supremacy of power above people, parliaments and princes; for they affect no less, as Christ's due and theirs too.—If the tossed Romanists run to the spruce and self-conceited INDEPENDENTS for shelter, because these fine new masters seem to have patents for christian liberty, and urge a Magna Charta from

on his guard against all their artful machinations. Though the Papists themselves viewed his endeavours, if successful, as completely subversive of their intolerant system within this kingdom, yet, after their ungrateful returns of *cursing* for his intended *blessing*, he could accost them and other grumblers, in the language of the Divine Pacificator, "Is your eye *evil*, because I am *good?*" His sentiments on this point were similar to those of Grotius, he did not think it proper to relax in his attempts, or to despair of success, merely because he encountered opposition or was repaid with ingratitude.*

Christ to be accountable to none in matters of religion but to their own little congregation or body, (in which as in an ecclesiastic corporation or free borough of religion, they may hang and draw, exercise *high* and *low* justice upon men's souls as they list in their little Conventicles,) yet here the poor Papist finds so much of a rude and exotic novelty, such a gross show of schism, such variety, such an inconstancy, such a plebeian petulancy, such pitiful and ridiculous affectations, and arrogating of church power in some of the plebs, and such contempt of it in others, that he cannot think it is other than some pieces of Joseph's bloody coat, or some torn limbs of his body, compared to that splendor, order, strength, beauty, unity, decency and majesty, in doctrine and discipline, in faith and holy duties, which was formerly to be observed, even to the envy and admiration of sober Papists, in the Church of England, how much more in the ancient and Catholic Church's grand combinations, from which these petty fractions and crumblings of christians seem most abhorrent and dissonant."

* In several of the notes between the pages 588 and 642 I have proved, that Grotius never was deceived respecting the designs of Cardinal Richelieu and other Papists, when they talked most largely about a general religious pacification, &c. His views of Popish policy are correctly exhibited in the following lines, which he addressed on the 11th of Sept. 1636, to the Chancellor Oxenstern concerning Milletiere: "He does not perceive, that, under the word PEACE, the Cardinal [Richelieu] and other servants of the Pontiff do nothing more than this—by means of it they furnish a specious pretext to those who either through fear or hope wish to quit the ranks of the weak and afflicted party [of the German Protestants] and to pass over to those of the stronger" [the Papists].

The extreme solicitude which Grotius felt to engage England to act a more decided part, as a Protestant State, in the affairs of Europe, had its origin in motives of *piety*, as well as in those of *sound policy*. Well acquainted with the arts of the French ministry, he saw their connection with *an armed Protestant Confederacy* to be unnatural, and undertaken solely for temporary purposes. As soon as those purposes were accomplished, he knew that the French would display as proper a Popish spirit, as any of the States to which they were at that time opposed. While, therefore, he was desirous of deriving all possible advantages to the Protestant interest from their politic and short-lived amity, like a great Statesman he looked about for more congenial associates, whose principles and policy might co-incide with those of Sweden and of the Protestant part of Germany: The man who, in his elegant historical produetions, had highly eulogized the able and opportune aid afforded by Queen Elizabeth of glorious memory to the Dutch Provinces, in their infant struggles for liberty, could have no other feeling than that of chagrine on beholding the stupidity and supineness of one of her royal successors, who, stifling many of the powerful claims of kindred, and disregarding the true interests of his family and kingdom, employed all the arts of adulation and wasted much valuable time and money in expensive embassies to those two intolerant bigots, the Emperor of Germany and the King of Spain, in behalf of his relative the Elector Palatine. King Charles the First might have more effectually assisted that unfortunate Prince, at less expence, by making an armed diversion in his favour; and he would thus have secured the affec-

I now proceed briefly to advert to Archbishop Laud's "efforts for procuring peace and concord in the Church Universal." Perhaps the following extract from Mr. Hartlib's correspondence with the Rev. Joseph Mede, in 1638, will be a good introduction to this subject: "I am very confidently assured, that my Lord's Grace of Canterbury himself hath written a book in answer to some Popish points, as it were *a second part of* CHILLINGWORTH, composed chiefly upon the point of FUNDAMENTALS and NON-FUNDAMENTALS: which book is almost ready for the press; only, because in his quotations he hath trusted to his memory, he is revising and examining them, and then it comes forth."—Those persons who know the book will not require to be told, that this character of it is as true as it is impartial,*—which I shall afterwards prove by a few extracts.

tions of his subjects by a strong manifestation of his deep concern for the prosperity and advancement of the Protestant religion. (See page) There is scarcely any subject in the letters of Grotius to which he alludes so frequently, as to that of the re-instatement of the Elector Palatine. For, though his father had been guilty of great imprudence in yielding to the flattering solicitations and advice of the great body of Calvinists in Europe; yet that part of the German Protestants who had invited him, and whom he had offended by his zeal in destroying what Scultetus deemed *the remains of idolatry*, (p. 254) were all of the Lutheran persuasion, and had done nothing to deserve such accumulated sufferings as they were compelled to indure by being involved in the consequences of his want of success. Twenty years of distress and disappointment had destroyed all remembrance of the King of Bohemia's early indiscretions: His subsequent exemplary conduct under reproach and misfortune, and the magnanimity and prepossessing virtues of his Queen, who was certainly one of the best-informed and most admirable women in Europe, had rendered his cause sacred in the eyes of all the Reformed; and it highly concerned the interests of Protestantism, as well as the honour of his family and political connections, that he should be restored *at least* to the whole of his paternal domains in Germany, which had been dismembered and partitioned by the Popish League.

To this ancient topic both of his regrets and wishes Grotius had referred, when he addressed the following lines to Count Muller, on Aug. 28th, 1638:—"The French feel no concern either for the Protestant religion or for the liberties of Germany, as has been rendered apparent by the treaties which Father Joseph had concluded at Ratisbon. The Swedes are associated with Protestants both by conformity in religion, and by the defence of the Germanic liberties, which was undertaken by the King [Gustavus Adolphus] of immortal memory; they ought, therefore, to be careful *not to tarnish this glory*," &c.

* I subjoin the judgment of Vossius on LAUD'S *Conference with Fisher the Jesuit*. On the 31st of August, 1640, the Archbishop addressed a letter to that learned individual, in which the following paragraph occurs: "You are not ignorant of the great and pernicious disturbances which the Scotch affairs have raised among us here in England. I know the point at which these furious innovators are aiming; it is God alone who knows how far they will be permitted to proceed. But I have no opportunity, neither do I feel any pleasure in writing about these men, lest a portion of gall should blacken the pages of my letter; for I perceive, that, in every direction, and especially among foreigners, my name and reputation are reviled and disgraced by their virulent pens. I return, therefore, to private concerns, &c. I send by Junius my book, which was published last year; but it is in the English language. I confess that I promised to transmit to you, before this time, a copy in Latin: I am not guilty of falsehood in this matter, but I have myself been deceived. For a man, who was sufficiently learned and

But that was not the first of the Archbishop's efforts in behalf of a general concord among the Protestant Churches: In page 610, Grotius gives us the subjoined information concerning the Frankfort Convention in 1634: "The present Primate of England is a man of the greatest learning and prudence, and kindly lends his authority and advice to promote this general christian union." Among the "letters of introduction from many of the English Bishops," of which Dury is there said to have been the bearer, the most important was that from his Grace of Canterbury. In a subsequent document from the Archbishop, allusion is made to "the decree" which was passed by the Protestant deputies assembled at Frankfort in 1634; I shall therefore present my readers with an extract from it, which will shew the Archbishop to have been one of the warmest and most decided friends to the Protestant interests, long before he published his *Conference with Fisher the Jesuit*: "After Dury had

had abundance of leisure, took this business into his own hands, and, to tell you frankly, he completed his labour. But when I had bestowed upon it a little deeper scrutiny, I discovered not a few passages in which he had not caught and transfused the sense, and several others in which he had not followed the style. I accounted it, therefore, much better to suppress a translation, which would neither express me nor my sentiments, than to publish such a one as this, in which all those foreigners who have only an imperfect acquaintance with the English language, would behold me indeed, but it would be like the representation of my form in an unfaithful mirror. If this translation be capable of correction, you may still expect to see it; but my fears are greater concerning the *carelessness* than *the pen* of the translator.—With this book of mine, I forward you a copy of the Canons which were framed and confirmed in the last Convocation; by which you may see, that I have neither deserted the Church nor the beaten track of ecclesiastical antiquity.—With regard to other things, I commend you to God and his grace; and I earnestly intreat, that, in these times, when our affairs are assailed in all quarters as well by secret deceit as by open violence, you will unite with me in incessant and importunate prayers to God and our Saviour, that he may be pleased to preserve in safety,

"*Your servant, and one whose affection for you, most learned man, is of the most friendly description,*

"WILLIAM CANTERBURY."

To this calm and judicious letter Vossius returned an answer, of which the subjoined is an extract: "*Most reverend Father in Christ and very illustrious Lord,*—I received, by Junius my relation, your two presents, which are worth their weight in gold, because [the contents of] both are entirely golden,—not only the book of the Constitutions and Canons of the Convocation of Canterbury and York,—but likewise the other, respecting the Conference between you, at that time Bishop of St. David's, and Fisher the Jesuit. According to my judgment, each of them is, or at least ought to be, sufficient to refute the calumnies which are disseminated against the Church of England and its dignitaries, and particularly against your most reverend Lordship, by ill-disposed persons, who are principally intent on one object—to render those men odious who are tenacious of the doctrines and the constitutions of the Primitive Church, and quickly to appoint as their successors those who measure all things by the decisions of the moderns.—I shall always hold both these productions among my choicest treasures; and, during the short period I have had them in possession, their services have not been inconsiderable, by restraining the more malignant, and by confirming those who evince greater modesty: Indeed, the rumours in circulation were far different from those in which, by these books, we are now instructed."

recited, in a full session of all the Confederated States, the opinions of the most eminent Divines and Universities of both parties, [Lutherans and Calvinists] not only in Germany, but likewise in France, England and Transylvania, concerning the best method of obtaining this truly christian object of Union, which is most praiseworthy in itself, by which each party may acquire a greater concord and amity of spirit, and by which *the faction of the Roman Catholics may be deprived of the advantage they have hitherto reaped from the schism which they observe among the Evangelicals.*" Such was the grand Protestant Union of which Archbishop Laud was the distingnished patron upwards of ten years, and even at the period when he was falsely accused of betraying the Church of England into the hands of her Popish enemies! Grotius imputes the partial failure of this noble design to "the harsh and intolerant conduct of Dr. Hoe towards those whom he called Calvinians." That able Lutheran divine*

* His name. as appended to the official account of the Leipsic Conference, was *Matthias Hoe van Henegg*. He was chaplain to the Elector of Saxony, who deputed him to attend that pacific Assembly of Protestants. By consulting pages 259 and 576, the reader may learn the high character for learning, moderation, and piety, possessed by two of the other representatives,—BERGIUS, who was deputed by the Elector of Brandenburgh,—and CROCIUS, who, with *Neuberger*, attended in behalf of the Landgrave of Hesse. *Leyser* and *Hopfner*, who were the Professors of Divinity in the University of Leipsig, assisted at the Conference of their own accord. The relation of their proceedings possesses much interest. Those who know the benevolent complexion of the Augsburgh Confession, and its incompatibility with the peculiar tenets of Calvin, will naturally expect, that one of the main points on which these moderate men divided was that of ELECTION and REPROBATION. Dury says at the conclusion of his account: "The Saxon divines added, *lastly*, 'that they considered whatever was taught in '*the Book of Concord* concerning this article of Election to be true and agree-'able to the Holy Scriptnres: That is to say, *God has chosen us by his grace*, '*but yet in such a manner as to have* FORESEEN *the men who will persevere* '*and truly believe in Christ; and those whom God has thus foreseen, as* 'FUTURE BELIEVERS, *he has chosen and predestinated, and they are the per-*'*sons on whom he will bestow salvation and eternal glory.*'" Faith and perseverance foreseen could neither be admitted by the Calvinists, who viewed such a concession tantamount to a profession of Arminianism, nor could they be abandoned by the Lutheran

Mosheim, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, says: "This Conference at Leipsic was conducted with decency and moderation, and the deliberations were neither disturbed by intemperate zeal, nor by a proud spirit of contention and dispute; but that openness of heart, that mutual trust and confidence, which are so essential to the success of all kinds of pacification, were wanting here. For though the doctors of the Reformed partly exposed, with the utmost precision and fairness, the tenets of their church, and made, moreover, many concessions which the Lutherans themselves could scarcely expect; yet the latter, suspicious and fearful, and always aprehensive of schemes formed by artifice under the mask of candour, to betray and ensnare them, did not dare to acknowledge, *that they were satisfied with these explications and offers;* and thus the Conference broke up without having contributed in any respect to promote the salutary work of peace. To form a true idea of these pacific deliberations, of the reasons that gave rise to them and of the principles by which they were conducted, it will be necessary to study the civil history of this interesting period with attention and care."—This last remark is very important; without an accurate historical know-

had been one of the parties at the Conference held at Leipsic in 1631, at which Duræus was likewise present. The numerous extracts which I have given from Mosheim's scarce pamphlet, will manifest the jealousy felt by the Lutherans respecting the designs of the Calvinists; and, after the scenes described in pages 240—265, it is not wonderful if they received with caution the overtures of those who had adopted the intolerant Canons of the Synod of Dort, without any modification or token of disapproval.* (Page 290) This feeling of distrust was not

ledge of the important discussions and events of that æra, the men who treat them as insulated occurrences are mere theorists, that draw inferences without adequate *data*. In an extract from his own treatise, in page 153, Mosheim says, "There can hardly be the shadow of a doubt, that the hatred which the Dort Fathers evinced towards the Arminians, belonged also to us in no inferior degree." The high Predestinarian decisions and intolerance of that Synod might well render the Lutherans "suspicious and fearful." See pages 246—250.

* That man who wishes to trace the baneful political and religious consequences of the Synod of Dort, may discover some of them in the conduct of the Elector of Saxony, when the Elector Palatine was crowned King of Bohemia. (Page 213.) On that occasion the former prince united himself with the members of the Roman Catholic League, and contributed much to the final triumph of the Emperor Ferdinand. Mosheim justly observes: "The triumph of the Austrians would neither have been so sudden nor so complete, nor would they have been in a condition to impose such rigorous and despotic terms on the Bohemians, had they not been powerfully assisted by John George I, Elector of Saxony, who, partly from a principle of hatred towards the Calvinists, and partly from considerations of a political kind, re-inforced with his troops the Imperial army." In a note it is added by this ecclesiastical historian: "It is well known, that the Roman Catholics, and more especially Martin Becan, a Jesuit, persuaded Matthew Hoë, who was an Austrian by birth and the Elector's chaplain, to represent to his prince the cause of the Elector Palatine, (which was the cause of the Reformed Religion,) as not only unjust, but also as detrimental to the interests of Lutheranism, and to recommend to him the cause and interests of the House of Austria." Dr. Maclaine subjoins, "What Dr. Mosheim says *may be true*." It is true as far as it goes; but it does not give the real cause of the Elector's disgust. In various parts of this volume I have detailed the horror which many of the German princes felt, not only at the *intolerance* displayed by the Synod of Dort, but also at *the political purposes* which that religious assembly was intended to promote. No wonder, therefore, if some of the Jesuits depicted Calvinism, and its aspirings, in colours more odious than correct. If the Synod of Dort was upwards of a century the grand bar to *ecclesiastical concord*, can it be surprising that it was employed as a pretence to hinder *political union* among the members of the Protestants of Europe? The marked displeasure of heaven, towards the chief States that had sent representatives to that iniquitous Synod, was displayed within a few years after its conclusion. See pages 246—248.

But even after the Elector of Saxony had broken off his unnatural connection with a cruel Popish confederacy, who were vigorously engaged in destroying or proselytizing his fellow Protestants, he did not enter with such zeal and cordiality into the measures of the Protestant combination, to which he at length attached himself, as might have been expected from a lineal descendant of the first of the Lutheran Princes. The ambitious designs, and the former premature exultation, of the Calvinists, had implanted many prejudices in the mind of the Elector, which never were fully eradicated. Grotius, in his letters, frequently complains of the selfish and temporizing conduct of the Elector, (page 610,) and in one addressed to James Putæanus in 1634, gives the following description of the man and his measures at Frank-

without foundation, as Grotius found by his own experience within a year after he had made that remark: The Calvinist pastors at Charenton had transmitted to the Frankfort Convention, in 1634, a letter confirming Dury in his sacred design, and had in their synod in 1631 passed a resolution, in which they declared "the Lutheran System of religion to be conformable with the spirit of true piety, and free from pernicious and fundamental errors." Yet, at the suggestion of Rivet, (page 222,) who, after being transplanted from the French Churches into the university of Leyden, considered himself placed there for the strenuous defence of Dort Calvinism, these very men refused to receive Grotius into their Chapel, after they had given him a pressing invitation. This conduct of theirs induced him to say, (page 607,) "I am amazed at the inconstancy of the men, who, after having invited the Lutherans to them, now deny that they can admit the Swedish Ambassador, in his quality of Ambassador, on account of the difference which subsists between the religious sentiments which they maintain, and those professed by the Kingdom of which he is representative."—This is not the only example of *the insincerity* of the Calvinists of that age; the reader will find others in various parts of this volume.

But Archbishop Laud did not, on account of this Calvinistic tergiversation, with-hold his patronage from such a pacific plan as that of Dury. Though himself a great patron of the doctrines of General Redemption, and aware of Dury's Calvinistic partia-

fort: "This Convention, which, after the German fashion, is of itself sufficiently tardy, is likewise needlessly disturbed by the Elector of Saxony, who has sent his representatives, not to fill [or form a part of] the Assembly, but to act as spies on its proceedings. He demands the restitution, to his son, of the Duchy of Magdeburgh, possession of which the Swedes had gained by conquest, and he entertains suspicions about all foreign alliances as likely to prove disadvantageous to the Empire. He has consulted his oracle, Dr. Hoë, and has received this answer, 'It will really be an act of impiety in the 'Lutherans to grant to others the freedom of their sacred communion; and 'the offers of peace are despised, solely for the benefit of Calvin's disciples.'" Immediately subsequent to this sentence, is that which I have quoted in page 610.—But whatever portion of blame is made to attach to Hoë, he was neither "a great fool," nor "a great knave," though stigmatized as both by Dr. Maclaine, for the alleged offence of having listened to such insinuations "as the Jesuit conveyed." Unfortunately, if Becan ever did convey these insinuations, the Calvinists had afforded him, and all the world besides, too many legible *data* from which they might be deduced: But Hoë would have been a much greater simpleton than Maclaine has represented him, had he not been able without Popish aid to draw these inferences himself.—The truth is, Hoë was both a clever and an amiable man; but, in common with many divines of other denominations in that age, he was tied down by the politic instructions of his superiors whenever he was deputed to public conferences or conventions. Whoever will examine all the accusations which he preferred against the Calvinists, will soon be convinced, that they are neither so numerous, nor so strong, as those produced by Mosheim himself, in the pamphlet recommended in his *Ecclesiastical History*, and which he entitled "Considerations respecting the Authority of the SYNOD OF DORT, *an Assembly destructive of sacred peace.*" See pages 152—156, 396, 580.

lities, he did not view either of these circumstances as presenting even a plausible objection against the promotion of that blessed object. But in this, as well as in several other of his ministerial acts, he was not master of his own motions. The performance of the Archbishop's public duty had perfectly co-incided with his private wishes, when, in 1634, he transmitted credential letters by Dury to the Frankfort Convention. Though this was on his part an act of the greatest sincerity, it was not so on that of his colleagues, nor even of the court itself: They had afforded countenance to that Assembly, apparently for the sole purpose of assisting the Elector Palatine, in the recovery of his hereditary dominions from the Popish conquerors into whose hands they were fallen: This attempt was a measure that was exceedingly popular to the whole of the British nation. But the Queen, and her Popish creatures in the ministry, soon turned the current of royal sympathy into another channel, and made it contribute to the advantage of Spain, to whose interests her Majesty was cordially attached, "out of revenge," it is said, "of the unhandsome treatment her royal mother Mary de Medicis had received from her son the French monarch." Archbishop Laud, being in all matters of national importance "but one of many," could not more *publicly* interest himself in that great Protestant association when the Court was averse to such a method of aiding the Elector, whose restoration, it is believed, King Charles sincerely desired to effect; but his majesty was instructed by his Queen and her crafty Popish advisers, to seek it only among those persons who were most concerned in refusing his requests: Yet on those personages the misguided Charles waited several years, with unbecoming obsequiousness and a sort of Quixotic simplicity. During that period, when nearly all true Protestant interests were most shamefully abandoned by the English ministry,* of which the Archbishop was only an unit, his Grace gave repeated assurances to his private friends, that, at a proper opportunity, he would shew himself a still more open and decided patron of the good cause, and lend it his powerful assistance. The first sentence in the following paragraph of Mr. Mede's letter to Mr. Hartlib, written in the 1635, is generally understood to apply to Archbishp Laud. If that reference be correct, the cause of it has been already related:

* The more deeply this subject is investigated, the more highly will the result redound to the honour of Archbishop Laud and to his zeal for Protestantism. He seems never to have varied in his views of the propriety of granting prompt and effectual assistance to the Elector Palatine, although few members of his Majesty's Council were favourable to that measure. Neither was his antipathy to Calvinism so over-charged, as to prevent him from employing, during many years, a person of high Predestinarian principles in the divine work of a general Protestant pacification, and this too at the very time when he was falsely charged by his enemies at home with manifesting a strong propensity to Popery!

"It grieves me not a little, yea perplexes me, to hear that Mr. Dury is come off with no better success from my Lord—I am loth *male augurari* [to prognosticate evil]; but I like it not. I fear it is *mali ominis*, and that our State and Church have no mind to put their hands to this work. *Deus avertat omen!* [May God avert the ill omen!] But our Church, you know, goes upon differing principles from the rest of the Reformed, and so steers her course by another rule than they do. We look after the *Form*, *Rites*, and *Dicipline* of ANTIQUITY, and endeavour to bring our own as near as we can to that pattern. We suppose, the Reformed Churches have departed farther there-from than needed, and so we are not very solicitous to comply with them. Yea, we are jealous of such of our own as we see over-zealously addicted to them, lest it be a sign they prefer *them* before *their mother*. This, I suppose, you have observed; and that this disposition in our Church is of late very much increased. Well, then; if this union sought after be like to further and advantage us in the way we affect, we shall listen to it. If it be likely to be prejudicial,—as namely, to give strength and authority to those amongst us who are enamoured with *the foreign platform*, or to bring a yoke upon our own by limiting and making us obnoxious,—we will stand aloof and not meddle with it, lest we infringe our liberty. This, I have always feared, would be no small *remora* on our part; and, I pray God, it may fall out beyond my expectation."*

* It is seen in the text, that Archbishop Laud could not himself do all that he wished to effect. Mr. Mede seems to have been aware of this circumstance; and, when Dury applied to him, through Mr. Hartlib, for his advice in the management of his pacificatory efforts by means of FUNDAMENTAL ARTICLES, like a prudent man, he returned the following modest answer, which forms a part of the letter quoted in the text: "I am afraid you have made Mr. Dury take me for another man than I am. I pray, therefore, let him know, that I am a private man, one that the Church never took notice of, having no place or dignity in the same, nor any condition or means of living but a poor fellowship, not known to any of the greater Clergy, nor acquainted with those that are of note in any special manner; in a word, one of *the least esteemed in the Church*, as St. Paul speaks; (1 Cor. vi, 4;) and, therefore, I see not how my verdict should be of any moment in this cause. I live in the University, where we move only *ad motum primi mobilis;* and that discretion is expected at our hands, who are of the inferior orbs, as not to move without our superiors. If any one transgress this rule, and offer to meddle in aught that concerns the public, before the State and those in place declare themselves, he is taken notice of for factious and a busy-body; and if he be once thus branded, all the water of the Thames will not wash him clean, if it be objected to his prejudice, though many years after, as we see by daily experience."

It is one of those amusing assumptions, of which we meet with many in the labours of Dissenting Historians, that BROOK, in his *Lives of the Puritans*, after quoting the paragraph which I have given in the text, immediately subjoins: "Thus Mr. Mede expressed his Puritanical dissent from the spirit and principles of the ecclesiastical establishment!" And after quoting the conclusion of the extract in this note, the same ill-instructed biographer adds the sage remark, "Here Mr. Mede justly exposes and censures the intolerant proceedings of the ecclesiastical governors!" He also

In this paragraph Mr. Mede expresses his fears, "that our State and Church have no mind to put their hands to this work" of ecclesiastical union: The truth is, those who governed the *State* were then averse to this measure; while the head of the *Church*, under God and the King, was greatly in its favour, although several circumstances respecting it had recently occurred which might have alienated the mind of a less sincere lover of Protestantism than the Archbishop proved himself to be. In a subsequent note I have inserted the translation of a Latin letter which Mr. Dury addressed to Mr. Mede in 1635, when, after having explained to the Archbishop's satisfaction the issue of his former christian embassy to the Frankfort Convention, he

informs his readers, that Mr. Mede "is justly denominated one of the Puritans;" and that, "in one of his letters to a learned friend, though expressed in very modest language, he discovers his Puritanical opinions." —The letter to which he refers, is the one from which he and I have presented these extracts; and when they are compared with his own expressions in pages 494—547 of this volume, the reader will be at once enabled to decide upon his reputed Puritanism. In fact, his mildness and moderation constituted him the most formidable adversary whom the Puritans encountered. Mr. Brook tells us, "His sentiments relative to the Established Church, and its persecuting severities, are sufficiently manifest from his own writings." When this sentence was written, Mr. B. can scarcely be supposed to have seen the following paragraph in Mr. MEDE'S *Life*: "To that old complaint, *Is it not great pity that men should be silenced and laid aside only for their not subscribing?*, Mr. Mede's answer was, 'So it is great pity, that some 'goodly fair houses in the midst of a populous city should take fire, and 'therefore must of necessity be pulled down, unless you will suffer the whole 'town to be on a flame and consume to ashes.'"

But against this anecdote Mr. Brook will, perhaps, urge his absurd and unfounded objection, "Mr. M. did not so decidedly approve of the discipline and government of the Established Church, as *the writer of his Life* has endeavoured to represent." I shall, therefore, transcribe part of another letter, which Mr. Mede addressed to Mr. Hartlib in 1636, and in which he manifests his peculiar aversion to the vilifiers of the ecclesiastical establishment: "For the book you speak of, I like it not. I knew by hear-say much of the author and his condition some years before the High Commission took notice of him, and wondered he escaped so long. For in every company he came, he took an intolerable liberty of invectives and contumelies against the Ecclesiastical State, when no occasion was offered him. Such books as these never did good in our Church, and have been as disadvantageous to *their party who vent them*, as they have been prejudicial to *the common cause*. I durst almost affirm, 'that *the alienation which appears in our* 'Church of late from the rest of the Reformed hath grown for a great part 'from such intemperancy and indiscretion as this is, and will be still 'increased more and more, if those who seem to be the chief favourers of 'them go on in this manner.' He hath too ready a faculty in expressing himself with his pen, unless he would employ it better. For who can excuse him from a malignant disposition towards *his own mother*, thus to publish her faults in Latin, of purpose to discover her shame to strangers, and to call her sisters to see it, as Cham did his brothers? Think what kind of crime it is for a man, that is *Civis* and a member, to traduce the Rulers of his people among foreigners; and what little good affection they are like to expect from ours, who are made partisans in such a kind."

If this able advocate of the doctrines and the constitution of the Church of England must be reckoned among the Puritans, (and Mr. Brook's list contains other men as far from Puritanism as Mr. Mede,) then Archbishop Laud and Bishop Cosins must augment their party-coloured ranks.

was again deputed, by "his Grace and friends at Court," to work his way gradually among the religious dissidents on the Continent. Mr. Mede has likewise given a good description of the genius of the Church of England, and of the increasing endeavours to induce within it conformity to the usages of primitive antiquity. It was this trait in the National Church which attracted the notice of some of the most amiable and moderate of the Popish ecclesiastics, who were employed by their superiors in the Romish Church to amuse the Archbishop by proposing a co-alition between the two Churches. Mutual concessions were to be made for the sake of peace; and in this way, it has hoped, the Archbishop would be detained from promoting the grand Protestant union till the Papists had succeeded in their ulterior and nefarious designs. But in this hope those arch-politicians, it will be seen, were disappointed. They contrived indeed to keep the Archbishop fully occupied with domestic broils, some of which were excited by themselves, and into others they infused much of their own leaven: but the *pacifying amusement* which they had provided, was not found to be so captivating to *a wary man* as they had expected. No one can doubt, that his Grace entertained serious thoughts about the possibility of effecting an union among the various professors of christianity; but, from every authentic document which relates to this subject, it is easy to infer, that such a general pacification as Archbishop Laud intended to patronize, would have destroyed the supremacy of the Romish Pontiff, and would have annihilated the corrupt sources both of his profit and his undue exaltation. If any competent person have perused Dr. Maclaine's copious account of the advances towards an accommodation with the Church of Rome, which were subsequently made by Archbishop Wake, he will be convinced, on comparing them with Laud's concessions, that the former liberal and worthy Prelate was not more careful than his predecessor had been in devising adequate securities for the religious liberties of the British Nation.

In another part also of the hopes which were fostered by the Papists, they were grievously disappointed: For, after all their artifices, Archbishop Laud did not withdraw his attention from a general Protestant pacification; but, in 1639, as soon as the aspect of affairs became more favourable, the measures of the court being no longer directed to the King of Spain and the Emperor of Germany, his Grace appeared again more prominently as Dury's patron, who was then, in pursuance of his instructions, about to commence his peaceful operations among the Lutherans of Sweden and Denmark. On that occasion he presented Dury with a letter of credence, which is thus described by the Pacificator himself: "A Testimonial from the most reverend Father in Christ, WILLIAM [Laud] Archbishop of

Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan; in which he declares, 'that it was not only with his privity and by his 'permission that Dury was engaged in those counsels of 'peace, which the Evangelical States, assembled in Convention 'at Frankfort, had in the year 1634 determined to pursue, but 'that the said Dury was also deputed from England, and con-'firmed [in his pacific mission] with his [Laud's] approval 'and recommendation.' To these particulars his Grace added, 'that, on his part, he would not intermit in his wishes and 'counsels to promote and favour a fraternal union among the 'Churches.'"

The Archbishop was not the only person who could perceive in the general posture of European affairs, as well as in those of England between 1634 and 1639, no rational expectation of obtaining a favourable result from another Convention of the Protestant States, in which it was a great part of Dury's harmless ambition to make a display: Grotius was of his Grace's opinion, as will appear in the following extract from one of his letters to Dury in 1637:—"*Reverend Sir,* I regret to find from your letter the impediments which have presented themselves in opposition to your pious purpose, which is of great public utility. The principal circumstance which affords me consolation, is your unwearied constancy; and the next to it is, the great Lord Chancellor's [Oxenstern] decided inclination to complete this undertaking. Muller has shewn me the correspondence which took place between you and our Swedish divines about this affair; and, on his departure to Strasburgh, he was the bearer of a letter from me to that very excellent and most learned man Matthias Bernegger, in which I beseeched him to promote your designs in every possible manner, and to soften the spirits of those who were unduly exasperated: This friendly service, I am persuaded, he will perform. I have also conversed about this affair [of ecclesiastical union] with both the English Ambassadors who are resident at this court, the Earl of Leicester and Viscount Scudamore. It is as evident to both of them, as it is to myself, that the present times do not permit an assembly to be convened of all the Protestants in every part of Europe; for, at this period, even the common peace of human society has no existence among the different Protestant communities. The best plan therefore would be, that, as the kingdoms of Sweden and Great Britain are now united by friendship, and will probably soon have this bond of their union more firmly cemented by a treaty, so the Churches of both these kingdoms ought to issue a public profession of their mutual concord; by which they may afford an example for the imitation of Denmark and Norway, the States contiguous to Sweden, and afterwards for that of other kingdoms. Let such a body of Churches as this be but once formed, and hopes

may then be entertained of the accession of one Church after another to the union. But this is an object which is the more desirable to Protestants, on account of the number of persons who daily desert their communion and unite themselves to the Church of Rome, for no other cause than this—*they see no united body of Protestants, but several distracted parties, and flocks that separate themselves from the common fold, each of them having the participation of sacred rites restricted to their own members, and all of them engaged in the unhallowing contest of mutual railing.* Who does not see that it is indeed of the greatest importance to Protestants, that these evils be rectified, especially when the vast number of those who are malevolent towards them, and are conspired against them, is considered!* Since I can scarcely

* In Rivet's Apologetical Answer to DE GROOT's *Wishes for the Peace of the Church*, this letter is quoted as far as the present paragraph; and part of another quotation (p. 609) is also given, in which mention is made of "those churches which, for VERY IMPORTANT REASONS, have seceded from the Roman Pontiff."—Rivet immediately subjoins these remarks on the pacific attempts of Grotius with regard to the Roman Catholics: "These sentiments are well expressed. But when they are viewed in reference to the endeavours which he employs to subject to the Roman Pontiff all the Reformed, and by which he varnishes over the principal of those superstitions and dogmas in which consist *the very important reasons of their secession from the Pope;* there is no prudent man who will not perceive, that Grotius himself is among *those conspirators who are malevolent towards the Reformed*, and that this artful fowler employs sweet music to deceive the birds, and, when they are all at length inclosed within the nets of the Romish Church, to render them submissive to its pleasure and to that of its Pontiff."—Rivet proceeds to say, that this design was very apparent from the letters which passed between Grotius and Du Vair, when the former found an asylum in the French territories. I have given the whole of that correspondence, (page 584—588,) and though Rivet quotes one of Du Vair's insidious expressions, when he called the Dutch Arminians "those who had begun to recal the truth from obscurity," and insinuates from this, that Grotius and his Arminian friends intended to introduce Popery into Holland; yet to those who have perused the circumspect and pious answer to Du Vair's overtures, (p. 586,) a formal defence of the integrity of the motives which actuated Grotius and his friends, is rendered unnecessary.—The following is Rivet's conclusion: "These expressions do not require any prolix comment. Those who peruse them will not be altogether so senseless, as not to perceive very readily the wishes which these promises convey, and the reciprocal promises and duties to which they correspond. So that politicians themselves will justly wonder, that the man who has published such things, was not aware of his disclosing a negotiation, which is only a slight remove from a collusion; since, upon the condition of mutual obligations, (*do ut des,*) it is no novelty to any man, if this mystery, which was then commenced and is now revealed, has gradually acquired strength in its progress, till it could openly raise its head aloft, as now it does."

The calm and dignified reply of Grotius to the base insinuations and bitter sarcasms of Rivet, is so worthy of that great man, as to demand in this note a place for itself. "Those who know Grotius are aware, that *the restoration of Christians into one and the same body*, has always appeared to him a desirable object. But it was his opinion for some time, even after he had become acquainted with the very illustrious Chancellor Du Vair, that this union could have its commencement in the mutual conjunction of Protestants among themselves. He afterwards plainly saw, that such a plan could not possibly be executed; because, in addition to the circumstance of *the dispositions of nearly all the Calvinists being exceedingly averse to peace,*

perform any better service, I will assist your labours by my earnest prayers to God; and, as frequently as opportunities present themselves, I will address my discourse to those persons

the Protestants are joined together by no common bond of ecclesiastical regimen: These are two causes which prevent the parties, already formed, from being collected into one body of Protestants: and they are, besides, the causes why other parties will continue to arise. For these reasons, Grotius now evidently perceives, and many others with him, that the Protestants cannot be united together among themselves, unless they form an union with those who adhere to the Roman See: Without such a junction, no hopes can exist of a common government in the church. It is on this account that he wishes the rent which has been made, and the causes of this rent, to be all at once removed. Among these causes, 'the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, 'according to the Canons, cannot be reckoned,' which is the open avowal of Melancthon, who considers that supremacy to be quite necessary to maintain unity: For this plan does not 'subject the Church to the pleasure of the 'Pontiff,' but it restores an order which had its origin in wisdom.—The further inferences which Rivet makes from Du Vair's letter, have nothing of truth about them, not even the semblance; but, if it be lawful to employ the expressions of Rivet against himself, 'they contain unblushing maliciousness.' For if Grotius, at the invitation of such a great man, [the Chancellor of France,] had been willing to make such a promise, as Rivet feigns him to have made, it was in his power, after wicked Calvinists had deprived him of his country and of his property, to have obtained those ample promises of honours and advantages which he never received from the King of France, and never hoped to receive: Had Grotius been willing to make such a promise, he would not have been under any necessity of leaving France, and of devoting his services to the affairs of another kingdom. And now likewise, when he produces all that he is able for the restoration of peace to the Church, France bestows nothing on him; and were she wishful to bestow, he would not consent to be the receiver. But low and venal minds always draw their estimate of other men by their own standard; and they have no eyes by which they can behold the beauty of a purpose, that is as honourable as it is profitless to a private individual."

Rivet had appended to his Apologetical Answer, two productions which he deemed incompatible with each other,—an epigram formerly written by Grotius, on the Annals of Baronius,—and some Anapæstic Latin verses which Grotius composed in his boyhood, on the death of Beza. But, in his indecent haste to represent this persecuted individual as a Papist, Rivet omitted four verses of the former, which materially altered the meaning of the whole epigram; and he added at the close of his extract, the following sarcastic remark: "God knows, whether it is the wish of Grotius by this method to obtain fame and riches."

The reply is as follows: "Grotius had been unwilling to publish, among his poems, the epigram which he prefixed to CASAUBON'S *Exercitations on the Annals of Baronius:* because he thought it a production not well calculated to promote peace, the love of which increased as his age advanced. But Rivet has published it, both in a situation unsuitable enough, and in a purposely mutilated condition. For he omits these lines, which are evidently necessary to complete the sense." After quoting the lines, Grotius says: "This is the way upon which Rivet and his colleagues are proceeding. Grotius is in possession of a sufficient portion of reputation, and has as much substance as renders him contented; but he has shewn by facts, that he can endure the absence of the latter [of riches] with equanimity. He has not, therefore, any motive for giving utterance on sacred subjects to any sentiments that are contrary to his own convictions, or to the opinions of the Ancients. The applauses bestowed on Beza are beyond due bounds, as are most things when done by young men and poets. Whatever is culpable in his poem, Grotius has no other method of correcting, than that of *lamenting the fact*, and of *wishing those Anapæstics to lie buried with Beza*, and never afterwards to be disturbed by any one in their place of repose."—Other parts of the remarks of Grotius may be seen in pages 270—278.

who are capable of producing some good effect. With regard to the method which you adopt, I advise you to accommodate it, as far as you practically can, to those circumstances which the Great Lord Chancellor shall judge not only to be *the best*, but *the most suitable both with regard to time and place*. May God direct your footsteps, reverend Sir, and prosper your design."

Every one who knows the strict intimacy which subsisted between the Archbishop and Lord Scudamore, will also know, that, through this nobleman, while ambassador at the Court of France, his Grace maintained an indirect correspondence with Grotius, and, in the very interesting exchange of counsels, he became acquainted with all the benevolent designs of his great contemporary. The conclusions in this letter may therefore be regarded as their united opinion about the aspect of the times. While on the subject of Dury's intercourse with the Swedish and Danish Churches, I subjoin a brief account of the result, in the perusal of which the reader may feel gratified. Dury found one of his most formidable difficulties to be, the aversion conceived by the Lutherans against the arbitrary conduct and intolerant decisions of the Synod of Dort. The depressed condition of the Calvinists in various countries of Europe, and the formidable aspect of Popish domination in Germany, were circumstances highly in favour of Dury's attempts to remove the synodical odium: For he obtained testimonials from several Calvinistic Churches and Universities, expressive of their desire to behold a closer union between all who were Reformed from Popery, and of their willingness to yield some of their several prejudices for the furtherance of such a desirable measure. The stiffness and pertinacity of the Dutch Churches, who considered it a shameful dereliction of high Predestinarian principles thus to lower the dignified standard of authority assumed by their beloved Synod, proved in the sequel to be no insuperable impediment to Dury's progress; for it was viewed, even by the moderate of their own party, as a pardonable remnant of that vanity and ambition which had prompted them to hope, sixteen years before, for the establish-

Rivet's pamphlets were the text-books, from which our countrymen, Richard Baxter and John Owen, derived their inflammatory materials against the character of the deceased Grotius. (See pages 284 & 641.) Rivet had in his rage painted Grotius, both as a SOCINIAN and a PAPIST. It is remarkable, that Owen acquits him of POPERY, and with his usual dulness attempts to affix on him the charge of SOCINIANISM, which would have applied *with greater justice* to the sentiments of his predestinarian friend Dr. Twisse. (Page 468.) Baxter, on the contrary, exonerates Grotius from the charge of SOCINIANISM, and, with his characteristic wit and adroitness, tries to represent him as a MODERATE PAPIST. Thus, as the celebrated Thorndike observes, (page 640,) by the labours of his two English calumniators, Grotius was vindicated in as successful a manner as his friends could desire, from both these accusations.

ment of their Canons as the sole rule of the Protestant *Faith in Europe.** Notwithstanding the irksomeness of the employment, and his great desire to appear again in a large assembly of Protestant States as a plenipotentiary of peace on the part of the British Nation, Dury proceeded for some time gradually to overcome the prejudices of the Lutherans, in Germany and in the North of Europe. But none contributed to his success so much, as Grotius and Archbishop Laud, who permitted him to employ their names and influence in his private conferences with those who withstood his pacific solicitations, though both of them perceived the unseasonableness of the period between 1634 and 1638 for making any attempts at pacification by an actual Convention of the Protestant States. The Lutherans received the Archbishop's name as *the sanction which the Church of England* afforded to Dury's project, and had begun to give credence to the liberal professions of the Calvinists, when Dury, in common with others of his predestinarian brethren, who for various reasons had left their native country either willingly or through compulsion, hastened to England in 1641, to take his share in the spoils of the Church that had supported him, and abandoned for a season the pursuit of universal concord by becoming as strenuous an assertor of Presbyterian uniformity, as Archbishop Laud or any of his predecessors had been for conformity to the Episcopal regimen. It is with regret I add my confirmation to the ungrateful character of him† which

* It was Mr. Mede's opinion, that these obstinate Dutch Calvinists, who were unwilling to diminish the authority which their Predestinarian decisions had gained at the Synod of Dort, should be shamed out of their selfishness. In a letter to Mr. Hartlib, dated April 1, 1635, he says: "Mr. Dury desires me to give my judgment of his manner of address and treatises with those of the Batavian Churches: 'What may be expected from them?' and 'What 'course were best to be taken in case they grant or deny?' But what were this but for Phormio to teach Hannibal stratagems of war? For the place I live in, could, perhaps, tell something; but the condition of those churches and their humours I know no farther than by hear-say. Methinks the deferring of them to the last, and not dealing with them till all other churches had declared themselves, will, if any thing, bring them off, at least in some degree, to shew their concurrence. For, in such a case, singularity cannot be without a blur, which, perhaps, they will consider, though their home contentions have made them, I believe, resty enough. But, Lord! is there any hope of a pacification, whilst each party studies to maintain their advantage against the other entire? A joiner cannot set two pieces of timber together without paring something from either."

† The baseness of Dury towards Grotius was early displayed. I have stated, (p. 264,) that, in his pamphlets against Grotius, "Rivet was aided by the whole Calvinian phalanx in Europe:" Dury, being one of the most busy of these Calvinistic sticklers, contributed his portion to the common stock of public invective, of which Rivet was "the accredited organ." By the letter of Vossius in the text, (p. 751,) it will be seen, that Dury, in 1641, was on his return through Holland to England; and I am inclined to believe, from several collateral circumstances, that he was deputed by the English Calvinists, towards the close of 1642, to manage some of their special affairs in Holland,—a commission which he was well qualified to execute by the skill that he had previously acquired in his numerous negotiations. Certain it is, that he was at Leyden in December, 1642, when Rivet composed his

Dr. Heylin has depicted in a preceding page: (725) For, during the subsequent troubles " he proved himself to be as true a Scot," and as an intolerant a Calvinist, " as any of that

Reply to DE GROOT'S *Wishes for the Peace of the Church;* and, in open violation of the sacred ties of friendship, delivered to that shameless and scurrilous calumniator, copies of two letters which Grotius had confidentially addressed to him in 1637, and from which Rivet culled the extracts specified in a preceding page (745). The motives which induced Dury to act in the same disreputable manner towards his benefactor the Archbishop, when he was apprized of his fall, is pithily described by Heylin, (p. 724,) " Welcome at all times to his table, and speaking honourably of him upon all occasions, *till the times were changed*," &c. (See a different course of conduct on that occasion, by a good old Arminian, in page 632.) But, from the attachment which he displayed to his own visionary interpretations of the Apocalypse, it is apparent, that there was as much of *enthusiasm* as of *ingratitude* in the motives of Dury's conduct to Grotius, Laud, and the Episcopal Church of England: For, in the anticipated triumph of Calvinism in Great Britain, by the native quickness of his *second-sight*, he could perceive many of those glorious consequences which had been predicted by Comenius, and others of the prophesying brotherhood. He saw Grotius standing almost alone, and manfully vindicating the cause of the English Church and Clergy, Arminianism, the benevolent labours of universal pacificators, and social order itself, against the seditious and desecrating attacks of the sanguine predestinarian innovators. When this brave man, single-handed, maintained the fight against those revolutionary maniacs, Dury forgot his obligations to him, and, through his supreme attachment to Calvinism, became a traitor to the very cause of which he had himself been for many years the professed advocate. The cause of general pacification he betrayed into the hands of the Leyden Professors, of whom Rivet was one, and who, it will subsequently appear, were the greatest enemies even to the union of Protestants among themselves. Every one may know what a recreant to his former avowed principles Dury speedily became, by comparing his speculations on the Apocalypse, and his baseness to his benefactors, with the philanthropic sentiments of his private letter to Mede, a translation of which is given in page 760.

But the malevolence of Rivet and of his counsellors in this instance, as well as in many others, overshot its destined mark; for the two quotations, which he triumphantly gave from the letters of Grotius, could produce no other effect, on every reader possessed of common candour, than that of enhancing the character of the illustrious writer. It deserves to be noted, as a species of remarkable moral retribution, that Dury was, after the Restoration, compelled to adopt the method, (of admitting *the Roman Catholics* into his intended ecclesiastical union,) on account of which, he and Rivet had vilified Grotius, and exposed him as an arrant Papist! The reader will also have perceived, that both Rivet and Dury had too much cunning to quote any part of the letter which Grotius addressed to Dury in 1641, and which had then been long in Dury's possession. But, on perusal, (p. 753,) that letter will be found to contain some plain and apposite truths, the promulgation of which would not have been creditable to the principles or the practices of the Calvinists.

In animadverting upon the objection which, Grotius says, (p. 273,) was urged by the Lutherans against Dury's pacific attempts, " that *they* were as much condemned at the Synod of Dort as the Arminians had been," Rivet says, in his Apologetical Reply: " We have here among us [in 1642] this reverend and very learned man, John Dury; with whom I have frequently conferred about this matter, and who is able to testify that, as often as he has treated with me about it, I have, ' with the best intentions,' desired greatly to behold this very concord. But he does not say, that the Lutherans' objection was the principal hindrance. Nay, if any of them objected the *Anathemas*, which had been hurled against themselves under the name of *the* ARMINIANS, he shewed ' that even the latter were not anathematized; ' but that, without any indication of *particular persons* who must stand or

nation." When his party were frustrated in their expectations of obtaining complete spiritual dominion in England, he was desirous at the Restoration to commence the blessed work of

' fall by the judgment of God, *rejections* alone were added to the Canons; ' and that the Synod had not wished to exercise any jurisdiction over those ' who held different sentiments in foreign countries, and who had neither ' formerly received the same Confession as themselves, nor had been united ' together in the same ecclesiastical discipline; that, therefore, the trans- ' actions of the Synod did not hinder the possibility of both parties agreeing ' in many points, by means of an amicable conference, after they had entered ' into mutual explanations; and, in case of any difficulty remaining which ' could not be immediately adjusted, that this peace might notwithstanding ' be cultivated, where the foundation of Christianity remains unshaken, if, ' according to the direction of the Apostle, *whereto we have already attained,* ' *we walk by the same rule and mind the same thing*.' (Philip. iii, 16.)"— Rivet next undertakes to soften down the HORROR of "the horrible decree," as Calvin styles it, by the old expedient, that is in our days occasionally revived, of acquainting Latin scholars with a circumstance of which they were previously ignorant, and about which they will long demur,—"that HORROR signifies a sort of *gladness* according to the poets, and, in another sense, is equivalent to the word *tremendous*."

There is much craftiness in the sentiments which are here ascribed to Dury; for they are expressed in such a guarded manner as to render it doubtful whether they be his own or those of Rivet. They were not, however, those of the latter, as the reader will already have ascertained from other sources. But, as it is necessary to expose the paltry subterfuge which was the joint invention of Dury and Rivet to disguise the real Anathemas of the Synodists, I here insert part of the replication of Grotius, written in 1643, of which the first paragraph contains some information elucidatory of the preceding Appendix C, p. 220—240:

"It is unnecessary for any man to refute Moses Amyraut: Let his books be compared with those of Calvin, and it will instantly be apparent with what fruitless toil he has washed Calvin's side. Cardinal Richelieu never uttered a greater truth than when he said, 'Calvin had some sane [good] intervals;' but he ought to have added, 'Such intervals were *rare*.' In Amyraut and the other disciples of Camero, such intervals are not only *more frequent* in their occurrence, but likewise *much brighter:* But while these men act according to their present practice, they will never be accordant in sentiment either with Calvin or with themselves. This has been shewn in a remarkable manner by Dionysius Petavius, in his sixth chapter, (tom. i, lib. 10,) and in many subsequent passages. If Amyraut would reply to that Dissertation, which is appropriately addressed to himself, he would perform a service that is desired by several persons. But he should be admonished to beware, lest he divulge such truths as are repugnant to the common notions: thus, 'An action is *free*, which is *necessary* and *inevitable;*—Adam ' was not empowered to resist temptation, and therefore he sinned neces- ' sarily, as did also the devil;—those men are justly damned who *might* ' perform good actions if they *would*, when it is *not in their power* to WILL;— ' God would not be chargeable with *injustice*, were He to condemn *innocent* ' creatures to eternal TORMENTS!'—But what dare not the men deny who assert, 'that they *do not condemn* those who, on these points, hold different ' sentiments to themselves?' Yet how often does that word DAMNAMUS [we condemn] occur in the *Rejections* of the Synod of Dort, the Articles of which the Dutch and the French have sworn to observe! Other expressions are added, of no less atrocity, such as, 'This savours of Pelagius; they recal ' from hell a Pelagian error,' &c. and others of the same kind, which plainly impose the opprobrious mark of HERESY upon the Fathers of the three first ages [of the Christian Church], and afterwards upon the Greek Church and those who adhere to the Augsburg Confession.

"Those who were then the chief magistrates banished the Lutherans from the Palatinate, but it was done at the instigation of the Calvinist ministers;

general pacification among the Churches of Christ. But his conduct had been such as to disqualify him from receiving any of that high patronage with which Archbishop Laud and others of his episcopal brethren had honoured him; and he was compelled to propound his plan on a broader basis, and to trust for success to the testimonials in his favour which he had formerly received. The following communication from Vossius to Grotius, in January, 1641, will serve to elucidate this subject:

"It is now nearly a week since John Dury arrived in this city [Amsterdam] out of Germany, having been recalled by his friends into Great Britain. From his letters, which I forward to you at his request, you will learn the degree of success which he has experienced. But I am exceedingly apprehensive, that his labours among the Lutherans, whatever the extent of them may

and, at the instigation of the same class of ministers, those who held sentiments similar to Melancthon's were banished out of the Dutch territories.—The divines of Sweden and of Strasburgh, and those who in other places are of similar sentiments, ought to know their own doctrines. And they in reality do know them; and it is on this account they profess, that their doctrines are at open variance with the decrees of the Synod of Dort.—But even John Dury himself will not deny, that to the concord between the two kinds of Protestants, of which he has been laying the foundation, *no greater opponents have been found than the* PROFESSORS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN: No one can be surprised at this, since the Professors saw, that such a concord cannot comport with the determinations of the Dutch Synod!"

The dreadful spirit of dissension which then (1643) animated the Calvinists of Europe, is briefly, but eloquently, described by Grotius in a subsequent paragraph; "Grotius does not enjoy so much leisure, as to be able to read all the productions of every writer, particularly all the writings of Calvin, of whom one may obtain a sufficient knowledge from his *Institutes*, and a few of his other treatises. Indeed, Grotius formed no unadvised opinion about him when he said, that the pamphlet (which is now fully ascertained to be Calvin's production,) 'breathed the spirit of Calvin.' If we follow him, there will be no peace, unless all men pass over to the Genevan dogmas, rites, and severities: This transition will never be attempted by the Catholics of the Latin and Greek Churches, or by the wiser part of the Protestants; and for their abhorrence of such a change [in their religious sentiments and worship,] they have important reasons.—Rivet, in a scoffing manner, calls the peace to which Grotius invites Christians *an Interim peace*, [in allusion to the celebrated *ad Interim edict* of the Emperor Charles V.] But Rivet was acquainted with this relation given by the great Thuanus, in the 26th Book of his Annals: 'In Germany arose the faction of those men who, in order 'to demonstrate their deeper concern for the interests of religion, spurned 'every method of concluding a reconciliation and concord, and condemned 'the rest, who were studious of peace, as *deserters* and *lukewarm on the* '*subject of piety*, and whom they called INDIFFERENTS and INTERIM-ISTS—'epithets calculated to excite hatred.' Rejecting, therefore, all expressions of this description, the character of the affair must be decided by its own merits. Melancthon writes thus in one of his letters:—'Indeed, these con-'clusions of unlearned men do not move me, and I have already received 'frequent stripes for being concerned in similar pacific actions.'—Bucer expresses in his English writings his approbation of that kind of Episcopacy which the authority of Calvin has removed throughout all France, wherever it possessed the power. The same Bucer was a member of that communion which is now abandoned by those in England who profess themselves to be followers of the GENEVAN PURITY, and who, on that account, put all things into commotion, both sacred and profane."

have been, will be rendered fruitless and unavailing.* Ten years ago, before Dury took this province upon himself, the Lutherans had no stronger objection than this to make—*that all peace-makers prosecuted that measure with sinister views and for some crafty purpose.* But although, when Dury first went among them, the opinions of the Lutherans on this point were not entirely altered, yet a large portion of them entertained somewhat more favourable sentiments concerning him, *because he had been sent on this service by the English Clergy.*† But what disposition must we suppose they will evince to enter into union with the French and Dutch Churches, when they shall have learnt, that the sole business now transacted in England, is,—the accusation, condemnation, and ejection of those [Arminian Clergymen] whom they believed to be not far removed from themselves in sentiment, and to be greater lovers both of modesty and peace,—and the triumph and exaltation of those alone whom they style CALVINIANS, but who are called PURITANS in England?" The

* Grotius was familiar with all the objections which the Lutherans made to the pacific overtures of Dury; for on the 22d of October, 1637, he writes thus to his brother: "I have lately seen a great mass of correspondence which has been exchanged between certain Lutherans in Germany and Dury, who is a promoter of peace among the Evangelicals, and I have extracted from it all the objections which the Lutherans make against the definitive judgment of the Synod of Dort, and against the mode of convening and conducting that assembly: I have also extracted the answers which Dury returned to their objections. The purposes to which they may be applied, are not to be contemned."

Those who have perused the pamphlets which Grotius wrote against Rivet, (page 273) will understand the very proper use which Grotius made of those Lutheran objections.

† Prior to the Civil Wars, this was a great recommendation; but when the ebullition of that unhallowed warfare had spent itself, the Lutherans could cast upon the English clergy the reproachful advice of the Jews, "Physicians, heal yourselves!" This intimation is given by Bishop BURNET, in his *Exposition on the Thirty-nine Articles:* "I shall conclude this Preface with a reply, that a very eminent divine among the Lutherans in Germany made to me when I was pressing this matter of union with the Calvinists upon him, with all the topics with which I could urge it, as necessary upon many accounts, and more particularly with relation to the present state of affairs. He said, 'He wondered much to see a divine of the Church of 'England press that so much on him, when we, notwithstanding the dangers 'we were then in, (it was in the year 1686,) could not agree our differences. 'They [the Lutherans and Calvinists] differed about important matters, 'concerning *the Attributes of God* and *his Providence;* concerning *the* 'Guilt of Sin, whether it was *to be charged on God*, or *on the Sinner;* and 'whether men ought to make good use of their FACULTIES, or *if they ought* 'to trust entirely to an IRRESISTIBLE GRACE?' These were matters of great moment: 'But,' he said, 'We in England differed only about *Forms of* 'Government and Worship, and about *things that were of their own nature* 'indifferent: and yet we had been quarrelling about these for above an 'hundred years, and we were not yet grown wiser by all the mischief that 'this had done us, and by the imminent danger we were then in.' He concluded, 'Let the Church of England heal her own breaches, and then all 'the rest of the Reformed Churches will with great respect admit of her 'mediation to heal theirs.' I will not presume to tell how I answered this: But I pray God to enlighten and direct all men, that they may consider well how it ought to be answered."

pious and very judicious remarks which Grotius made upon this communication, I have inserted in pages 280—282;* and on the 1st of Feb. in the same year, he addressed the subjoined letter to Dury, which contains a distinct avowal of his own invariable attachment to pacific measures, (page 551) and a significant allusion to the seditious practices of the Calvinists, to whose machinations in England against the Church and State Dury was then a contributor both by his presence and advice:

"*Very reverend Sir*,—The intensity of the desire which I have always felt, and the extent of my personal exertions, to diminish the dissensions and to lessen the differences between professing christians, and thus by degrees to restore, according to the command of Christ, the bond of union which is at present in too loose a condition, are circumstances well known to many persons. Of those wishes and labours I have several witnesses, who knew me in my former country [Holland]; and I might appeal to you, reverend and famous man, to testify concerning my efforts in reference to those matters which have since been under discussion either in Germany or in Sweden.—When I attentively consider all things, I plainly perceive, that among the Protestants of different kingdoms, there is no authority, out of reverence to which those parties who dissent from each other in opinions or ceremonies can be induced to accept equitable terms of concord. Besides, those who express a high esteem for Luther accuse those who, in preference, are followers of Calvin,—'that, into what State soever they have hitherto gained 'admittance, they immediately promote in it their own interests,

* In that letter two other brief passages occur, which I now subjoin. In allusion to Archbishop Laud's imprisonment, Grotius says: "The misfortunes which have oppressed this great man, furnish Vossius with no reasons for concealing or lightly esteeming the fact of his having been agreeable to the Archbishop. Vossius is more timid than any man of his age ought to be."—I called the reader's attention (page 664) to the difference in this particular between the conduct of Grotius and that of Vossius. *The former* had received no favour from the Prelate, but had, on more occasions than one, been treated with some degree of discourtesy and neglect: Yet he shewed himself to be as far above the mercenary motives and time-serving views of common minds, as he excelled them in talents and genius; and his exertions and good wishes for Archbishop Laud were the more earnestly excited when he perceived him unjustly persecuted. But Vossius, who enjoyed a sinecure in the Church through the Archbishop's interest, yielded to the times, and was silent when he heard the reputation of his patron assailed with calumnies, though he considered him, with the exception of a few human frailties, one of the greatest and best of mortals. Let the motive assigned for this wary behaviour be timidity, or any similar feeling, the generosity of De Groot's character is rendered the more conspicuous by the comparison.

The other extract relates to some passages in his early productions, written in favour of the republican form of government, under which he was born, that were afterwards quoted to his injury. "In former days," he says, "under the strong impulse of *love to my country*, I wrote not a few things, to which I now judge it necessary to apply some remedial or extenuating expressions, for the purpose of disburdening my conscience: This will be done by means of that Appendix." See pages 214 and 640.

' by methods which savour more of *the flesh* than of *the Spirit of* ' *God*.'—Yet these considerations do not prevent me from addressing earnest prayers to the *Chief Shepherd* for the concord of the whole of his flock, and for the manifestation of his favour towards those whose study it is, not to form parties out of a compact body, but to make out of different parties some kind of solid union. May God prosper all pious counsels, may He give increase to the doctrines which are favourable to piety, and remove those which are injurious! Unless I am much deceived, the answer to these prayers will be the most compendious way to peace. May God bestow on you, reverend sir, all the choicest and most desirable of his Gifts!"

To complete the account of Dury and his efforts for a general pacification, I subjoin the following brief notice from Mosheim:

"The most eminent of the Calvinistical peace-makers was John Dureus, a native of *Scotland*, and a man justly celebrated for his universal benevolence, solid piety, and extensive learning; but, at the same time, more remarkable for genius and memory, than for nicety of discernment and accuracy of judgment,* as might be evinced by several proofs and testimonies, were this

* Bayle tells us, "that Dury was an honest man, full of zeal and piety, but that he at length became somewhat fanatical." He gives an instance of his enthusiasm: Dury published at Frankfort, in 1674, a small treatise in French, entitled "Of understanding the Apocalypse by itself, as all the Holy Scripture ought reasonably to be understood." In the work itself, he acknowledges the fact I have related in page 751: "Since I now find myself obliged to terminate these pacific proceedings, *because they* [*the Lutherans*] *will no longer hold any correspondence with me concerning the propositions*, which have been regularly offered to them all and are absolutely unexceptionable, I have adopted a resolution more general.—My new attempt is not at all different from the former, with respect to the substance of the evangelical work, but only with respect to *the extent of the application of my labour*, and the method of insinuating into the consciences of those to whom I address myself. For I would no longer confine my application to the Protestants; but my view is, to comprehend all Christians divided into factions, contrary to the end of the heavenly calling which is proposed in the Gospel." —It is not the least remarkable circumstance, that Dury should at length find it necessary to imitate Grotius, Laud, and other eminent christian pacificators, in admitting the Papists and the Greek Christians into his plan of evangelical union.

His reasons for choosing the Apocalypse are curious: "In case any doubt arises about *the true sense* of the Holy Scripture, it is not necessary to do any thing more than to turn immediately to one passage, or to several, in which the controverted subject is mentioned; and the true sense of the Scripture being found out by *the common rule of interpretation*, the controversy is thereby immediately determined. I have chosen the Apocalypse, or Revelation of St. John, which is acknowledged without dispute to be the darkest and most difficult of the whole Bible; that, by describing the method which leads us to a true understanding of it, we may know that the same method will discover to us the sense, and shew us the true meaning, of the other books and passages of the Holy Scripture which are less difficult."

But Dury did not then, for the first time, expound his mystical plan of interpreting *the Revelation*. As early as 1650, while he remained in England without employment, he published his famous "Epistolical Discourse to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, concerning this EXPOSITION *of the Revelation*," from which I have given some extracts in page 617.

the proper place for discussions of that nature. Be that as it will, never, perhaps, was there such an example of zeal and per-

That small book, like Sir Henry Vane's, quoted in page 513, contained several curious insinuations against the Republican rulers, who did not perfectly answer the sanguine expectations of their Calvinistic creators. In one part he says: "It is the BEAST's way of government *to enforce obedience by violence;* but it is said of the *Lamb* upon Mount Sion, that *his flock of one hundred and forty-four thousand lambs did follow him whither soever he went;* to shew that the vice-gerents of Christ, which are appointed to rule his people in his name, go before their brethren in the way of righteousness, and such as are true Christians indeed follow them out of a loving inclination. And this is the best way of government that can be settled amongst men; namely, to bring all to imitate Christ Jesus on all sides, both *they that bear rule*, and *they that are ruled*. Now how far OUR RULERS are bent this way, I shall refer it to their own conscience to consider; and how far THEIR SUBJECTS set themselves through love to follow that wherein they go before them in righteousness, I shall not need to mention. But I may take up a woeful lamentation, 'that some, who ought most to encourage their 'fellow-subjects to this duty, are most averse from it themselves, and dis-'affect others from it.'"—In a subsequent page, he says, "So then, as amongst us, so also in all Europe, the Papal hierarchie may be cast off, and yet the beast's rage be greater than ever for the interest of a tyrannical power, as well over the consciences as over the bodies and estates of men; and that, two manner of ways: (1) either by *the* ABSOLUTENESS *of a governing power* through the necessities of war, enforcing all men to concur with the interests which it settles for common safety, to preserve us in freedom from a foreign power; or (2) by *a total* DISSOLUTION OF ALL GOVERNMENT, wherein every man who hath more might than his neighbour may take a liberty to tyrannize over him, and oppress him without controul."—And another passage contains the following broad intimation: "If then the governors of a people make use of their power to satisfy the inclinations of flesh and blood, in fulfilling their lusts and sensual affections, without any due respect unto the end of their place; but [if they] seek by mere force to make *their will a law* to their subjects, by bringing them to *an absolute subjection*, that they may suffer themselves to be ruled as beasts use to be ruled by men, who, being ignorant of the designs of men, are led only by sensual objects of pleasure and terror; if (I say) *any governors have this aim*, and follow the ways by which this kind of greatness over others may be established, they ought to take notice of themselves, and others may observe it also of them, *that they are none other but the dragon's vice-gerents on earth, and that they rule in his name and in his way over the sons of men.*"

It was for the publication of passages like these, that Cromwell ordered his quondam friend, Sir Henry Vane, into confinement in Carisbrook Castle,—a most singular instance of the retributive acts of Divine Providence, when contemplated with the fate of that unhappy individual! The Lord Protector devised suitable employment abroad for Dury, who had spoken with too much artlessness about domestic affairs; though, according to the subjoined passage in ANCILLON's *Melange Critique*, it appears Oliver was not so liberal to him in pecuniary matters, as Archbishop Laud and other English Prelates had formerly been: "Dury told us, [Ancillon and Ferri,] that he did not meet with any difficulty from the Princes of Germany and the Kings of the North, and that there were only some clergymen who made objections against that great and desirable work, and opposed it. He was very well satisfied with the charity of the gentlemen of Zurich, who had furnished him with large sums of money for his travels, and for supplying what he might want *beside what the Protector allowed him.* We encouraged him, as much as we could, to continue his labours till he had performed his design."

A subsequent note will exhibit Dury's novel plan of interpreting the Apocalypse; and, from the obvious similarity between his mystical views and those of Vane, he may be justly reckoned one of that old and astute politician's disciples.

severance as that exhibited by Dureus, who, during the space of forty years, suffered vexations, and underwent labours, which required the firmest resolution, and the most inexhaustible patience; wrote, exhorted, admonished, entreated, and disputed; in a word, tried every method that human wisdom could suggest, to put an end to the dissensions and animosities that reigned among the Protestant Churches. For it was not merely by the persuasive eloquence of his pen, or by forming plans in the silence of the closet, that this worthy divine performed the task which his benevolence and zeal engaged him to undertake; his activity and industry were equal to his zeal; he travelled through all the countries in *Europe*, where the Protestant religion had obtained any footing; he formed connections with the doctors of both parties; he addressed himself to kings, princes, magistrates, and ministers; and by representing, in lively and striking colours, the utility and importance of the plan he had formed, hoped to engage them more or less in this good cause, or at least to derive some succour from their influence and protection. But here his views were considerably disappointed; for though his undertaking was generally applauded, and though he met with a favourable and civil reception from the greatest part of those to whom he addressed himself, yet he found very few who were seriously disposed to alleviate his labours, by lending him their assistance, and seconding his attempts by their influence and counsels. Nay, some suspecting that the fervent and extraordinary zeal of Dureus arose from mysterious and sinister motives, and apprehending that he had secretly formed a design of drawing the Lutherans into a snare, attacked him in their writings with animosity and bitterness, and loaded him with the sharpest invectives and reproaches. So that this well-meaning man, neglected at length by those of his own communion, opposed and rejected by the followers of Luther, involved in various perplexities and distress, exhausted by unsuccessful labour, and oppressed and dejected by injurious treatment, perceived by a painful experience, that he had undertaken a task which was beyond the power of a private person, and spent the remainder of his days in repose and obscurity at *Cassel*.*

"It may not be improper to observe here, that Dureus, who, notwithstanding the uprightness of his intentions in general, was sometimes deficient in frankness and ingenuity,† had annexed

* Bayle says: "Hedwige Sophia, Princess of Hesse, who was invested with the regency, assigned Dury very commodious quarters with a table well furnished, and had granted him free postage of his letters. For these favours he returns her his thanks, in the Epistle Dedicatory to the book," which has been quoted in the preceding note.

† Those who have read the declarations made by Dury, at different times, concerning various denominations of professing Christians, according to the precedence which each of them gained during the troubles in England, might be tempted to consider him a sort of "Vicar of Bray," a changeling

to his plan of reconciliation certain doctrines which, were they susceptible of proof, would serve as a foundation for the union, not only of the Lutherans and Calvinists, but also of all the different sects that bear the Christian name. For, among other things, he maintained, that the *Apostles' Creed* was a complete body of divinity; the *Ten Commandments,* a perfect system of morals; and the *Lord's Prayer,* a comprehensive series of petitions for all the blessings contained in the divine promises. Now if this notion, that these sacred compositions contain all that is essential to faith, obedience, and devotion, had been universally entertained, or evidently demonstrated, it would not have been a chimerical project to aim at a reconciliation of all christian Churches upon this basis, and to render these compositions the foundation of their co-alition and the bond of their union. But it would have been highly chimerical to expect, that the Christian sects would universally adopt this notion, or be pleased to see the doctrines of Christianity reduced to such general principles. It is further to be observed, with respect to Dureus, that he shewed a peculiar propensity towards the sentiments of the *Mystics* and *Quakers,** on account of their tendency to favour his conciliatory and pacific project. Like them, he placed the es-

who spoke well of each succeeding ecclesiastical regimen, and depreciated those which were abrogated. I do not impute this trait in his character to any "deficiency in frankness and ingenuousness," but to that habit which he had acquired, in his pacific negotiations, of making large admissions to the prejudices of the parties with whom he conferred.

* His plan of interpreting the Apocalypse, to which allusion is made in page 754, is in proof of this, as the reader will perceive by the subjoined extracts: "Although a man should fully believe, and be able demonstratively to prove the truth of the accomplishment of all the events, (as this author doth make them to me very probable;) yet he might fall short of that spiritual understanding whereunto this promise is made, chap. i, 3, *Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein:* I shall therefore say, that there must be a certain reading and hearing of this prophecy, which brings a blessedness with it, so that he who reads and hears in that kind, is enabled to keep the things which are written therein. And as there is such a reading and hearing, so there must be a sense, and an interpretation of that sense, which is able to fit a man for the keeping of the things which are written therein. And if there must be such an interpretation for that kind of hearing, then there must be also a key and rule of interpretation answerable to that sense, which is immediately subordinate unto the promise of blessedness. For that this bare historical sense of the accomplishment of the visions is not that whereupon, properly, the promise of blessedness is intailed, is clear, because a man may be fully convicted of the truth of this and believe it, and may demonstrate it unto others, and yet himself not keep the things which are written in this prophecy. Moreover, that reading and hearing whereunto the promise of a blessing is annexed, must needs be proportionate to the capacity of all men that make sincere profession of Christianity; but this reading and hearing, which is thus grounded upon the historical and chronological interpretation of the visions, is not proportionate to the capacity of all sincere professors; and therefore it cannot be taken for that reading and hearing whereunto the promise of a blessing is annexed; and consequently there must be some other interpretation found, which is immediately subordinate unto this effect.

sence of religion in the *ascent* of the soul to God, in calling forth the *hidden word*, in fanning the *divine spark* that resides in the recesses of the human mind, and, in consequence of this system,

"That which I am now intimating is this;—that the prophetical visions of the revelation have a main matter of mystery in them, beyond what is here or any where that I know by any interpreter directly insisted upon. For I conceive this which is here delivered, to be, indeed, a true opening of the mystical vision, *as to one part of it*, which is, the prediction of the historical events and changes of things, which should befal unto the government of the worldly empire and to the visible state of the church therein. But besides this part of the mystical vision, which I call *the historical presignification of events*, there is, in the matter presignified, a deeper mystery wrapt up, which requires another key to open it than that which shews the bare accomplishment of events; and this is *the mystery of the kingdom of Christ*, in opposition to the mystery of iniquity: for this is mainly to be taken notice of in the events which are foretold, and do fall out. Now he that reads, and hears, and keeps the things written in this prophecy concerning this mystery, is truly blessed indeed. But except we can read and hear the sense of this mystery in it, I know not what advantage the knowledge of the historical mystery can bring to us, further than to convict us, 'that the penman thereof was truly inspired by God when he wrote it, 'because he did truly foretel things to come; and that the warnings, 'threatenings, promises, precepts and doctrines contained therein, deserve 'to be heeded more, than the words of a bare man.' And truly, although I have much valued the gift and study of those that have set themselves to unfold, by the observation of histories, the mystical presignification of events, yet I could never bring my spirit much to apply itself to any such search; because I found, that both in the beginning of this book, (in the place fore-mentioned,) and in the end thereof, the promise of blessedness is made to another kind of study than this; and the name and scope of the whole prophecy, which is *the revelation of Jesus Christ, and a record of the testimony of Jesus Christ*, doth import to me something more, than what is in the outward visible events; which every rational man, who can read histories and understand symbolical speeches, is able to take notice of, and discern to be fulfilled as they were foretold. Therefore, although, to manifest the truth of God, the events are very useful, if not necessary, to be looked after; yet I am clear, that they are neither useful to us, nor necessary to be known, but as they are subordinate unto this *mystery of the kingdom and testimony of Christ*; the knowledge and keeping of which doth give us a right unto the tree of life, and an entry through the gates into the city. This then is the mystery which I look after; namely, to find the manifestation of the spiritual kingdom of Christ in the name of man, and in human societies so advanced, that the works of the devil are destroyed therein; and that the salvation of Israel doth thereby effectually come out of Sion, to bring back the captivity of the people of the Lord; and to make the whole creation partaker of the glorious liberty of the sons of God. For to shew unto the eye of our faith, by what means and ways this is to be brought to pass in the regenerate souls of men, and by the state of regeneration in the outward societies and professions of believers, I conceive the visions were mainly sent unto the prophet; and that it was his principal aim, by describing of them, to declare this unto us. If then, by the representation of bare outward events, we are not made capable of partaking this mystery, whereby Christ being apprehended in his testimony doth become in us the hope of glory, all our discoveries will be of no great advantage unto our happiness, nor shall we reach the aim which the Holy Ghost had in sending this prophecy unto us. We must therefore consider what the key is, whereby the secret of that dispensation, which brings with it felicity doth stand, is opened. The key of the spiritual mystery of the visions must be the discovery of the parallel perfections which are found to be between Christ as the head, and the church as the body, which is *the fulness of him that filleth all in all*; and the understanding of the harmonical properties of things

was intimately persuaded, that differences merely in theological opinions did not at all concern the essence of true piety."

But the reader will now be wishful to learn the grounds of Dury's plan of universal christian concord: I present the sum of them in the words of the Rev. Joseph Mede, who, it is seen, (page 496) was consulted when that plan was first formed, and whose judicious advice is copied, almost *verbatim*, by Dury in his *Prodromus Tractat. Irenic.* I have shewn, (page 741) the cause of Mr. Mede's early reluctance to tender his opinion on this subject; and his accomplished biographer has alluded to it in the subjoined paragraph: "This, *in general*, was the way of peace which he chalked out for those whom the love of Christ should constrain heartily to seek the peace of the Reformed Religion, the happy uniting of divided Protestants. But, as for *the more particular methods*, for carrying on this pacific design, they are at large discoursed of by three reverend prelates of our Church, Bishops Morton, Hall, and Davenant.—Nor was our author altogether silent: For, though at first he declined, upon some prudential considerations, to express himself otherwise than *in general* upon this argument; yet, after his superiors had declared themselves, he was pleased to communicate also his particular instructions about this affair, as appears by several epistles of his written to Mr. Hartlib and Mr. Dury, wherein the judicious reader may observe his great prudence and equal moderation." See the Note in page 741.

The quotations from Mr. Mede which I have already given, (page 496) exhibit his liberal opinions about the Church of

visible, and invisible, wherein the correspondence between the outward and inward man; the temporary and eternal natures of things; and the state of true life, as it is present in the first-fruits, and as it is to come in the full harvest, are expressed.

"Here the wonderful way and manner of dispensing of that Divine Nature to the church, and working out the counsel of God in all the world, as this world is to be made subordinate to Christ and his saints, is laid open in the apocalyptical visions. We may not then call those visions *dark mysteries*, without injury to the Spirit of Christ; but they are lively figures of the truth of God's presence in his saints, and over the world, to represent it to those that have eyes to see it. And to help our weak eye-sight, which may be dazzled at the resplendency of the glory thereof, we should make use of the prospective ways which are offered unto us in the world elsewhere; which are appliable to these visions, either as keys to unlock the dispensation of the mystery contained therein; or rather as directing and multiplying glasses, through which our understanding may be led, and enlarged to reflect upon *the spiritual objects* properly so called, which concern the state of the kingdom, which is inwardly everlasting in itself, and, to the reasonings of men, invisible and incomprehensible.

"If I should enter upon this subject, to shew how a demonstrative scriptural analysis, *by the spiritual use of right reason*, is attainable, and will be the only way, (next to the gracious and immediate illumination of the Spirit, writing the law in the hearts,) to compose our controversies, to end our needless and sinful ways of disputing, and to banish out of Christ's church the high conceit of our *doctoral school-divinity*; if (I say) I should enter upon these thoughts, you see that not a treatise only, but a volume should be written thereof to do it satisfactorily."

Rome, and about the union of the Lutherans and Calvinists. He there declares, "the matter aimed at in this business, is, *not that either side should presently relinquish their opinions of difference,* but only take notice, that, notwithstanding these differences, *both sides do so far agree in other points, that they may and ought to acknowledge each other as* BRETHREN." This was the principle on which Archbishop Laud founded his plan for preserving peace betwen the Calvinists and Arminians in the Church of England, and for promoting it among the professing christians abroad; and, if ever the Papists had acceded to his pacificatory design, they must have been partakers of its benefits only on a condition that would have utterly destroyed the dominion which their Church had assumed over the consciences of mankind.

In July 1635, Dury transmitted a leter to Mede, a translation of which will be found in the appended note;* and detailed to

* "To JOSEPH MEDE, Grace and Peace.

"*Reverend Sir*,—I am now ready to proceed on my voyage to Holland. I have taken leave of my Lord the Archbishop of Canterbury, and of my friends at Court, and am now busily engaged in bidding farewell to the rest. I was not forgetful of you, of whose polite courtesy I have recently had such ample experience. It is not possible for me to describe how much I am, and shall continue to be, gratified with the recollection of your conversation with me: For as often as I revolve in my mind, and that is very frequently, the chief topics which occurred in your very learned, prudent, and useful discourse, I confess I have not for many years spent a quickly-passing hour with so much profit and pleasure, as I felt while enjoying your company.—Be pleased now to receive a brief account of the design of my journey. In Holland I shall not be urgent, neither shall I make any immediate attempt. I will require nothing, except what they spontaneously offer to do; and, whatever that may be, it shall be converted to the advantage of the German [Lutheran] Church.—But the following are the chief points which I shall propose to the Germans, as subjects on which we may treat and persuade:

"1. That the decree passed by the States, [at Frankfort, in 1634,] contains most salutary advice respecting composing ecclesiastical differences.

"2. That all persons, both Magistrates and Divines, are bound in conscience to promote to the utmost of their power the execution of this decree, by their united suffrages, studies, and attempts; and that, therefore, the appointment of a Convention must be no longer delayed.

"3. That, in this Convention, which is to be summoned for the abolition of schism, minute opinions and the thorny difficulties of scholastic controversies are to be removed from the discussions concerning peace: and that no dispute shall be raised about other points, but explanations shall be given about what is received and acknowledged by both parties.

"4. That the concord which exists in the *Symbolical* Truth of the Primitive Church, and in the *Fundamental* Truth of the Christian Religion, and the mutual bond of Fraternal Union contained in it, shall be confirmed by certain ecclesiastical Canons.

"5. That the Symbolical Truth,—which is contained in the Apostles' Creed, and is explained in that of St. Athanasius,—and which has been confirmed in the Councils of Nice, the first Ephesian Council, and in those of Constantinople, Chalcedon, Mela, and Orange, held against the Pelagians,—with whose decisions agree the Protestant *Confessions of Faith*, not only harmoniously among themselves, but likewise subordinately with the sacred Scriptures,—that this Symbolical Truth is of itself alone sufficient for the salvation of the souls of those persons who, in the simplicity of faith, derive it from the word of God, and on other points are obedient to his will without any admixture of idolatrous worship.

him the instructions he had received, and the course which he designed to pursue in his visit to Holland and Germany, on which he was then on the point of embarkiag. Mr. Mede retur-

"6. That all controversies, beyond *this tenour of belief*, shall be discussed by the learned men of both parties, with the preservation of charity; but that of such controversies the more simple sort of people may safely and usefully remain in ignorance, and, therefore, they ought not by any means to be made contentious subjects of discourse in the pulpit: It is evident that this was the practice of the Fathers of the Primitive Church.

"7. That the causes of the schisms and of the inextricable confusions in the Christian Church have arisen, in the present age,—partly, from neglecting the limits in Faith and Practice between FUNDAMENTALS and NON-FUNDAMENTALS;—partly, from an over-curious prying into mysteries, and the indiscriminate promulgation of private opinions about them;—partly, from a contempt for the judgment of Primitive Antiquity respecting the meaning of the Holy Scriptures;—partly, from a preposterous and bitter itching to refute the sentiments of other people, rather than from an inoffensive desire to explain the truth according to their own perceptions of it;—partly, from a tyrannical power of determination and censure, which one party usurps over the conscience and the understanding of the other;—partly, from having lost the rule of the Ancient Discipline;—and, in the last place, partly from neglecting the duties of Holy Communion, and of fraternal communication between different churches, while the passions are appeased by their mutual edification in spiritual things.—From these sources has arisen every diversified species of opinions and rites, and from thence have proceeded the multiform appearance of churches that, on other points, are at complete agreement in the foundation of the faith: These circumstances have, in the eyes of unskilful estimators of things, borne the semblance of contrariety, and have afterwards afforded a pretext for doubting, discussions, dissension, and schism.

"8. That, in the present calamitous state of affairs, no remedy for these evils can be devised of a more suitable kind than the Convention of Protestants which is here prescribed. The effect which it is desirable to obtain from such an Assembly is this,—to confirm by general suffrage a *fraternal concord* in the Doctrinals conceded by both parties, *a moderate and suitable explanation* in matters of doubt and of utility, and, on the remaining topics, *liberty of sentiment and mutual toleration;* but, in public worship and ecclesiastical rites, certain laws shall circumscribe such a conformity as may appear necessary for confirming the affections of mutual edification and holy intercourse.

"You have here a display of my purpose: And though I acknowledge myself to be unequal to the attainment of it, yet, accordiug to the small measure of my powers, I will leave nothing undone towards a great and sincere attempt. Most deservedly I ascribe much to your erudition, piety, and prudence: If, therefore, you consider it needful to tender me any advice on these points, you will perform an office which will be agreeable to a friend, and to a most respectful fellow-servant of your Lord Christ, and which will probably not prove useless to the public, &c.—LONDON, *July 19th*, 1635."

Every man conversant with the ecclesiastical history of that period will trace, in this letter, no sentiment which could have been dictated by a Calvinist who approved of the decisions of the Synod of Dort; for the obvious tendency of the whole of Dury's instructions, of which the preceding is a good summary, was *to counteract the pernicious effects of that Assembly*, whose intolerant SPIRIT had been imparted to every christian community in Europe, that had been so improvident as to admit or to admire its DECREES. The allusions to the *early Fathers* and to *Christian Antiquity*, which this letter contains, could be relished solely by the Protestants of the Church of England, and by those of the Augsburgh Confession; from the former of whom the document itself actually emanated. From the preceding note, (p. 748,) the reader will have learnt, that while the Calvinists have *without just cause* pointed with triumph to the pacific labours of Dury, the honour of which is claimed for the whole of their party, Archbishop Laud and his Arminian

ned a very polite answer, in which he "advised Mr. Dury to urge men to devise a criterion according to which some judgment might be formed about *Fundamental* and *Non-Fundamental Articles*, and to think of such a definition, as a ground by which to examine the points of difference of what nature they are." And he informs Mr. Hartlib, "I intimated withal to Mr. Dury, how likely they [the zealots] would be to detract it, and wherefore,—namely, 'lest by that means they might either declare 'some darling opinion of their own *not to be Fundamental*, and 'thereby prejudice their own cause; or else exclude out of that 'number some articles formerly determined by the Church, and 'so incur a suspicion of, or be liable to be upbraided with, 'favouring some condemned heresy.'" In the same letter to Mr. Hartlib, he tries to define the nature of Fundamental Articles. His method is described in the subjoined note,* and

friends were almost the only active promoters of that scheme, and Dury himself, at the first convenient opportunity, evinced his real disposition by joining the standard of the greatest enemies to a General Ecclesiastical Pacification, and by traitorously furnishing them with extracts from the private correspondence of Grotius.

* These are Mr. Mede's words "But what if we should go this way to work, make two sorts of Fundamental Articles, Fundamentals of salvation, and Fundamentals of ecclesiastical communion? one, of such as are *necessarii cognitu et creditu ad salutem* simply and absolutely, and therefore no christian soul that shall be saved, uncapable to understand them; another, of such as are *necessarii creditu ad communicationem Ecclesiasticam* in regard of the predecision of the church. The first not to be of such truths as are merely speculative, and contained only in the understanding; but of such only as have a necessary influence upon practice: and not all those neither, but such as have necessary influence upon the act and function of christian life, or whereon the acts, without which a christian lives not, necessarily depend. Such, namely, as without the knowledge and belief whereof we can neither invocate the Father aright, nor have that faith and reliance upon him, and his Son our Mediator Jesus Christ, which is requisite to remission of sins, and the hope of the life to come. How far this ratio of a fundamental article will stretch, I know not; but believe it will fetch in most of the articles of the Apostle's creed. And by it also those two main errors of the Socinians, the one denying the Divine Nature, the other the satisfaction of Christ, may be discerned to be fundamental. For, without the belief of the first, the Divine Majesty cannot be rightly, that is incommunicably worshipped, so as to have *no other Gods besides him*. For he that believes not Christ to be consubstantial with the Father, and yet honours him with the same worship, worships not the Father incommunicably: which is the *formalis ratio* of the worship of the true God, from whom we look for eternal life. And without the belief of the second, the Satisfaction of Christ, there can be, I suppose, no saving faith or reliance upon Christ for forgiveness of sin. After this manner, may other Articles be examined. Thus much of the first sort of fundamental truths, measured by the necessitude they have with those acts which are required to salvation. Concerning the second sort of fundamentals, viz. necessary *ad communicationem Ecclesiasticam*: it is not fit that the church should admit any to her communion which shall professedly deny or refuse their assent to such catholic truths as she hath anciently declared, by universal authority, for the symbol and badge of such as should have communion with her. And this sort of Articles without doubt fetches a greater compass and comprehends more than the other, as being ordinate and measured by another end, to wit, of discipline, and so contains not only such truths, the knowledge whereof and assent whereto is necessary unto the being of christian life, but also to the well-being thereof; and

resembles much the following brief account which he gives to the same individual in another letter:

"The way to determine fundamental articles must be made very short, easy and evident; or it will breed many controversies, as are about the points themselves in question. I can gather that by what I sometimes meet with. It is not fit that a confession, which concerns all that will be saved to know and remember, should be any long or tedious discourse. The ten commandments given by God are an *Epitome faciendorum;* the Lord's prayer is *Summa* or *Epitome petendorum:* According to which pattern the confession we seek for should be but *Summa credendorum.*" See a similar passage, p. 757.

In accordance with the liberality of these FUNDAMENTAL ARTICLES, he delivered the following advice to Mr. Hartlib, for framing a *Fundamental Confession:* "When I read over Mr. Dury's Consultation, I perceived he aimed at the self-same ground for the discovery and discerning of *Fundamental Verities* from *Non-Fundamental* that I had formerly done in mine to you, though in a differing way of expression, as men that conceive apart are wont to do. I made them to be 'such truths as 'have necessary influence upon the acts and functions of 'christian life, or without the explicit knowledge whereof 'those acts and functions cannot be exercised.' He goes further and specifies wherein this *christian life* consisteth:*

therefore not needful to be understood of every one distinctly, and explicitely, as the former, but implicitely only and as far as they shall be capable or have means to come to the knowledge thereof."

* The letter to Mr. Hartlib, to which in this extract Mr. Mede refers, contains an intimation very similar to this by Mr. Dury. It occurs in some remarks on Mr. Streso's book, on which he says: "As for the third sort of Fundamentals, or super-fundamentals, which Mr. Streso makes 'such as are 'by immediate or necessary consequence deducible from the *fundamentum* '*salutis,*' I make some question whether all such are *necessaria cognitu et creditu ad salutem* simply.—FIRST. Because the necessity of such consequence may not be apprehended by all who hold the *fundamentum.*—SECONDLY. Because I am not yet persuaded, that to deny or to be ignorant of a truth which is merely speculative, (such as some of these consequences may be,) is damnable; but only [to be ignorant] of such truths, the knowledge and acknowledgment whereof hath necessary connection with some practical requisite unto salvation; I mean, whereon depends necessarily the acquiring of some act necessary, or the avoiding of some act repugnant, to salvation."—From this paragraph every man of discernment will perceive the true reason, why the more rigid Calvinists spurned all these conciliatory schemes, that represented the doctriue of *Absolute Election* and *Eternal Reprobation* as "a truth merely speculative, the denial or ignorance of which was not damnable." This was in their eyes past all human endurance. See pages 496 and 748.

Mr. Mede then proceeds, in the same letter, thus to explain himself:— "So that still it seems to me, the readiest and easiest way for resolution in this matter is, to inquire and examine what those acts are wherein consists our spiritual life, or that union and fellowship, which we have with the Father and his Son our Mediator Jesus Christ. That which is *necessarium cognitu et creditu* unto them, is fundamental to salvation, that is, *cujus agnitioni salus tanquam fundamento innititur*. That which is not so, is not fundamental *ad salutem*. For example: 'He that comes unto God,' says St. Paul, 'must believe that God is.' So likewise, he that comes unto

Namely, as *natural life* consists in the conjunction of the soul with the body, so doth *spiritual life* in the conjunction of men with God, that is, in being in covenant with him. All those verities, therefore, the knowledge and belief whereof is necessary to the acts and functions requisite to the being and continuation in the covenant with God in Jesus Christ, are *Fundamental Verities*, without the explicit knowledge and belief of which a man cannot be saved."

He then immediately adds: "But for the framing or composing such a fundameutal confession as is sought for, let me discover my opinion, fancy, or whatsoever it be. I observe, that the confessions or creeds of the ancient Church, (which were their symbols of communion,) were always the former creeds or confessions enlarged with such further additions or explanations subjoined to the former articles respectively, as the heresies of the times made requisite for the distinction of orthodox believers. So the Nicene creed was the creed of the Apostles enlarged in the Articles of Father and Son, and one or two other. The creed of Constantinople added, to the Article of the Holy Ghost in that of Nice, these words, 'The Lord and Giver of Life, who 'proceedeth from the Father [and the Son,] who with the Father 'and the Son together is worshipped and glorified;' against Macedonius. This is the creed we say at the communion in our Church. That of Athanasius yet more enlarges that of Nice, as doth that of Chalcedon also the article of the Son

Christ, or unto the Father by him, (as every one must do that will be saved,) must believe that Christ is, and that he is constituted the Mediator between God and us. He that comes unto and relies upon Christ for remission of sin, must believe that Christ suffered, and was offered a sacrifice for the sins of men, and thereby purchased that power to confer remission unto all that should repent and believe in his name. He that bids a true farewell to sin, and savingly buckles to the works of a new life, must believe there is a life to come, and 'a day wherein God, by the man he hath ordained, shall judge 'both the quick and dead, and give unto every one according to his works;' according to that of St. Paul, Acts xxiv, 15, 16. 'I have hope towards God, 'that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust. 'For this cause do I exercise myself to have always a conscience void of 'offence toward God and toward men.' According to these examples you may examine more.—Take this similitude: In a creature endued with animal life, are many members or organs, whereof though none can be wanting, hurt or wounded, without some deformity, defect or detriment of the whole, yet all are not essential unto the life of the body, but such only from whence those faculties and functions flow, whereon life necessarily depends, such as are, *respiratio, nutritio, gustus, tactus, pulsus, somnus*, and the like. Therefore the organs whereon these depend can neither be wanting, nor notoriously hurt or wounded, but the body presently dieth. Without legs, arms, tongue, eyes, ears, nose, a man may live, though a most pitiful, ugly, and loathsome spectacle, and more fit for the spital than the public society of men: But without head, heart, lungs, stomach, and the like, he cannot, namely, because these members, and the sound and good temper of them in some degree, are necessary to those faculties and functions which are requisite unto life. Apply this, and improve it by your meditation."

against Eutyches. Were it not fit therefore, that we should tread in their steps, and frame our confession or *symbolum* in like manner? to wit, not making the form of our confession wholly new, but taking the former creeds or some of them for our ground, to enlarge their articles, with such further additions and explanations as the state of the times requires: that so our confession might be the creeds of the ancient Church, specified only to the present condition of the Churches and no other. Thus we should both testify to the world our communion and agreement with the ancient Catholic Church, (a matter of no small moment, that we may not seem to have made a new church or religion, as we are charged,) and yet withal distinguish ourselves from the sects, heresies and apostacies of the times. To which end it were fit the words of the ancient creeds should be retained as much as could be; and for the more easy reception thereof, that the additions and insertions should be made in the express words of scripture, as near as the nature of the composure would suffer it, and not otherwise. As for the meaning of them, their application to the several articles would specify it, as far as were needful to the end aimed at by such a confession. Compare the creeds of Nice, Athanasius and Chalcedon, with that of the Apostles, and you will understand my meaning. And consider, that in such a business as this we must not be too much in love with methods of our own devising, (though perhaps they seem better,) but follow that which all the Churches will most easily yield unto, and cannot except against. I believe our own, (as may by some passages be already guessed,)* would hardly be brought to subscribe to any other form than of such a mould. Take this also before I conclude: That my meaning is not, we should do as the council of Trent hath done, by adding twelve more articles to the creed; but that our additions should be inserted into the several articles of the ancient creed, as subordinate to them, and further explanations of them. Which those of Trent indeed could not well do, those which were added being the worst of them, incompatible and inconsistent with the former articles according to the true and original meaning of the same, and therefore not to be incorporated with them."

To those already apprised of the aversion which the Calvinists generally manifested to the authority of the Christian Fathers, (page 430) it will not seem marvellous that they should reject all outlines of a Catholic Confession, like that which Mr. Mede had devised. His old friend Dr. Twisse, who had with avidity sought his acquaintance while he talked about *the destruction of Antichrist*, (page 510) could not endure the bare mention of Fundamental Articles. In a letter which Mr. Hartlib sent to

* See an account of this in pages 496 and 741.

Mr. Mede in 1637, he gives an extract from one that he had received from the testy old Predestinarian: "I had occasion," says Mr. Hartlib, "to exchange some letters of late with Dr. Twisse: In his last he writes thus unto me: 'As for *regnum* 'sanctorum et Christi in terris, resurrectio prima, &c. passages there 'have been between me and Mr. Mede thereabouts, and I am 'but his scholar therein. I have yet no liberty to take into con-'sideration the matter of FUNDAMENTALS, *neither have I any* 'affection to it, as finding no sure footing in that argument.' Thus far he."*—In this expression of antipathy to Fundamental Articles, as a high Calvinist, Dr. Twisse was not singular: For, on examining the names of the divines, who, in various parts of Europe, granted the highest encouragement to Mr. Dury's designs, it will be found, that they consisted principally of those who had espoused the benign doctrines of General Redemption, or of those who, to avoid the stigma then attached to an open profession of Arminianism, sheltered themselves under the system of Camero, Amyraut, or Baxter. The rigid Predestinarians, whose ranks were rapidly thinning, would give no countenance to a scheme, that militated against the pre-eminence which they had assigned to Absolute Election. In a subsequent letter, Mr. Mede gives his opinion about "a paper" which Mr. Hartlib had sent to him, as the production of a third person who was anonymous, but who, from certain indications, was either Dr. Twisse himself or one of his friends. I subjoin part of the letter, and give a large extract in the note:† "What

* In another of Mr. Mede's letters to Mr. Hartlib, he shews the unwillingness evinced by the chief of the Calvinists to countenance Dury's project. The third person described by him in the subjoined extract, is evidently Dr. Twisse:

"I received your last, with the continuation of Mr. Dury's progress and success. So unwilling are ours here to acquaint themselves with any such business, that you shall scarce get them to read any thing that way without much entreaty. Yea I found * * * himself, when I carried him this, in somewhat a like disposition. Fain he would have declined the reading of it: 'You can tell,' said he, 'the substance of it,' &c.—One Doctor, a great Calvinist for the points of predestination, being shewn it by a friend to whom I had lent it, could not be gotten, after he had read a leaf or thereabouts, to read one jot more, but cried out, 'It is a thing simply impossi-'ble, and never can or will be.' —— I know one in the world, otherwise a wise, discreet and understanding man, to whom discoursing historically about Mr. Dury's negotiation and hopes, he commended it for a good and pious endeavour: 'But I pray God,' saith he, 'he doth not much hurt, as 'things now stand at this time.' He meant, as I supposed, *give advantage to the Arminian party*, whereunto he is a great opposite.—Yea, I'll tell you, but *sub sigillo*, that I have heard * * * himself say as much before. You see how hard it is for men who have once drawn blood in these controversies, I mean have publicly engaged and declared themselves in them, to listen to any overture of peace."

† In page 497, both in the text and note, I have given extracts from the commencement of this letter, which prove, in the most convincing manner, the guile of the Calvinists in wishing to screen their peculiar doctrines by assuring the world that they were FUNDAMENTAL. This paragraph immediately follows:

greater evil can befall the Church [Universal] than *schism* and *breach of charity* between her members, and *the woeful effects* that do inevitably follow thereof? Shall we then, to avoid the lesser and such as perhaps may not be, cherish the greater which threaten ruin to the whole body? that I say nothing of *the spiritual estate* of those who are engaged therein, if they are not so much as *willing* to be at unity! This is a great piece of PRACTICAL DIVINITY, and to be more considered than it is. The whole discourse, methinks, moves rather upon the hinges of POLICY than of DIVINITY: as is too manifest, in that he would have the Foreign Churches to labour such a confession, and ours to lie at the advantage to approve or not to approve it, as we shall find it makes for or against our particular tenets." But Dr. Twisse and his friends, having imbibed all the lulling sweetness of the maxim, *Once in grace always in grace*, felt no personal concern about their own *spiritual estate* while resisting these peaceful efforts; and the "piece of Practical Divinity," to which Mr. Mede alludes, engaged no part of their anxious consideration.

These extracts pourtray with sufficient clearness the kind of Fundamentals which Dury propounded to the different Churches on the continent, as the basis of a grand Protestant confederacy, that might successfully compete with the boasted *Unity of the Church of Rome*, and preserve the members of Reformed com-

"I would know whether the author of this letter thinks that the Lutherans and Calvinists agree not in so much as is necessary unto salvation. If they do, would not a Confession, composed of such things wherein they agree, contain all things *necessaria cognitu ad salutem*; and yet no necessity that this or that particular tenet should be defined by such confession to be or not to be fundamental?—I would know also whether he thinks it fit that particular churches should have particular confessions, whercunto their members should profess their assent. If so, I would have it considered, whether some of his inconveniences be not as incident to such confessions towards the members of a particular church, as would be from a general confession towards the members of several churches.—All such inconveniences are *per accidens*, but the good and benefit is *per se*; yea, prevents far greater evils, with which such contingent and casual inconveniences may not stand in competition."

After the very judicious observations contained in the text, Mr. Mede adds: —"Moreover it is to be considered, that many of the evils he supposes would follow of such a confession, are already in being in most churches, whilst there is no such confession; therefore, the declining of such a confession is not the means to avoid them; they will be, whether there be any such or not. Those who will seek for pretences to do amiss, will always find them.—Some of the evils he alleges are such, as the contrary to what he fears seem every whit as like to follow. For why should not such a declaration and limiting of fundamentals rather introduce a greater liberty and indulgence in particular churches to think what men list in other points, than an oppression or further bondage to be imposed upon the members thereof? Yea, a confession cannot descend far in particulars, but some men's consciences or other will be wronged by it: And a man in this case should not have respect to his own conscience only, but as well to other men's, who may scruple the contrary to his.—He seems to me to confound points of faith with matters of practice and manners. But the question is not, what is *licitum* or *illicitum* in practice, or what is *necessarium factu*, but what is *necessarium creditu ad salutem*."

munities from dividing into numerous inefficient branches. Of these liberal and really Catholic tenets, Grotius and Archbishop Laud were the zealous, but not the only promoters. This scheme of Christian pacification, it is seen, did not pretend to abolish the confessions of particular Churches, but to prepare some common ground to be occupied by all Protestants who acknowledged CHRIST JESUS as *their Head*, and who were willing, on a few well-defined terms, to own their dissenting brethren as *members of Christ's body*. It had obtained the approbation of nine-tenths of the Protestants of Europe, when, unfortunately, the open and undisguised attempts of the British Calvinists to obtain complete domination over their more moderate brethren marred the whole plan, and reminded the great body of the Lutherans about the dreams of universal empire, in which nearly all the Calvinists in Europe had previously indulged, (pages 246—266) and the realization of which, many of them thought, was then commencing in Great Britain. See the letters of Vossius and Grotius, quoted in pages

To this conclusion of my long yet important notice respecting the generous attempts of the English and some of the Dutch Arminians, which, had I been so inclined, I might have amplified to good effect with quotations from Episcopal divines, the most ample and philanthropic,* I append the following reflections from the Preface to Bishop BURNET'S *Exposition of the Thirty Nine Articles:* "As my small reading had carried me

* The following quotation from one of the numerous productions of an eminent Whig Divine, Bishop Hoadley, whose opinions on this point were rather too diffusive, will afford a fair specimen of the benevolence and philanthropy of several of his cotemporaries:—"The other part of the complaint [made by the Bishop of Oxford,] relates to *the uniting almost all differing sects in one visible communion.* Though I do not call to mind that I have expressly and directly laid down any thing to this purpose, yet I cannot forbear to say, *Blessed be they who have contributed to so great a work!* I will not trouble the Bishop with citations from those many in past ages who have declared their opinions concerning the framing of public offices in such manner, as to admit men of very different opinions into the external communion of the Church. I will not transcribe those known passages of Mr. Hales, or Mr. Chillingworth, in which they have most expressly contended for this. I will only mention two now living, who have spoken as plainly, in general terms, as any upon this subject. The one is the present Right Reverend Lord Bishop of Carlisle, who speaks thus, in his own person: 'I always did, and always shall, heartily wish; and, if it were in my power, 'I should endeavour, *that all the Liturgies of the Church were reduced to as 'great a simplicity and plainness as might be.*' The other is our present most Reverend Metropolitan, who declares, in the most general words, that 'it has never gone well with the Church of Christ, since men have been so 'narrow-spirited, as to mix the controversies of faith with their public forms 'of worship; and have made their Liturgies, instead of being *offices of 'devotion to God*, become tests and censures of the opinions of their 'brethren.' I will add to these one more, and that is the Right Reverend the Bishop of Oxford himself, in this very Charge, p. 10: 'Somewhere or 'other, there must be a very great fault, when any one of the meanest 'believers is excluded from communion, who desires to embrace it on the terms which God hath prescribed.'"

further in that controversy [concerning Predestination] than in any other whatsoever, both with relation to ancients and moderns, and to the most esteemed books of all different parties,*

* To an Arminian, the Bishop's previous recital of the authors, whose works he had consulted, will be interesting: For, with the exception of those adduced in the first paragraph and another individual, all those great men had espoused the benign and scriptural doctrines of General Redemption:—"The first and indeed much the best writer of Queen Elizabeth's time was Bishop JEWELL; the lasting honour of the See in which the providence of God has put me, as well as of the age in which he lived; who had so great share in all that was done then, particularly in compiling the Second Book of Homilies, that I had great reason to look on his works as a very sure commentary on our Articles, as far as they led me. From him I carried down my search through REYNOLDS, HUMPHREYS, WHITAKER, and the other great men of that time.

"Our Divines were much diverted in the end of that reign from better enquiries, by the Disciplinarian Controversies; and though what WHITGIFT and HOOKER writ on those heads was much better than all that came after them, yet they neither satisfied those against whom they writ, nor stopped the writings of their own side. But as waters gush in when the banks are once broken, so the breach that these had made proved fruitful. Parties were formed, secular interests were grafted upon them, and new quarrels followed those that first began the dispute.—The contests in Holland concerning Predestination drew on another scene of contention among us as well as them, which was managed with great heat. Here was matter for angry men to fight it out, till they themselves and the whole nation grew weary of it.—The question about the morality of the Fourth Commandment was an unhappy incident that raised a new strife.—The controversies with the Church of Rome were for a long while much laid down. The Archbishop of Spalato's works had appeared with great pomp in King James's time, and they drew the observation of the learned world much after them; though his unhappy relapse and fatal catastrophe made them to be less read afterwards, than they well deserved to have been.

"When the progress of the House of Austria began to give their neighbours great apprehensions, so that the Protestant religion seemed to come under a very thick cloud; and when, upon that, jealousies began to rise at home in King Charles's reign, this gave occasion to two of the best books that we yet have: The one set out by Archbishop LAUD, writ with great learning, judgment, and exactness: The other by CHILLINGWORTH, writ with so clear a thread of reason, and in so lively a style, that it was justly reckoned the best book that had been writ in our language. It was about the nicest point in Popery, that by which they had made the most proselytes, and that had once imposed on himself, *concerning the infallibility of the Church and the motives of credibility.*

"Soon after that, we fell into the confusions of civil war, in which our Divines suffered so much, that while they were put on their own defence against those that had broken the peace of the Church and State, few books were written but on those subjects that were then in debate among ourselves, *concerning the government of the Church, and our Liturgy and Ceremonies.*—The disputes about the decrees of God were again managed with a new heat. There were also great abstractions set on foot in those times, concerning Justification by Faith; and these were both so subtile, and did seem to have such a tendency not only to Antinomianism, but to a Libertine course of life, that many books were writ on those subjects.—That noble work of the Polyglot Bible, together with the collection of the critics, set our Divines much on the study of the Scriptures, and the Oriental tongues, in which Dr. POCOCK and Dr. LIGHTFOOT were singularly eminent.—In all Dr. HAMMOND'S writings one sees great learning; and a solid judgment; a just temper in managing controversies; and, above all, a spirit of true and primitive piety, with great application to the right understanding of the Scriptures, and the directing of all to practice.—Bishop PEARSON *on the*

so I weighed the [seventeenth] Article with that impartial care which I thought became me; and have taken a method which is, for aught I know, new, of stating the arguments of all sides with so much fairness, that those who knew my own opinion in this point, have owned to me, that they could not discover it by any thing that I had written. They were inclined to think that I was of another mind than they took me to be, when they read my arguings of that side. I have not, in the explanation of that article, told what my own opinion was; yet here I think it may be fitting to own, that I follow the doctrine of the Greek church, from which St. Austin departed, and formed a new system. After this declaration, I may now appeal both to St. Austin's disciples and to the Calvinists, whether I have not stated both their opinions and arguments, not only with truth and candour, but with all posssible advantages.

"One reason among others that led me to follow the method I have pursued in this controversy, is to offer at the best means I can for bringing men to a better understanding of one another, and to a mutual forbearance in these matters. This is at present the chief point in difference between the Lutherans and the Calvinists. Expedients for bringing them to an union in these heads, are projects that can never have any good effect: Men whose opinions are so different, can never be brought to an agreement:*

Creed, as far as it goes, is the perfectest work we have. His learning was profound and exact, his method good, and his style clear; he was equally happy both in the force of his arguments, and in the plainness of his expressions.

"Upon the restoration of the Royal Family and the Church, the first scene of writing was naturally laid in the late times; and with relation to conformity.—But we quickly saw that Popery was a restless thing, and was the standing enemy of our church: So as soon as that shewed itself, then our Divines returned to those controversies; in which no man bare a greater share, and succeeded in it with more honour, than Bishop STILLINGFLEET, both in his *Vindication of Archbishop* LAUD, and in the long-continued disputes concerning the idolatry of the Church of Rome. When the dangers of Popery came nearer us, and became sensible to all persons, then a great number of our Divines engaged in those controversies. They writ short and plain; and yet brought together, in a great variety of small tracts, the substance of all that was contained in the large volumes writ both by our own Divines and by foreigners. There was in these a solidity of argument, mixed with an agreeableness in the way of writing, that both pleased and edified the nation; and did very much confound, and at last silence, the few and weak writers that were of the Romish side. The inequality that was in this contest, was too visible to be denied; and, therefore, they who set it first on foot, let it fall: For they had other methods to which they trusted more, than to that unsuccessful one of writing. In those treatises, the substance of all our former books is so fully contained, and so well delivered, that in them the doctrines of our Church, as to all controverted points, is both clearly and copiously set forth."

* When the Elector Palatine, Charles Lewis, was through the interest of Cromwell restored to a part of his hereditary dominions, (p. 613,) he proved himself to be well acquainted with the original cause of the misfortunes of his ancestors, who, by banishing the Lutherans out of the Palatinate, (p. 751,) and by offending the same denomination of Christians in Bohemia, (p. 244,) had excited the indignation of all moderate men, and had communicated an almost incontrollable impulse to Calvinism, the vibrations of

And the settling on some equivocal formularies, will never lay the contention that has arisen concerning them: The only possible way of a sound and lasting reconciliation, is to possess both parties

which did not cease till they had affected one-half of the Protestants of Europe, and involved them in long and sanguinary conflicts, either foreign or domestic. In avoiding the indiscretions of which his predecessors had been guilty, he adopted an opposite course of conduct to theirs, and tried to effect a reconciliation between those two religious parties. No one will be surprised at the judicious manner in which this attempt was made, when he is told, that the young Elector had, during his residence in England, been on terms of intimacy with Dury. In the re-settlement of the University of Heidelberg, he called to his assistance the famous Hottinger of Zurich; of whom his biographer says: "At that period [1656] he was engaged in devising means for the establishment of concord between the Calvinists and Lutherans, a project which was then zealously patronized by the most serene Prince. Hottinger, therefore, proposed some pacific theses, in the discussion of which this object might be promoted; but the event did not answer the anticipations and warm wishes of all good men. This union was prevented by the same obstacles as those which formerly impeded it,—party animosities that cannot be reckoned pious, and the itching of some dispositions that feed on quarrels much in the same way as the cameleon feeds on wind."—On this subject Frederick Spanheim, who was the first Professor at Heidelberg after that city was restored to the Elector, communicates the following information: "The manner in which the Leipsig Conference was conducted, during this century, in the year 1631, where the whole dissension returned to the three points, was the same as that adopted by Charles Lewis, the Elector Palatine, at the time when I was Professor at Heidelberg, whose pacific purpose was completely overturned in 1658, principally by a virulent book in German, the production of J. C. Danhawerus" who was the Lutheran Professor at Strasburg.

On this passage Bayle observes: "It is certain that a union would have been long since produced between the Lutherans and Calvinists, had it depended on PRINCES; but as that affair depends upon the DIVINES, it never yet could be effected, and in all probability it never will. It is not I who form this judgment in general of these gentlemen; it is one of their own body, and he who can best speak of it from experience. He [Peter JURIEU in his treatise *De Pace ineunda*] says, 'that the secular magistrates, and 'not the clergy, ought to be the principal parties to commence and conduct 'this union. For while the Divines are exceedingly tenacious of their own 'opinions, they manifest little equity for those of others.—In the conferences 'which shall be held for producing peace, disputes concerning *the truth* '*of the dogmas* must, on no account, be permitted: For single combats do 'not terminate wars, but rather foment them. In such discussions, *peace* 'is not the thing sought, but *victory* No one will ever confess that he is 'conquered; and if he perceive himself to be overthrown or laid prostrate, 'so far is he from being rendered more inclinable to concord, that, on the 'contrary, angry and indignant, he retires from the contest with the greater 'ferocity; because, in the issue of it, he has not been prosperous.—Let the 'Divines be the advocates, and plead; let the magistrates hear, and act as 'judges under the authority of Princes. But, prior to any disputation, the 'Divines of both parties should bind themselves by oath *to yield obedience* '*to the judgment finally pronounced by the representatives of their Princes,* '*and not to engage in any hostile attempts against the peace which shall be* '*concluded.*'"—See the Works of Arminius, vol. i, p. 454.

This, at first sight, appears strange language to be employed by a French Protestant minister, who was compelled, by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, to become a refugee in Holland. But, though both he and Bayle were favourable to the most enlarged RELIGIOUS TOLERATION, they, in common with *all sincere friends of this* MEASURE, perceived a still greater beauty in CONCORD OF UNITY, wherever it was to be attained on the liberal plan devised by Grotius, Laud, Mede, Dury, and other benevolent paci-

with a sense of the force of the arguments that lie on the other side; that they may see they are no way contemptible, but are such as may prevail on wise and good men: Here is a foundation laid for charity: And if, to this, men would add a just sense of the difficulties on their own side, and consider that the ill consequences drawn from opinions are not to be charged on all that hold them, unless they do likewise own those consequences; then it would be more easy to agree on some

ficators. In the greater part of the European States, and especially in those whose principal resources lie in agriculture, the multiplication of small sects and "the itch for separation" might have been prevented, at the commencement of the Reformation, by the strong measures to which Jurieu has here alluded, and to which recourse was had in the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, and in some of the larger German States. Whoever has perused the life of that renowned patron of General Redemption, the great and good HEMINGIUS, and is acquainted with the attempts to introduce into Denmark the Lutheran *Book of Concord* at that early period of the Reformation, will know that the uniformity,—both in *worship* and generally in *doctrine*, through all the regions of the ancient Scandinavia,—which, according to Dr. E. D. Clarke's Travels, exists at this day in its original and engaging simplicity, was not accomplished without great difficulty, and could not at first be maintained without a degree of severity, which infringed the rights of private judgment. That difficulty is vastly augmented in those States in which schisms and sects have been suffered to abound. A fair specimen of which may be seen in the long and fruitless effects of successive Prussian Princes, to effect a reconciliation between the Lutherans and Calvinists in their dominions. Though scarcely any other than these two religious denominations are recognized in Prussia, such was the pertinacious bigotry of the Divines of both parties that, only during the reign of the present monarch, have they been compelled to live in amity, and mutually to admit each other's members to the holy rites of christian communion at the sacred altar of their common Lord and Saviour. (See page 250.) Such a plan of mutual communion, in a commercial country like Great Britain and Holland, would be still more difficult of accomplishment, if not totally impracticable, after the sectarian spirit had been allowed for a length of time to indulge itself, as I shall have occasion to shew in the second volume, when I shall also briefly describe some of the salutary effects which commerce has produced on the frame of civil and religious society. In this latter view Bishop Burnet's reasoning in the text is exceedingly appropriate, and not at variance with that of Bayle and Jurieu.

After the labours of John Goodwin, one of the first and most liberal works in favour of such religious toleration in England as we now enjoy, was composed by an Arminian, the famous Dr. Jeremy Taylor, concerning whom Bishop Heber most justly observes:

"Of the importance and value of his admirable *Liberty of Prophesying* at the time of its first appearance, some opinion may be formed by recollecting, that it is the first attempt [in Great Britain] on record to conciliate the minds of Christians to the reception of a doctrine, which, though now *the rule of action professed by all christian sects*, was then, by every sect alike, regarded as a perilous and portentous novelty. There is abundant proof, indeed, in the history of the times in which Taylor lived, and of those which immediately preceded him, that (much as every religious party, in its turn, had suffered from persecution, and loudly and bitterly as each had, in its own particular instance, complained of the severities exercised against its members,) no party had yet been found to perceive *the great wickedness* of PERSECUTION in the abstract, or the *moral unfitness* of TEMPORAL PUNISHMENT as an engine of religious controversy. Even the sects who were themselves under oppression, exclaimed against their rulers, not as being persecutors at all, but as persecuting those who professed *the truth;* and each sect, as it obtained the power to wield the secular weapon, esteemed it also a duty, as well as a privilege, not to bear the sword in vain."

general propositions, by which those ill consequences might be condemned, and the doctrine in general settled; leaving it free to the men of the different systems to adhere to their own opinions; but withal obliging them to judge charitably and favourably of others, and to maintain communion with them, notwithstanding that diversity.

"But till the Lutherans abate of their rigidity in censuring the opinions of the Calvinists, as charging God with all those blasphemous consequences that they think follow the doctrine of absolute decrees; and till the Calvinists in Holland, Switzerland, and Geneva, abate also on theirs, in charging the others as enemies to the grace of God, and as guilty of those consequences that they think follow the doctrine of conditionate decrees, it is not possible to see that much-wished-for agreement come to any good effect.

"When a man is inclined by strong arguments to an opinion, against which he sees difficulties which he cannot resolve, he ought either to suspend his assent, or if he sees a superiority of argument of one side, he may be determined by that, though he cannot satisfy even himself in the objections that are against it: In that case he ought to reflect on the weakness and defects of his faculties, which cannot rise up to full and comprehensive ideas of things, especially in that which relates to the attributes of God, and to his counsels or acts. If men can be brought once to apprehend this rightly, it may make propositions for peace and union hopeful and practicable; and till they are brought to this, all such propositions may well be laid aside; for men's minds are not yet prepared for that which can only reconcile this difference, and heal this breach."

Let any competent person examine the rival claims, which Oliver Cromwell and Archbishop Laud may have to the title of "a patron of religious toleration," and, whether he considers their respective labours *at home* or *abroad*, he will without hesitation adjudge the palm to the Prelate. The Archbishop's greatest crime, in the eyes of the British Predestinarians, was his determination to have the temperate *Articles of the Church of England* explained according to their literal and grammatical

* "That for myself, I am so far inclinable to peace, that I can yield to a christian communion at as great a distance of opinions as any Protestant whatsoever. For I hold, communion is not to be broken but for fundamentals; of which kind I take none of the differences between the Calvinists and Lutherans to be. Yet am I not so well versed in the subtilties of those controversies, as I think fit to adventure my judgment to the public view by an examination and censure of particulars, wherein my unskilfulness would too soon appear. Nor do I think this union, which every true Christian ought so much to desire, will ever be brought to pass by *a full decision of the controversies;* but only by abating of that vast distance which contention hath made, and by approaching the differences so near, as either party may be induced to tolerate the other, and acknowledge them for brethren and members of the same body."—MEDE's *Letter to Hartlib.*

signification, and to admit within its tolerant pale both Calvinists and Arminians: His efforts abroad were directed to a similar fraternal agreement, in all countries, between the Lutherans and Calvinists. And after the consolidation of these two great Protestant parties at home and abroad, it was his further purpose to have admitted the Greek Church and the Papists to a participation of its benefits, only on such conditions, as would have shorn the Pope of a great portion of his usurped dominion.—Cromwell's boasted toleration excluded the members of the Episcopal Church from its influence; and this very exclusion confined the benefits almost solely to the Calvinists:* For at that period, scarcely one of the many dissenting sects openly professed the doctrines of Arminianism: (page 687) The Protector's interference in religious matters abroad was very trifling, being restricted to his early friends the Calvinists in the south of France, who were persecuted by the Duke of Savoy, and to part of the claims of the Elector Palatine, the recognition of which he successfully advocated.

As the terms on which Cromwell's republican divines were willing to tolerate even their beloved Predestinarian brethren have been frequently misunderstood, and sometimes confounded with the highly benevolent plan of which Dury was the bearer, I subjoin a brief account of the former from JACKSON'S *Life of John Goodwin*, the truth and accuracy of which will be acknowledged by all those who are acquainted with the history of that eventful period: "When the friends of Cromwell were investing him with the Protectorate, they drew up a scheme of Polity, which they entitled, 'The Government of England;' and in which it was specified, that all classes of people should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, *who professed faith in God by Jesus Christ.* After this, the Usurper called a Parliament, who, on the examination of that clause, pronounced it to signify, *All who held the fundamental doctrines of Religion;* and accordingly appointed a Committee further to examine this subject, and to nominate a certain

* "The government of Cromwell, though tolerant enough towards most sects, except the Quakers and the Episcopalians, never ceased to treat these last with great and unmingled severity. The usurper himself was indeed, as is well known, averse to such measures, and personally well inclined, not only to many individuals of the Episcopal clergy, but even to their form of government. His inclinations were, however, obliged to give way to those of the zealots around him; and the whole history of the time evinces, that, *wicked and unwise as was the retaliation* which, a few years afterwards, the Episcopalians inflicted on their opponents, it was no more than RETALIATION after all, and what the opposite party therefore, on their own principles, had no right to complain of."—HEBER'S *Life of Bishop Taylor.*

I perfectly co-incide with the excellent Bishop in these remarks, except with regard to Cromwell's *alleged personal aversion to persecution*, which will be hereafter placed in its proper aspect. In the second volume, I shall have occasion to quote the Bishop's very just and enlightened views of the *retaliation* to which he here alludes, and of which the reader will find some mention made in pages 301, 302, and 512.

number of divines, who were to draw up a list of such doctrines; a professed belief of which was to be the test of toleration. The Committee consisted of about fourteen persons, who named every one his man. Archbishop Usher was nominated by Lord Broghill; but declined the service, on account of his age and infirmities, and his unwillingness to wrangle with the men who were to be associated with him. Mr. Baxter was therefore appointed in his stead, and accordingly sent for from Kidderminster to London. 'But before I came,' says he, 'the rest had begun 'otheir work, and drawn up some few of the propositions 'which they call Fundamentals.' In settling the business for which they were convened, these divines spent much time in learned strife and contention. Baxter, who was opposed to a general toleration, displayed greater liberality on this occasion than any of his colleagues. Possessing consummate acuteness and subtlety, by his objections and remarks he gave some of his brethren serious annoyance; and especially Dr. Owen, whose principles and spirit in this debate excite no very high opinion of his catholicism. 'One merry passage,' says Mr. Baxter, 'I remember, occasioned laughter. Mr. Simpson caused 'them to make this a fundamental: *He that alloweth himself, or others, in any known sin, cannot be saved.* I pleaded 'against the word *allowed;* and told them that many a thousand 'lived in wilful sin, which they could not be said to *allow* 'themselves in, but confessed it to be sin, and went on against 'conscience, and yet were impenitent and in a state of death; 'and that there seemed a litle contradiction between *known* sin 'and *allowed:* so far as a man *knoweth* that he sinneth, he doth 'not *allow,* that is, approve it. Other exceptions there were: 'but they would have their way, and my opposition did but 'heighten their resolution. At last I told them, as stiff as they 'were in their opinion and way, I would force them with one 'word to change or blot out all that Fundamental. I urged 'them to take my wager: and they would not believe me, but 'marvelled what I meant. I told them, that the Parliament 'took the Independent way of separation to be a sin; and when 'this article came before them, they would say, *By our brethren's 'judgment, we are all damned men, if we allow the Independents, or 'any other Sectaries, in their Sin.* They gave me no answer, but 'left out all that Fundamental.' It is scarcely necessary to remark, that several of these divines were of the Independent denomination, and that a large majority of the parliament were violent sticklers for Presbyterian uniformity."—What a woeful specimen is this of Calvinistic Fundamentals! How different from the plain and intelligible verities devised by the Arminians and proposed by Dury!

The Biographer of Owen, on many of whose bold and unfounded assertions I have already animadverted, enters into a

formal defence of the bigotry displayed by Owen and his co-adjutors, which had been severely censured even by Neal himself. Mr. Orme says, "Neal speaks as if the object of the divines had been to *legislate* on the subject of *Toleration*, or to direct the Parliament how far it might proceed in granting liberty of conscience. With the propriety of tolerating those who differed from them on the points of their Declaration, they had nothing to do."—This is exactly the cant phraseology which was employed by the leading men in the Synod of Dort: When some of the inferior members, who were not intrusted with the secret of the prejudication of the Arminians' fate, began to feel some misgivings of conscience, they proposed to the President a few questions about that matter, who replied, "he did not yet know what toleration the States General would allow." But Bogerman and his colleagues, as well as Cromwell's fourteen *Fundamentalists*, knew well the purposes for which they had beeen convened:* They knew, that they were devising an ecclesiastical test for all professing christians in both countries; and that those who could not comply with it, would be excluded from *civil privileges*, and not, as Mr. Orme whimsically intimates, "from holding the essentials of christiainty," which could be privately held in spite of all the injudicious enactments of Calvinistic Legislators. But the case against Cromwell's *Fundamentalists* is much stronger than that against the Dutch *Intolerants*: For the former were well acquainted with the debates in Parliament which had previously occurred on this subject, and out of which arose their appointment; and at least one of their number (Dr. Owen) was a member of that Parliament in which the matter had been discussed. The rest of Mr. Orme's sophistical finesse, which may be seen in the note appended to this page,* is unworthy of a serious reply: For though according to his axiom, "every man who preaches the

* "In consequence of the debate in the House, a Committee of fourteen was appointed to consider what were fundamentals, and that Committee was empowered to name each a divine, who should meet, and return their opinion on this delicate subject. The ministers who met, were Drs. Owen, Goodwin, and Cheynel; Messrs. Marshal, Reyner, Nye, Simpson, Vines, Manton, Jacomb, and Baxter. After several meetings, they at last returned a list of sixteen articles, in a paper endorsed, 'The principles of faith, presented by 'Messrs. Thomas Goodwin, Nye, Simpson, and other ministers, to the Com-'mittee of Parliament for religion, by way of explanation to the proposals 'for propagating the gospel.'

"Baxter gives a long and tiresome account of this meeting, ascribing the whole work of it to Dr. Owen, assisted by Nye, Goodwin, and Simpson. He assures us there was a great deal of wrangling, of which, by his own account, he was a principal cause. He says, 'Dr. Owen was hotter and better 'befriended in the assembly than himself;' and that 'he was then under 'great weakness and soporous, or scotomatical illness of his head.' He evidently laboured under his constitutional malady, disputacious pertinacity. What is surprising, he takes credit to himself, lover of peace and unity as he professed all his life to be, for defeating the unanimity that would have prevailed, had he not been there!

gospel is called to declare *what is fundamental in the christian religion,"* yet such a preacher ought to exercise much thought and a sound discretion, before he proposes his own either liberal or confined notions of *the necessary verities of the christian faith* as the foundation of a CIVIL TEST for others,—which was the business that Owen and his Calvinistic friends were specially deputed to consider. Though they were in that instance frustrated in their narrow intentions, yet their disappointment was compensated by the boon of Cromwell's two ordinances, which invested the TRIERS and EJECTORS with formidable powers resembling those of their brethren the Dutch Calvinists, of whose severe and cruel proceedings towards the Arminian clergy they were the willing and servile imitators.

As these Calvinistic divines intended by their Fundamentals, according to Neal, to exclude, "not only Deists, Socinians and

"Neal appears to have misunderstood the nature of this meeting, and the design of the framers of these articles. He speaks as if the object of the divines had been to legislate on the subject of toleration, or to direct the Parliament how far it might proceed in granting liberty of conscience. But the fact was simply this, they were called together by a Committee of the House to state, what, in their opinion, was fundamental or essential in Christianity. With the propriety of tolerating those who differed from them on the points of their declaration, they had nothing to do. The use to be made of their paper was no concern of theirs, and to the question proposed to them, they religiously adhered, as they gave no opinion of any kind on the subject of religious liberty. Instead of this, we should conclude from the title of the document, that it was intended for a different purpose, something about the propagation of the gospel. Where then is the occasion for Neal's language about the narrow list of fundamentals, given in by the Independents? So far from its being narrow, it seems to me to be very wide, being almost as general as the Apostles' Creed. I believe, most Christians would consider that it contained rather too little than too much. 'It appears,' Neal says, 'by these articles, that these divines intended to exclude, not 'only Deists, Socinians, and Papists, but Arians, Autinomians, Quakers, 'and others.' Exclude from what? Not from civil privileges, but from holding the essentials of Christianity. 'Into such difficulties do wise and 'good men fall when they usurp the kingly office of Christ, and pretend to 'restrain that liberty which is the birth-right of every reasonable creature.' The meeting under consideration fell into no difficulties, usurped no part of the office of Christ, and did nothing to restrain the liberty of others. 'It is 'an unwarrantable presumption for any number of men to declare what is 'fundamental in the Christian religion, any further than the Scriptures have 'expressly declared it.' If this sentence mean, that the Bible alone can decide what is necessary to salvation, no Christian doubts it. But if it mean that we have no right to declare what, in our opinion, must be believed in order to salvation, it is excessively absurd. Every man who preaches the gospel is called to declare this. Every society of Christians has a professed or implied belief on the subject; and there can be no impropriety in our giving an answer in any circumstances to what is asked us respecting it. 'Besides,' adds Neal, 'Why should the civil magistrate protect none but 'those who profess faith in God by Jesus Christ?' I also ask, why? The ministers were not called to answer it. Who proposed this as the law of toleration? Cromwell and his officers, or the Parliament, according to our historian himself!—Thus the main proof which has been alleged of the intolerant conduct of Independents, when possessed of power, completely fails; as this meeting and its acts had nothing to do with determining the bounds, either of civil or religious liberty. And whatever were its views or conduct, it should be noticed, that the majority of the ministers were Presbyterians."

Papists, but Arians, Antinomians, Quakers and others," it is not improbable that their design was frustrated by the leading Fanatics in the army, several of whom would have been liable to exclusion from the rights of citizens under one or other of those excepted denominations. With the whimsical absurdities of these men, of whom Col. Harrison and other officers of his class were the *unenlightened* leaders, Cromwell himself often felt it necessary to comply. After his death, when the whole nation was indulging a longing look towards Monarchy and Episcopacy, the restoration of which they durst scarcely expect, the fanatical army, perfectly aware of this strong national feeling for what were then called "the flesh-pots of Egypt," that existed in a suppressed form among all moderate men, recalled the remnant of the *Long Parliament* and acknowledged them as the chief authority in the Commonwealth: and to these their recalled friends, on the 12th of May 1659, the Officers of the Army presented "their humble Petition and Address." The following extract from it will shew, that they were exceedingly jealous of a second Calvinistic attempt to infringe the religious liberty, (if such it may be called,) which they had long enjoyed, and from the benefits of which they still excepted their old enemies, POPERY and PRELACY:—"Weighing with ourselves how, in the several late changes in government, that public spirit which appeared in that work hath since that time been discouraged, and *another raised up, drawing back to the same things you had contended against*, even to the hazarding the essentials of that cause, we did, upon serious thoughts of heart, think it our duty once more to appear against those backsliding ways: And providence having brought the state of affairs to the condition they were in some few days before your sitting, we found it necessary to assert amongst ourselves some of the FUNDAMENTALS of our *Good Old Cause*, with some other things conducing to the preservation thereof, with a full and fixed resolution, through the assistance of God, *effectually*, even to THE HAZARD OF OUR LIVES, to endeavour the recovery and security of the same. And the same good providence holding forth an opportunity to us to open unto you a way for the further discharge of your remaining trust in Parliament, we did, by our Declaration of this instant May, humbly desire that you would be pleased to return to the exercise and discharge thereof," &c. After other observations of a similar tendency, these men of war, who considered themselves as well qualified to settle affairs of state as articles of religion, produced the following as the sixth FUNDAMENTAL of the *Good Old Cause:* "That all persons who profess faith in God "the Father,—and in Jesus Christ, his eternal Son, the true "God,—and in the Holy Spirit, God co-equal with the Father "and the Son,—one God blessed for ever,—and who do "acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testa- "ment to be the revealed or written word or will of God, shall

" not be restrained from their profession, but have due encou-
" ragement and equal protection in the profession of their faith
" and exercise of religion, whilst they abuse not their liberty
" to the civil injury of others, or disturbance of others in
" their way of worship: So that this liberty be not extended to
" POPERY or PRELACY, nor to such as shall practise or hold forth
" licentiousness or profaneness under the profession of religion:
" And that all laws, statutes, or ordinances, and clauses in any
" laws, statutes, or ordinances to the contrary, may be declared
" null and void." These Fundamental preliminaries, more tolerant on the whole than those devised by Dr. Owen and his thirteen Calvinistic associates, possessed the advantage of being enforced by *sword-logic*, broad intimations of which are contained in the preceding extract.

Not only did the Fanatics in the army, from a selfish principle, prevent the imposition of the novel Fundamentals invented by Cromwell's fourteen divines; but " the sons of reason," the deistical members of the senate, Algernon Sidney, Harrington, Martin, and others who with less daring but with greater hypocrisy concealed their loose principles under the garb of a strict religious profession, all concurred in discountenancing this unwieldy and impracticable scheme of religious toleration.—Few men ever enjoyed such an opportunity of evincing the genuine catholicism of their sentiments, as " this Committee of Fourteen appointed to consider *what were Fundamentals:*" And there is not, I believe, an instance on record in which men of such vast professions more egregiously disappointed the just expectations of their admirers. If enlarged ideas about religious toleration had existed in any of their breasts, they would have been displayed in one form or other while the religious tests were under discussion; but their sole anxiety in all the debates seems to have been, to frame the terms of qualification for religious indulgence on as bigoted a basis as possible, and to exclude all who did not admire the doctrine of Calvin.

The depressed Episcopal Clergy, whose deep-rooted influence among the people had been weakened but never totally destroyed, and the well-informed lay-men, who had formerly been their hearers and who from education as well as conviction loved the venerable Church in whose bosom they had been nursed, could not be supposed to relish the restrictions, which their illiberal adversaries wished to fabricate, but which were soon afterwards as rigidly imposed on the clergy in the form of the Protector's persecuting ordinance of 1655.—But there were other lay-men, whose opinions could neither be called those of the Deists nor altogether those of the Orthodox. Of this class were SELDEN, MILTON, and several men of strong intellectual powers, all of whom, while they disapproved of the worrying disposition

manifested by contending sectaries, were the warm patrons of civil and religious liberty.* In page 448, and in other passages, I have bestowed deserved eulogies on many of these philanthropic individuals, who were generally known in that age by the name of "Erastians." Of their benevolent sentiments, which were the result of experience, the following paragraphs

* Not only in the page quoted in the text, but in several other passages, I have expressed my approbation of the endeavours of Bishops Hall and Davenant, to undo all that they had contributed to confirm, either by their presence or consent, at the Synod of Dort. The former evangelical Prelate, when taught by adversity, could declare, "I know no book so necessary as that *De Paucitate Credendorum*, that is, *Of the small number of things we are obliged to believe;* and there is no article so necessary as that, *We need not believe more than the Symbol of the Apostles.*"—What a marked difference between this benevolent sentiment, and those propounded in his Latin sermon before the Dutch Synod!

In addition to the account of Bishop Davenant's pious endeavours to contravene his own acts at Dort, (p. 713,) the following passage from Dr. Hammond's Letter to Dr. Sanderson, *Concerning God's Grace and Decrees*, will be perused with satisfaction: "St. Paul styles the gospel *the power of God unto salvation*, and the preaching of it *the administration of the Spirit;* and, indeed, the Spirit is, in scripture, promised only *to them who believe in Christ*. Speaking, therefore, of what may be maintained by scripture, and confining the speech to EVANGELICAL GRACE, the universality of it can be by that maintained to extend no farther than to those to whom the gospel is preached.—I remember the learned Bishop of Sarisbury, Dr. Davenant, in his Lent sermon, (I think, the last he preached before the King,) declared his opinion to be, as for UNIVERSAL REDEMPTION, so for UNIVERSAL GRACE *within the Church*: And as, for this, he was by none accounted an ARMINIAN, so I never heard any that was of the Remonstrants' persuasion unsatisfied with the scantness of that declaration, but thought it as much, as, speaking of *Evangelical Grace*, could with any reason, be required of him."

The Bishop's remark is exceedingly judicious and quite Arminian. As an amusing instance of the variety of significations which may be given to the term "Pelagianism," I subjoin Robert Baylie's reproachful mention of this matter. He had been previously arguing, with great show of reason, against that grand principle of Independency, "The members of every particular church are obliged, at their first admission, to shew to the whole congregation *convincing* signs of their regeneration and true grace." "This," says Robert, "requires a great deal of more ability in every member than can be found in any mortal man: For, how is it possible to attain unto any grounded certainty of true grace in the heart of any other man?: For the hidden man of the heart and the new name are not certainly known to any but to such as have them. The grounds of a man's own certain persuasion, the act of his faith either direct or reflex, the witness of his conscience, or the seal of the Spirit, cannot go without his own breast: All the demonstrations which can be made to another, are often found false.—If you will extend these places [of scripture] to every singular member of particular visible churches, the absurdity will be great; for so it will carry to the Pelagianism of Arminius in *the extent of the true grace of God beyond the elect*,—to ALL THE MEMBERS of a visible church; also to the total and final apostacy of many who are the temple of the Holy Ghost, the members of Christ, the faithful and sanctified children of God: For the argument maketh every member of any visible church to be such, and daily experience proves that many members of every visible church are castaways.—Yea, the argument drives further than any of the Arminians will follow; for, however, they extend the true and saving grace of God beyond the elect members of a church, yet none of them ever said that this sanctifying and saving grace must be in every person before they can be admitted members of any church: For this is that gross error which the Independents have learned, not so much from Arminius as from Socinus."

from MILTON's treatise *of true Religion*, &c. may be accounted a good exposition: (See also page 707:)

"The Pharisees and Sadducees were two sects, yet both met together in their common worship of God at Jerusalem. But here the Papist will angrily demand, *What! are Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Socinians, Arminians, no heretics?* I answer, all these may have some errors, but are no heretics. It is a human frailty to err, and no man is infallible here on earth. But so long as all these profess to set the word of God only before them as the rule of faith and obedience; and use all diligence and sincerity of heart, by reading, by learning, by study, by prayer for illumination of the Holy Spirit, to understand the rule and to obey it, they have done what man can do: God will assuredly pardon them, as he did the friends of Job; good and pious men, though much mistaken, as there it appears, in some points of doctrine. But some will say, *With christians it is otherwise, whom God hath promised by his Spirit to teach all things.* True, all things absolutely necessary to salvation: but the hottest disputes among Protestants, calmly and charitably enquired into, will be found less than such.—The Lutheran holds consubstantiation; an error indeed, but not mortal.—The Calvinist is taxed with predestination, and to make God the author of sin; not with any dishonourable thought of God, but, it may be, over-zealously asserting his absolute power, not without plea of Scripture.—The Anabaptist is accused of denying infants their right to baptism; again they say, they deny nothing but what the scripture denies them.—The Arian and Socinian are charged to dispute against the Trinity: they affirm to believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to scripture and the apostolic creed; as for terms of *trinity, trini-unity, co-essentiality, tri-personality*, and the like, they reject them as scholastic notions, not to be found in scripture, which, by a general Protestant maxim, is plain and perspicuous abundantly to explain its own meaning in the properest words, belonging to so high a matter, and so necessary to be known; a mystery indeed in their sophistic subtleties, but in scripture a plain doctrine. Their other opinions are of less moment. They dispute the satisfaction of Christ, or rather the word "satisfaction," as not scriptural: but they acknowledge him both God and their Saviour.—The Arminian lastly is condemned for setting up free-will against free-grace; but that imputation he disclaims in all his writings, and grounds himself largely upon scripture only.

"It cannot be denied, that the authors or late revivers of all these sects or opinions were learned, worthy, zealous, and religious men, as appears by their lives written, and the same of their many eminent and learned followers, perfect and powerful in the scriptures, holy and unblameable in their lives: and it cannot be imagined that God would desert such painful and zea-

lous labourers in his church, and oft-times great sufferers for their conscience, to damnable errors and a reprobate sense, who had so often implored the assistance of his Spirit;* but rather, having made no man infallible, that he hath pardoned their errors, and accepts their pious endeavours, sincerely searching all things according to the rule of scripture, with such guidance and direction as they can obtain of God by prayer. What Protestant then, who himself maintains the same principle, and disavows all implicit faith, would *persecute*, and not rather charitably *tolerate* such men as these, unless he mean to abjure the principles of his own religion? If it be asked, *how far they should be tolerated:* I answer, doubtless EQUALLY, as being all Protestants; that is, on all occasions to give account of their faith, either by arguing, preaching in their several assemblies, public writing, and the freedom of printing. What can it be, but *love of contention*, for

* I am afraid that if the Arians and Socinians, whom Milton has specified in the preceding extract, displayed as much deference to the supposed *competency of their own reason* as their successors have done, they would not be included in the number of those "who have OFTEN implored the assistance of the Holy Spirit." For, though they cannot say, with the early disciples at Ephesus, (Acts xix, 2,) "We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost;" yet, by the profane ridicule which many of them pour upon all humble applications to that *Divine Source of Instruction and Consolation*, they evidently exclude themselves from the benefit of Milton's generous exception. They know the scriptural direction, "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, (that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not,) and it shall be given him." "But," it is added, "let him ask in faith:" This, in its lowest acceptation, of an historic faith, an acknowledgment of the Divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, is the main rock of offence to these men, the greater part of whom disbelieve the heavenly origin of the doctrines and declarations of the Old and New Testaments, and who consequently will never be expected to submit to "ask *in faith.*" To such individuals the following very important observations, if duly regarded, may be of essential service: "When once the evidence of a Divine revelation is admitted, our duty *to receive its doctrines* does not rest upon the RATIONAL EVIDENCE we may have of their truth; but upon the much easier and plainer evidence, that *they are among the things actually revealed.* He, therefore, who admits a Divine revelation, and rejects its doctrines, because he has not a satisfactory rational evidence of them, is more obviously criminal in his unbelief than he who rejects the revelation itself, for he openly debates the case with his Maker, a circumstance which indicates, in the most striking manner, a corrupt habit of *mind.*—Should any of the great qualities required in a serious and honest enquirer after truth have been uncultivated and unapplied, though a sincere conviction of the truth of an erroneous conclusion may exist, the guilt of unbelief would not be removed by such kind of sincerity. If there has been no anxiety to be right; no prayer, earnest and devout, offered to God, to be kept from error; if an humble sense of human liability to err has not been maintained; if diligence in looking out for proofs, and patience and perseverance in enquiry, have not been exerted; if honesty in balancing evidence, and a firm resolution to embrace the truth, whatever prejudices or interests it may contradict or oppose, have not been felt; even *sincerity*,—in believing that to be true, which may appear to be so, in the present state of a judgment determined (probably) before all the means of information have been resorted to, and, perhaps, under the perverting influences of a worldly or carnal state of mind,—will be no excuse. We are under 'a law of faith,' and that law cannot be supposed to be so pliable and nugatory, as they who contend for the right of believing only what they please, would make it."—WATSON'S *Theological Institutes.*

things not necessary to be done to molest the conscience of his brother, who holds them necessary to be not done? Let such a one but call to mind his own principles above-mentioned, and he must necessarily grant, that neither he can impose, nor the other believe or obey, aught in religion, but from the word of God only. In the sixth article of the Church of England it is said, 'Whatsoever is not read in holy scripture, nor may be 'proved thereby, is not to be required of any man as an article of 'faith, or necessary to salvation.' And certainly what is not so, is not to be required at all; as being an addition to the word of God expressly forbidden.

"Let us now enquire whether Popery be tolerable or no. Popery is a double thing to deal with, and claims a two-fold power, ecclesiastical and political, both usurped, and the one supporting the other. But ecclesiastical is ever pretended to political. Since, through the infinite mercy and favour of God, we have shaken off his Babylonish yoke, the Pope hath not ceased by his spies and agents, bulls and emissaries, *once* to destroy both king and parliament; *perpetually* to seduce, corrupt, and pervert as many as they can of the people. Whether therefore it be fit or reasonable, to tolerate men *thus principled in religion toward the State,* I submit it to the consideration of all magistrates, who are the best able to provide for their own and the public safety. As for tolerating the exercise of their religion, supposing their state-activities not to be dangerous, I answer, that toleration is either *public* or *private;* and the exercise of their religion, as far as it is idolatrous, can be tolerated neither way:* not *publicly,* without grievous and unsufferable scandal given to all conscientious beholders; not *privately,* without great offence to God, declared against all kind of idolatry, though secret.

"It must now be thought how to remove Popery, and hinder the growth thereof, I mean in our natives, and not foreigners, privileged by the law of nations. Are we to punish them by corporal punishment, or fines in their estates, upon account of

* BAYLE's remark on this doctrine is exceedingly just and important, and its spirit cannot be too frequently inculcated, in these days, by every real friend to religious liberty: "By this scrap of Milton's doctrine it is easy to discover, that no one was more zealous than he for toleration. They who are not for excluding the Roman Catholics from the same indulgence, and who consequently limit toleration much less than he, are not, *as appears at first sight,* the most faithful to the cause of toleration. These men, by an excessive zeal for toleration, run into the contrary extreme with regard to the persecuting sects; and as Popery has, time out of mind, been *the most persecuting of all the sects,* and incessantly torments both the bodies and the souls of the other Christians wheresoever it has the power, THE MOST PASSIONATE FRIENDS OF TOLERATION *exclude it from that benefit.*"

Milton's opinion on this point was in exact agreement with that of Arminius, quoted in page 621, in which all his Dutch followers, with the exception of Grotius, were his imitators; and in what region of the globe were ever yet discovered more enlightened, sincere, or decided friends of civil and religious freedom? See also page 693.

their religion? I suppose it stands not with the clemency of the gospel, more than what appertains to the security of the State: but first we must remove their idolatry, and all the furniture thereof, whether idols, or the Mass wherein they adore their God under bread and wine. If they say, that *by removing their idols we violate their consciences,* we have no warrant to regard conscience which is not grounded on scripture: and they themselves confess in their late defences, that they hold not their images necessary to salvation, but only as they are enjoined them by tradition. Shall we condescend to dispute with them? The scripture is our only principle in religion; and by that only they will not be judged, but will add other principles of their own, which, forbidden by the word of God, we cannot assent to. And (in several places of the gospel) the common maxim also in logic is, 'against them who deny principles, we are not to dispute.' Let them bound their disputations on the scripture only, and an ordinary Protestant, well read in the Bible, may turn and wind their doctors. They will not go about to prove their idolatries by the word of God, but turn to shifts and evasions, and frivolous distinctions.—The next means to hinder the growth of Popery will be, *to read duly and diligently the holy scriptures,* which, as St. Paul saith to Timothy, who had known them from a child, 'are able to make wise unto salvation.' The Papal antichristian church permits not her laity to read the Bible in their own tongue: our church on the contrary hath proposed it to all men, and to this end translated it into English, with profitable notes on what is met with obscure, though what is most necessary to be known be still plainest; that all sorts and degrees of men, not understanding the original, may read it in their mother tongue. Neither let the countryman, the tradesman, the lawyer, the physician, the statesman, excuse himself by his much business from the studious reading thereof. Our Saviour saith, Luke x. 41, 42:—'Thou art careful and troubled about many things, but one thing is needful.'—Another means to abate Popery arises from the constant reading of Scripture, wherein believers, who agree in the main, are every where exhorted *to mutual forbearance and charity one towards the other,* though dissenting in some opinions. It is written, that the coat of our Saviour was without seam; whence some would infer, that there should be no division in the church of Christ. It should be so indeed; yet seams in the same cloth neither hurt the garment nor misbecome it; and not only seams, but schisms will be, while men are fallible: but if they who dissent in matters not essential to belief, while the common adversary is in the field, shall stand jarring and pelting at one another, they will be soon routed and subdued. The Papist with open mouth makes much advantage of our several opinions; not that he is able to confute the worst of them, but that we by our continual jangle among ourselves

make them worse than they are indeed.—The last means to avoid Popery is, *to amend our lives:* It is a general complaint, that this nation of late years is grown more numerously and excessively vicious than heretofore: pride, luxury, drunkenness, whoredom, cursing, swearing, bold and open atheism every where abounding: Where these grow, no wonder if Popery grow also apace.—Let us therefore, using this last means, (*last* here spoken of, but *first* to be done,) amend our lives with all speed; lest through impenitency we run into that stupidity which we now seek all means so warily to avoid, the worst of superstitions and the heaviest of all God's judgments, Popery."

But among the sectaries themselves arose a class of divines, who, on account of their firm attachment to the sound principles of civil and religious liberty, subsequently became the glory of the Episcopal Church and the boast of Great Britain. Many of these excellent men had known the Church of England only in the days of her captivity; and, a short time prior to the constitution of the Calvinistic commissions of TRIERS and EJECTORS, had accepted ecclesiastical preferment under the republican rulers. Disgusted with the arrogance, fanaticism, and ignorance of the ministers whom it was their misfortune to own as associates,* they exami-

* One instance of this disgust I subjoin, as it occurs in the *Life of Dr. Owen*, with Mr. Orme's lame strictures appended to it:—

" 'Tillotson told me,' says Bishop Burnet, 'that a week after Cromwell's death, he, being by accident at Whitehall, and hearing that there was to be a fast that day in the household, out of curiosity, went into the presence-chamber where it was held. On one side of a table, Richard, with the rest of Cromwell's family was placed, and six of the preachers were on the other side—Thomas Goodwin, Owen, Caryl, and Sterry, were of the number. There he heard a great deal of strange stuff, enough to disgust a man for ever of that enthusiastic boldness. God was, as it were, reproached with Cromwell's services, and challenged for taking him away so soon. Goodwin, who had pretended to assure them in a prayer *that he was not to die*, which was but a very few minutes before he expired, had now the impudence to say, *Thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived.* Sterry, praying for Richard, used those indecent words, *Make him the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his person.*'

" The same story is repeated on the authority of Burnet, in BIRCH'S *Life of Tillotson.*—Without impeaching the veracity, either of Tillotson or of Burnet, there are circumstances which induce a strong suspicion of the accuracy of the anecdote. The gossiping disposition of Burnet led him to commit many mistakes; and writing down conversations about others long after they were held, was no great security for fidelity. That such a meeting took place, is highly probable; but it looks somewhat suspicious, that Tillotson, who was then only a divinity stripling without a name, should, from mere curiosity, presume to go into the presence-chamber of the Protector on such an occasion. Burnet does not seem to have adverted to the fact, that Goodwin's words, with which Tillotson was offended, are the very words of the prophet Jeremiah, (chap. xx, 7); and they were used, in all probability, in the very sense in which the prophet employs them, not as denoting what God had done, but only what he had permitted men to do. 'Thou has suffered us to deceive ourselves, and we have been deceived.' Nothing is put into the mouth of Owen; and I am quite satisfied that he was not there. We know from himself, that he had not been with Cromwell on his death-bed, nor long before. He was none of the household chaplains,

ned the creeds and pretensions of the various contending sects, and became at length decided converts to the holy and tolerant system of Arminius. Their union therefore with the Episcopal

and this was a private household fast. He was not a favourite of Richard's; not likely, therefore, to be asked on such an occasion; and still less likely to be a volunteer. The entire story seems a compound of imperfect recollections, exaggerated in the repetition, with a view to get a hit at the fanaticism of Cromwell's chaplains."

Though my own estimate of Bishop Burnet's historical fidelity is very low, yet I consider him, on any point, as competent a witness as Dr. Owen, and far superior to Mr. Orme. When the Bishop first published this display of Calvinistic fanaticism, which, if we may believe the veritable Mr. Orme, was not graced even with the *presence* of the Doctor, many persons were still in being who could have contradicted this anecdote had it been capable of successful contradiction, and who were extremely forward to bear their testimony against more trifling affairs, if the least flaw occurred in the narration. But no such contradictory evidence on this point was ever given. Birch's reputable evidence to the fact is an additional voucher. Mr. Orme's reasons for attempting to invalidate Burnet's account, are very apparent: Owen's presence on such an occasion, if allowed to stand as a well-attested historical fact, would have inflicted a still deeper stain on the Doctor's character, by exhibiting in a striking manner the base duplicity of his subsequent conduct towards the new Protector. The prayers which Owen uttered before his friends of the Wallingford-house party, when he exclaimed concerning Richard Cromwell, "He must down, and he shall down!," would have presented an awkward contrast to the court-prayers of his enthusiastic brethren, had not Mr. Orme with much industry but with small success endeavoured to exculpate his Independent friend, and free him at once from both these charges. To accomplish this favourite purpose, he adopts his usual method of rash and unfounded assertions; and, in each of the cases, opposes his own potent sayings, "I BELIEVE" and "I AM QUITE SATISFIED," to the most stubborn historic facts. In the Wallingford-house affair, he tries to impugn the testimony of his Dissenting brethren, Neal, Baxter, Palmer, Calamy, and Sylvester, though the latter of these writers "applied to Dr. Owen's widow to explain these passages if she could;" but, says Mr. Orme, "she left him to do what he pleased." Dr. Calamy's attempt to prove that "*Owen had told a public lie*," which is Mr. Orme's own phraseology about this matter, was viewed by the men of that age as an enterprise towards which the party accused had himself contributed satisfactory evidence: For Owen's versatility of disposition and seditious conduct had then been more narrowly investigated and correctly appreciated, than they are by his modern ill-informed biographer.

But some of this man's reasons for being "*quite satisfied* that Owen was not" present at *the household fast*, are of the most curious description, and such as were never before offered to the world in refutation of any statement. His "not having been with Cromwell on his death-bed nor *long before*," if it even were a well attested fact, would be too indefinite to be of any service in the way of disproof; as would likewise "his not being a favourite of Richard Cromwell's, and not likely, therefore, to be *asked* on such an occasion." He had, indeed, become personally obnoxious to Cromwell, on account of the insidious part which he acted, at the instigation of Desborough, Pride, Fleetwood, and others of the Wallingford-house party, when he drew up the petition which Colonel Mason presented to the Parliament, against the assumption of ROYALTY by their General, whose son Richard seems to have formed a right estimate of the politic Independent, and dismissed him from the office of Vice-chancellor of Oxford. (Page 382.) But, though thus discarded both by the father and son, it is a fact well known to all who are extensively read in the private history of that crisis, that Owen, in common with the various sectarian ministers, was a frequent visiter, or rather lounger, at Court. Dr. Gauden, whose Puritanical connections among the disloyal nobility made him acquainted with the most minute cir-

Church, at the Restoration, and their able defences of Episcopacy, were necessary consequences of their having embraced

cumstances of that era, favoured the world with a description of some of these pragmatical divines and their practices, which I have quoted in the second volume, and in which he declares, "We have daily seen many petty "Presbyterian and Independent preachers as busy as bees, and every "where eager sticklers in all secular councils and affairs, &c. How prone "are they still, [in 1659] *uncalled*, to crowd or insinuate into all *public*, yea "into *cabinet* councils, both military and civil?" Aware of his being an unwelcome guest at Court, Owen might not for a time be quite so constant in his attendance as he had formerly been; but it is certain, that he did not entirely intermit his accustomed visits, and that his associating with the other Independent and Presbyterian ministers in the presence-chamber was one mode by which the high Republicans obtained a part of their information. Besides, the politicians just enumerated, to whom he had devoted himself, were a party sufficiently powerful to create serious alarm to Cromwell during the few last months of his existence; and, how willing soever the Protector or his son Richard might have been to insult Owen on such occasions, they durst not, under these circumstances, have made the attempt. Indeed, in those the days of his audaciousness, much plain-dealing would have been necessary to render the Doctor sensible of a Court-affront.—But had this excuse, which is of Mr. Orme's invention, been true, it would not have operated to the Doctor's advantage: For if such loose verbiage as he has adduced were allowed to substantiate the plea of an *alibi*, many culprits at an Old Bailey Sessions would evade punishment. But, in moral or historical evidence, the bare plea of such an excuse, deficient as it is of all collateral support from facts, is wicked in the extreme. Yet I am almost inclined to believe, that there is more of *weakness* than of *wickedness* in the defence which Mr. Orme has instituted: For, at the close of his inconsequent reasoning about Owen's absence from the household-fast, with evident self-complacency he subjoins, "Where the characters of others are "involved, the testimony of Bishops and Archbishops ought to be subject to "the same laws of evidence which regulate that of other men." No man could draw this conclusion from flimsy premises, unless, through the weakness of his understanding, or the partiality of his affections, he supposed himself to have accomplished a mighty achievement. What effect this feeble blow at the chief members of the hierarchy may produce, among such of Mr. Orme's brethren as are governed in their conclusions more by their passions than by the strict laws of evidence, I will not predict; but I may venture to say, that no Dissenter possessed either of common discernment or christian moderation, will be induced to hesitate about one particle in the testimony of Tillotson, Burnet, and Birch, about this matter, after all the quirks and quibbles of Owen's biographer.

But another part of Mr. Orme's account displays still more the woeful deficiency of his information, and his utter incapacity to elucidate the period about which he has written: I allude to his remark concerning Tillotson, whom he denominates "a Divinity stripling without a name." Were the athletic minister of an Independent congregation at Perth in Scotland to arrive in town, with a packet of papers under his arm,—suppose them to be prosy communications to the Congregational Magazine, under the title of "Remarks on Heber's Life of Jeremy Taylor," or the "Review" of some work containing animadversions on "Orme's Memoirs of Dr. Owen,"—whatever the contents of his packet might be, were such an able-bodied man, in pure ignorance of the modern rules of court-etiquette, to force a passage into Carlton-palace, and try to obtain a sight of his most gracious Majesty and the members of the royal household, every person resident in London, on hearing of such presumption, would call it "a very rude and indecorous intrusion." Just such a representation as this, Mr. Orme had undoubtedly been conjuring up in his mind, when he wrote this clause, "It looks some-"what suspicious, that Tillotson, who was then only a divinity stripling with-"out a name, should, from mere curiosity, presume to go into the presence-"chamber of the Protector on such an occasion." I have shewn, at the

the benevolent doctrines of GENERAL REDEMPTION.* Of these consistent advocates of civil and religious liberty I shall, in the second volume of this work, give a more particular description:

commencement of these observations, and shall in the second volume prove, yet more clearly, the easy terms of ingress and egress at the Court of Whitehall, which, under the new order of things, the republican preachers possessed: This circumstance would of itself be sufficient to account for Tillotson's appearance among the Divines in waiting. The recent subversion of Church and State had been so peculiarly the effect of the unhallowed exertions of Independent and Presbyterian divines, as to entitle the most noisy and violent of them to peculiar favour at the new Court, under the different forms which it assumed during twenty years of anarchy and despotism. Dr. Tillotson, however, was too good a man to be entitled, *on either of these grounds*, to an access to the Protector's presence; and the suspicion of Arminianism under which he laboured while only a junior member of the University of Cambridge, would, at least under the rule of old Oliver, have obtained for him no tokens of court-regard, had not more substantial reasons for his right of approach been in existence. What estimate will the reader form of the accuracy of Mr. Orme when he is told, that this "divinity stripling" was then in the twenty-ninth year of his age? But he will be still more amazed when he learns, that Tillotson might, from other motives than those of mere curiosity, "presume to go into the presence-chamber of the Protector:" He was entitled at that period to such an indulgence, *on account of his intended relationship* to Richard Cromwell, who became his cousin by marriage! Few literary men, especially of the ecclesiastical order, will require the further information, that the celebrated Dr. Wilkins, afterwards elevated to the Bench of Bishops, married Oliver Cromwell's sister. She had been previously married to Dr. French; and to Miss French, her daughter, Mr. Tillotson is said to have been then betrothed; and, highly to his credit, about three years after the Restoration, they were happily united in the bands of holy matrimony.—It would be no unchristian act of retaliation were I, in this place, to employ Mr. Orme's axiom, which, he will perceive, is exceedingly flexible, yet just *when properly applied*, "Where the characters of others are involved, the testimony of Independent deacons or pastors "ought to be subject to those laws of evidence which regulate that of other "men."

To a man like Tillotson, whose early conversion to Arminianism has always been ascribed to his perusal of CHILLINGWORTH'S famous book, these accredited scenes of fanatical impiety must have been very disgusting.

* I know only of one instance of those who had, through conviction, embraced Arminianism during the Inter-regnum, and who refused at the Restoration to conform to the established regimen: This was TOBIAS CONYERS. Deserving, therefore, of distinct and special record is the remarkable fact, that though none of the objectionable parts of the Act of Uniformity had any reference to the disputes between Arminians and Calvinists; yet the latter and a few Baxterians, with the solitary exception just recited, were the only sufferers on that memorable occasion. That enactment is not even pretended to have been a trap artfully framed to ensnare the Nonconformists *as Calvinists*; but, after all my reading on this subject, I have not been able to resolve such *an almost universal and voluntary infliction of* SELF-PUNISHMENT on the high Predestinarian ministers, into any thing less than *a marked act of Divine retribution*. See pages 301 and 512. Some Calvinistic ministers, however, remained in the church, just in sufficient numbers to prove, that Conformity or Non-conformity had no direct reference to doctrinal matters.

JOHN GOODWIN may be reckoned by some persons a second Arminian exception. But he had no opportunity of evincing his choice of Conformity or Non-conformity, as he was excluded prior to 1662, by the Act of Indemnity, from "holding any office, ecclesiastical, civil, or military." The very elegant, judicious, and candid "LIFE" of this great genius, which, "comprising an Account of his Opinions and Writings," has lately been presented to the public by my excellent friend, the Rev. Thomas JACKSON,

at present I content myself with the following notice from Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History:*

"The public calamities, that flowed from these vehement and uncharitable disputes about religion, afflicted all wise and good

exhibits a fine example of the influence and progress of the benign doctrines of Arminianism upon the mind of a man who, at the commencement of the Civil Wars, was a rigid Calvinist. Similar blessed effects of the same doctrines on the minds of the Latitude-men are briefly narrated in a succeeding note; (p. 800,) and it will be shewn in Appendix M, that as soon as "the system of the famous EPISCOPIUS, was embraced by any man, "for the model of the doctrinal part of his religion," (p. 795,) his former rigid ideas immediately began to relax on all subjects connected with civil and religious freedom. This gradual amelioration in opinion, accompanied with a correspondent liberality of feeling, is very perceptible in the case of Mr. Goodwin, who, in 1644, ably pleaded for as ample a toleration as that of which Milton was afterwards the advocate. (P. 781.) He was the first Englishman who, on his gradual departure from the ranks of Calvinism, exhibited to the world and defended the scriptural doctrine of *the duty of the civil magistrate in matters of religion*, on the same principles as those avowed above thirty years before, by Grotius, Uiteubogardt, and others of the Dutch Arminians.

The ideas on this subject, which, in that age, nearly all the Calvinists in Europe maintained, were exceedingly dangerous to those civil governments that happened not to comport with them. The Puritans in England adopted those erroneous ideas in their envenomed warfare with King Charles the First, whom they regarded as "an unchristian monarch, and *therefore* to be resisted." But as soon as their friends had obtained the supremacy, and Presbyterianism became the established form of church-government, the allegiance, which had been previously refused to their lawful sovereign, was universally required, from every individual in the nation, to a Power that they denominated "truly christian, and, *on that account*, to be obeyed."—Their conduct is well exposed in the following passage from one of Goodwin's earliest pamphlets on this controversy:

"Before he [the civil magistrate] was truly christian, he had, say the Presbyterians generally, no power to punish, fine, imprison, banish any of his subjects for the exercise of their conscience towards God; but *by virtue of that great mercy vouchsafed to him by God*, in giving him fellowship with the saints in Jesus Christ, he is invested with a new power to persecute the saints, to make them pay dearly for having consciences, it may be, better than his own; at least, better than to comply outwardly with what they cannot inwardly digest and approve.—If this be the case between a Christian, and the civil magistrate under whom he lives, he hath small encouragement to pray for the conversion of such a magistrate to the truth, in case he were heterodox or Pagan; it being far better for him to live under such a magistracy, which hath no power to misuse him for his conscience-sake, than under that which hath [such a power], and is made to believe that it ought to use it accordingly."

On the whole, Goodwin's spirited resistance to the tyranny of the dominant Calvinists must be regarded as another notable instance of the controlling providence of God, by which he over-rules the weak or the wicked actions of his creatures, (which, whether they be heeded by us or not, are constantly occurring,) for the accomplishment of his own wise and beneficent designs. To Mr. Goodwin's character no stigma could attach, except that of being inclined to *the new order of things*, and having written in defence of the regicides,—two circumstances which, in those twenty years of misrule, were no disparagement to him among many of his cotemporaries. Orme says, "John Goodwin was one of the most extraordinary men of his age and "profession, whose opinions, talents, and contests, according to Owen, ren-"dered him an object of no ordinary attention; and whose controversial "powers were of the highest order. He had a great command of language, "trimmed and adorned with all manner of signal improvements." When,

men, and engaged several, who were not less eminent for their piety than for their moderation and wisdom, to seek after some method of uniting such of the contending parties as were capa-

therefore, he defended a general toleration on broader principles than those of Dr. Owen, (p. 416.) he gained the attention of his compeers, many of whom, by the rude shocks in Church and State, had been loosed from the rigid notions which they had previously imbibed, and were thus prepared for the reception of the TRUTH on these subjects, under whatever form it might present itself. Had any Episcopal divine written with such animation and irresistible vigour in defence of Toleration, he would have received the reproach which Mr. Orme has unjustly cast upon Dr. Jeremy Taylor, and which has been repelled with signal ability by Bishop Heber. (See page 806.) "*The Liberty of Prophesying*," says Owen's biographer, "deserves to be viewed, —either as the special pleading of a party counsellor,—or the production of Jeremy Taylor, deprived of his benefice and the privileges of his profession, imploring relief." This is no valid objection to the force of Taylor's arguments; for the intrinsic properties of truth are not altered by the character or situation of the man who becomes their advocate. But this, though a modern expression of malevolence, was the embittered language almost universally employed by Goodwin's former friends, against such of the depressed Episcopal party as pleaded for the common rights of Toleration. Goodwin himself did not escape the virulent animadversions of his Calvinistic brethren, who could not brook TOLERANT COUNSEL when tendered by "a man their equal, their guide, and acquaintance." They spoke of his liberality, when placed in contrast with their intolerance, as virtually the bitter reproaches of an enemy, which were beyond all human endurance. (Psalm lv. 12.) Among all the instances of caustic ribaldry which were exhibited in the age of republican lampooning, there is none to be compared with that which John Goodwin was doomed on this account to endure. In self-defence, he constantly appealed to the *soundness* of his political creed as "a Commonwealth's-man;" and it has always been my opinion, that, how sincere soever might be his own convictions of the lawfulness of the crime of the regicides, his subsequent excesses in defending that most cruel and obnoxious measure, had their origin—either in the *politic desire* of appearing to surpass in zeal the most violent of the republican partizans, and of thus evincing the purity of his reputed patriotism,—or in the *honest warmth and frankness* of the man, which prompted him to give instant utterance to his erroneous views of public justice. His conduct, perhaps, proceeded from a combination of both these causes; but, on either supposition, he proved himself to be a more upright and decided character than Dr. Owen, who is praised by Mr. Orme for having been "exceedingly cautious of *committing himself* by expressing an opinion," when he was "employed, the day after the King's death, to preach before the regicides." See the note in page 340.

But Arminianism obtained trophies for itself even among the Republicans; and its more benignant influence is well depicted in the difference observable between Owen and John Goodwin. Both of them derived their ideas about civil and religious freedom from the writings of the Dutch Remonstrants. Orme says, Dr. Owen wrote a Latin tract, about the year 1643, which, "besides "treating of the Priesthood of Christ, seems to have been intended as an "answer to the views of the Dutch Remonstrants on *Liberty of Prophesying*." He then presents his readers with the following quotation from Owen's *Defence of Cotton*, which was published in 1658: "I remember, about fifteen years ago, [which would be 1643,] that, meeting with a learned friend, we fell into some debate about the liberty that began then to be claimed by men, differing from what had been (Episcopacy), and what was then likely to be established (Presbytery), having at that time made no farther inquiry into the grounds and reasons of such liberty—than what had occurred to me in *the writings of the Remonstrants*, I delivered my judgment *in opposition to the liberty pleaded for*, which was then defended by my learned friend. Not many years after, discoursing the same difference with the same person, we found immediately that we had changed stations; I pleading for an indul-

ble of listening to the dictates of charity and reason, or at least of calming their animosities, and persuading them to mutual forbearance. These pacific doctors offered themselves as mediators between the more violent *Episcopalians* on the one hand, and the more rigid *Presbyterians* and *Independents* on the other; and hoped that, when their differences were accommodated, the

gence of liberty, he for restraint."—The writings of the Remonstrants, it is seen, were the sources from which both Owen and Goodwin derived that doctrine of *religious liberty*, which they pleaded in toleration of their sentiments, when their party was oppressed by the Presbyterians. But with this doctrine Goodwin almost simultaneously imbibed that of General Redemption, and the latter rendered the amplitude of the former much more distinct and apparent. Owen, on the contrary, borrowed only just as much of the Dutch doctrine of mutual toleration, as served a temporary purpose, and fenced it about with many restrictions, which might enable its advocate virtually to disclaim it at a convenient season. Such an occasion offered itself in 1654, when Owen was guilty of the very *dereliction of his own principles*, which his rash and ignorant biographer has produced (p. 808,) as a capital but false charge against Dr. Jeremy Taylor; and the terms on which he was willing, in those days of expected triumph, to tolerate his Calvinistic brethren of the Presbyterian persuasion, were so narrow and illiberal as to excite strong animadversions from Richard Baxter, whose "account of that meeting," for a very plain reason, appears to Mr. Orme "long and tiresome." (Page 776.) Owen's views of toleration, which partook of the narrowness of his religious system, have been detailed in page 416. Let them be compared with the following sentiments on the same subject, which were published by Goodwin in 1644, and it will be instantly apparent *how far* ARMINIANISM *transcends* CALVINISM *in candour and liberality!* "The grand pillar of this co-ercive power in magistrates is this angry argument: 'What! 'would you have all religions, sects, and schisms, tolerated in christian 'churches? Should Jews, Turks, and Papists be suffered in their religions, 'what confusions must this needs breed both in Church and State!'—I answer, that they ought to be tolerated, only upon this supposition, *that the professors of them be otherwise peaceable in the State, and every way subject to the laws and lawful power of the magistrate.*—God's design, as well as ours, is *unity amongst the saints in matters of faith and knowledge.* But by what means hath he projected the obtaining of this desire? Mark, he doth not say, that he gave some *Kings*, and some *Princes*, and some *Judges*, and *Justices of the Peace*, some *Pursuevants*, and some *Jailors*, to bring men into the unity of the faith; but 'He gave some *Apostles*, and some *Prophets*, and some *Evangelists*, and some *Pastors and Teachers*,' to bring this desirable end to pass. And if we would make more use of *these instruments of God*, of Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, and less of those other, *which are our own*, for quenching those divisions that are amongst us; we might, in all likelihood, see our desires in this, many years sooner than by any other course we are like to do."

This eminent man was, among the Republicans, the great reviver and propagator of a purer species of Arminianism, than that which was then promulgated by the Remonstrants in Holland; and many of the Latitudinarians in both the English Universities, whose literary and religious existence was then only in a course of *commencement*, derived from his writings, seconded by those of the mild and orthodox of the Episcopal Arminians, all the salutary doctrines relative to civil and ecclesiastical liberty, for which their memories are deservedly blessed by their successors. This topic will receive additional illustration in the second volume. Enough, however, has been adduced in proof of the extensive spread of Arminianism during the Interregnum: The sectaries, who, in the sharp conflict for religious toleration, repaired to that pure source for appropriate arguments, returned *generally* from the search with more hallowed feelings and liberal opinions than they had previously possessed. See pages 689 and 798.

lesser factions would fall of themselves. The contests that reigned between the former, turned partly on the forms of church government and public worship, and partly on certain religious tenets, more especially those that were debated between the Arminians and Calvinists. To lessen the breach that kept these two great communities at such a distance from each other, the arbitrators, already mentioned, endeavoured to draw them out of their narrow enclosures, to render their charity more extensive, and widen the paths of salvation, which bigotry and party-rage had been labouring to render inaccessible to many good christians.* This noble and truly evangelical method of proceeding procured to its authors the denomination of *Latitudinarians*. Their views, indeed, were generous and extensive. They were zealously attached to the forms of ecclesiastical government and worship that were established in the church of *England*, and they recommended episcopacy with all the strength and power of their elequence; but they did not go so far as to look upon it as of *divine institution*,† or absolutely and indispensably necessary to the consti-

* In the Introduction to this volume I have given some account of the scruples concerning church-government that were injected into my mind, when I was in a course of preparation for entering into Holy Orders; and the pacific admissions made by several very eminent Episcopal Divines, at the commencement and towards the close of the Inter-regnum, produced in me, for a season, a considerable bias in favour of a modified species of Presbyterianism. Archbishop Usher, Bishops Taylor, Sanderson, Gauden, Stillingfleet, Dr. Hammond, and others who were able and most consistent defenders of Episcopacy, were ready, for the sake of peace, to concede a few peculiarities of Episcopal regimen, to the prejudices of the Puritans. If some of those excellent men *seemed* to alter in their views after the Restoration, sufficient causes for the change may be discovered in the new features which Dissent then assumed, and the towering pretensions which it preferred.

† Among the ignorant praters about Liberty, the utmost laxity of signification exists respecting the nature of *Jus Divinum*, and it varies according to the subjects to which the term is applied: In their vocabulary, it is an appropriate epithet when bestowed upon *the rights of the people*, for *vox populi* is with them *vox Dei*; but let any more sincere and consistent lovers of liberty than themselves speak about the equal propriety of its application to *the rights of the Sovereign*, and it is instantly stigmatized as a term synonimous with *tyranny*. The *divine institution* of Episcopacy was maintained by the Latitudinarians in the same sense as it was held by many of the elder Episcopal divines, and as it is expounded in the following extract from Bishop SANDERSON'S *Episcopacy not prejudicial to Regal Power:*

"The truth is, all this ado about *jus divinum* is in the last result no more than a mere verbal nicety; that term being not always taken in one and the same latitude of signification. (1) Sometimes it importeth a *divine precept*, which is indeed the primary and most proper signification, when it appeareth, by some clear, express, and peremptory command of God in his word, to be the will of God that the thing so commanded should be perpetually and universally observed. Of which sort, setting aside *the articles of the Creed*, and *moral duties of the Law*, which are not much pertinent to the present enquiry, there are, as I take it, very few things which can be said to be of *divine positive right* under the New Testament. *The preaching of the gospel* and *administration of the Sacraments*, are two; which when I have named, I think I have named all. (2) But there is a SECONDARY and more extended signification of that term, which is also of frequent use among divines. In which

tution of a christian church; and hence they maintained that those who followed other forms of government and worship, were not,

sense, such things as having no express command in the word, yet are found to have authority and warrant from the institution, example, and approbation either of Christ himself or his Apostles; and have (in regard of the importance and usefulness of things themselves) been held, by the consentient judgment of all the Churches of Christ in the primitive and succeeding ages, needful to be continued: such things I say are (though not so properly as the former, yet) usually and *interpretative* said *to be of divine right.* Of which sort I take the observation of the Lord's day, the ordering of the keys, the distinction of Presbyters and Deacons, and some other things (not all perhaps of equal consequence) to be. Unto *Jus Divinum*, in that former acceptation, is required a DIVINE PRECEPT: In this latter, it sufficeth thereunto that a thing be of APOSTOLICAL INSTITUTION OR PRACTICE. Which ambiguity is the more to be be heeded, for that the observation thereof is of great use for the avoiding of sundry mistakes, that through the ignorance or neglect thereof daily happen to the engaging of men in endless disputes, and entangling their consciences in unnecessary scruples.

"Now, that the government of the Churches of Christ by Bishops, is of Divine right in *that first and stricter sense*, is an opinion at least of great probability, and such as may more easily and upon better grounds be defended than confuted; especially if in expounding those texts that are alledged for it, we give such deference to the authority of the ancient Fathers and their expositions thereof, as wise and sober men have always thought it fit we should do. Yet because it is both inexpedient to maintain a dispute where it needs not, and needless to contend for more, where less will serve the turn; I find that our divines that have travelled most in this argument, where they purposely treat of it, do rather choose to stand to the tenure of Episcopacy *ex Apostolica designatione*, than to hold a contest upon the title of *Jus Divinum*, no necessity requiring the same to be done. They therefore that so speak of this government as established *by Divine right*, are not all of them necessarily so to be understood, as if they meant it in that *first and stricter sense.* Sufficient and government thereof, that it is (as certainly it is) of divine right in *the* cient it is for the justification of the Church of England in the constitution *latter and larger signification;* that is to say, of apostolical institution and approbation; exercised by the Apostles themselves, and by other persons in their times appointed and enabled thereunto by them, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by virtue of the commission they had received from him."

"The derivation of any power from God doth not necessarily infer the nonsubjection of the persons, in whom that power resideth, to all other men. For doubtless the power that fathers have over their children, husbands over their wives, masters over their servants, is from heaven, of God and not of men. Yet are parents, husbands, masters, in the exercise of their several respective powers, subject to the power, jurisdiction, and laws of their lawful overeigns. And I suppose it would be a very hard matter for any man to find out a clear and satisfactory reason of difference between the ecclesiastical power, and the economical: Why the one, because it claimeth to be of Divine right, should be, therefore, thought to be injurious to regal power, and the other (though claiming in the same manner) not to be injurious.—The ministerial power, in that which is common to Bishops with their Fellow-presbyters, viz. *the preaching of the word* and *the administration of the Sacraments*, &c. is confessed to be from heaven and of God; and yet no prejudice at all conceived to be done thereby to the regal power; because the ministers who exercise that power, are the King's subjects, and are also in the executing of those very acts that are proper to their ministerial functions to be limited and ordered by the ecclesiastical laws.

"No form of [church] government ever yet used or challenged, but hath claimed to a *Jus Divinum* as well as Episcopacy: Yea, I may say truly, every one of them with far more noise, though with far less reason, than Episcopacy hath done. And, therefore, of what party soever the objectors are, (PAPISTS, PRESBYTERIANS, or INDEPENDENTS,) they shew themselves

on that account, to be excluded from their communion, or to forfeit the title of brethren. As to the doctrinal part of reli-

extremely partial against the honest regular Protestant, in condemning him as an enemy to regal power for holding that in his way, which (if it be justly chargeable with such a crime,) themselves holding the very same in their several ways, are every whit as deeply guilty of as he.

"The rest when they speak of *Jus Divinum*, in reference to their several ways of church-government, take it in the highest elevation, in the first and strictest sense.—The PAPIST groundeth the Pope's oecumenical supremacy upon Christ's command, to Peter to execute it, and to all the flock of Christ (Princes also as well as others) to submit to him as their universal pastor.—The PRESBYTERIAN erieth up his model of government and discipline, (though minted in the last by-gone century,) as the very sceptre of Christ's kingdom, whereunto all Kings are bound to submit theirs; making it as unalterable and inevitably necessary to the being of a church, as the word and sacraments are.—The INDEPENDENT separatist also, upon that grand principle of Puritanism common to him with the Presbyterian, (the very root of almost all the sects in the world,) viz. *That nothing is to be ordered in church-matters other or otherwise than Christ hath appointed in his word;* holdeth that 'any company of people gathered together by mutual consent 'in a church-way is, *Jure Divino*, free and absolute within itself, to govern 'itself by such rules as it shall judge agreeable to God's word, without 'dependence upon any but Christ Jesus alone, or subjection to any Prince, 'Prelate, or other human person or Consistory whatsoever.' All these, you see, do not only claim to a *Jus Divinum*, and that of a very high nature; but, in setting down their opinions, weave in some expresses tending to the diminution of the ecclesiastical supremacy of Princes. Whereas the Episcopal party neither meddle with the power of Princes, nor are ordinarily very forward to press the *Jus Divinum*, but rather purposely decline the mentioning of it, as a term subject to misconstruction (as hath been said) or else so interpret it, as not of necessity to import any more than an Apostolical institution. Yet the Apostles' authority in that institution, being warranted by the example, and (as they doubt not) the direction of their Master Jesus Christ, they worthily esteem to be so reverend and obligatory, as that they would not for a world have any hand in, or willingly and deliberately contribute the least assistance towards, (much less bind themselves by *solemn league and covenant* to endeavonr,) the extirpation of that government; bnt rather, on the contrary, hold themselves in their consciences obliged, to the uttermost of their powers to endeavour the preservation and continuance thereof in these churches, and do heartily wish the restitution and establishment of the same, wheresoever it is not, or wheresoever it hath been heretofore (under any whatsoever pretence) unhappily laid aside or abolished.

"The rest, not by remote inferences, but by immediate and natural deduction out of their own acknowledged principles, do some way or other deny the King's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical: Either claiming a power of jurisdiction over him, or pleading a privilege of exemption from under him. The PAPISTS do it both ways; in their several doctrines of the *Pope's supremacy* and of the *exemption of the Clergy*. The Puritans of both sorts [Presbyterians and Independents,] who think they have sufficiently confuted every thing they have a mind to mislike, if they have once pronounced it POPISH and ANTICHRISTIAN, do yet herein symbolize with the Papists, (as in very many other things, and some of them of the most dangerous consequence,) and do after a sort divide that branch of Antichristianism wholly between them: The PRESBYTERIANS claiming to their Consistories as full and absolute spiritual jurisdiction over Princes, (with power even to excommunicate them, if they shall see cause for it,) as the PAPISTS challenge to belong to the Pope: And the INDEPENDENTS exempting their congregations from all spiritual subjection to them, in as ample manner as the Papists do their Clergy. Whereas the English Protestant Bishops and Regular Clergy, as becometh good Christians and good subjects, do neither

gion, they took the system of the famous Episcopius for their model; and, like him, reduced the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, (that is, those doctrines, the belief of which is necessary to salvation,) to a few points. By this manner of proceeding they shewed, that neither the *Episcopalians,* who, generally speaking, embraced the sentiments of the Arminians, nor the *Presbyterians* and *Independents,* who as generally adopted the doctrine of Calvin, had any reason to oppose each other with such animosity and bitterness, since the subjects of their debates were matters of *an indifferent nature,* with respect to salvation, and might be variously explained and understood, without any prejudice to their eternal interests. The chief leaders of these Latitudinarians were HALES and CHILLINGWORTH, whose names are still pronounced in *England* with that veneration that is due to distinguished wisdom and rational piety. The respectable

pretend to any jurisdiction over the Kings of England, nor withdraw their subjection from them; but acknowledge them to have sovereign power over them, as well as over their other subjects; and that in all matters ecclesiastical as well as temporal. By all which it is clear, that the *Jus Divinum* of Episcopacy, as it is maintained by those they call (*stylo novo*) the PRELATICAL PARTY in England, is not an opinion of so dangerous a nature, nor so derogatory to the regal powers, as the adversaries thereof would make the world believe it is: But that rather, of all the forms of church-government that ever yet were endeavoured to be brought into the churches of Christ, it is the most innocent in that behalf."

The pious Bishop was one of those to whom I have alluded in the preceding note. He was aware of the pacific concessions which he had made at the commencement of the Civil Troubles, and at the Restoration gave the following very appropriate reason for his conduct: "Whereas, in my answer to the former of the two objections in the foregoing treatise, I have not any where made any clear discovery what my own particular judgment is concerning the *Jus Divinum* of Episcopacy in the stricter sense, either in the affirmative or negative; and for want of so doing, I may, perhaps, be censured by some to have walked but haltingly, or at leastwise with more caution and mincing than became me to do in a business of that nature; I do hereby declare,"——

His Lordship then subjoins three particulars, of which the following is the second: "Leaving other men to the liberty of their own judgment, my opinion is, that Episcopal government is not to be derived merely from *Apostolical practice or institution;* but that it is originally founded in *the person and office of the Messias,* our blessed Lord Jesus Christ. Who being sent by his heavenly Father to be the great *Apostle,* (Heb. iii, 1,) *Bishop and Pastor* (1 Pet. ii, 25.) of his church, and anointed to that office, immediately after his baptism by John, *with power and the Holy Ghost,* (Acts x, 37, 38.) descending then upon him *in a bodily shape,* (Luke iii, 22.) did afterwards, before his ascension into heaven, send and empower his holy Apostles, (giving them the Holy Ghost likewise as his Father had given him,) in like manner as his Father had before sent him (John xx, 21.) to execute the same Apostolical, Episcopal, and Pastoral office for the ordering and governing of his church until his coming again: And so the same office to continue in them and their successors unto the end of the world. (Matt. xxviii, 18—20.) This I take to be so clear, from these and other like texts of scripture, that if they shall be diligently compared together, both between themselves and with the *following practice of all the churches of Christ,* as well in the Apostles' times as in the purest and primitive times nearest thereunto, there will be left little cause why any man should doubt thereof."

names of More,* Cudworth, Gale, Whichcot, and Tillotson, add a high degree of lustre to this eminent list. The undertak-

* The very edifying and ingenuous manner in which that great man, Dr. Henry More, and many of his Arminian cotemporaries in England, relate their conversion from Calvinism, will obtain a separate notice in the second volume. In his case is shewn the horror which a humane and pious mind feels at the bare contemplation of such a distorted picture of the Deity, as it is the study of Calvinism to exhibit: He had never heard any other doctrines from his parents and tutor, than those which were Calvinistic; yet when only fourteen years old, on the mention of these words of Epictetus, "*Lead me, O Jupiter, and thou Fate!*," he says, "I did, very stoutly and earnestly for my years, dispute with my elder brother against this Fate, or Calvinistic Predestination, as it is usually called. My uncle, when he came to know it, reproved me severely, adding menaces of correction for my immature forwardness in philosophizing concerning such matters. Besides, I had a deep aversion in my temper to this opinion, and a firm and unshaken persuasion of the Divine justice and goodness," &c.

As Mosheim has placed Dr. More at the head of his list of those eminent Episcopal Divines, most of whom had embraced the mild and liberal principles of Arminianism at a period when no earthly motives could bias their judgments or warp their affections, I have given a translation of one of his letters to Professor Poelenburg, in 1663, which will afford an excellent comment on *Fundamental Articles*, and will display—the *uniformly benign operation*, and *salutary results*, of those principles, by whom, and in what manner soever, they are embraced,—the tolerant views of those who, with observant minds, had gained wisdom even from the errors of the Calvinistic Republicans,—and the jealousy of *the prevailing influence of Popery*, which those great divines evinced so soon after the Restoration. Poelenburg had sent Dr. More a congratulatory letter on the King's restoration, similar to the one quoted in page 806, and received from his accomplished correspondent the subjoined reply:—

"To the most celebrated and very learned Arnold Poelenburg, *Professor of Divinity among the Remonstrants*.—Very famous man, the earnest congratulations which you present to us on the restoration of his most serene majesty, and on the tranquillity and peace enjoyed by this church and kingdom, are real proofs of an ingenuous and truly christian mind. God grant that we may employ to his glory these immense benefits, which have descended upon us from heaven, and that we may enjoy them to the latest ages! I wish you to know, that I more exceedingly rejoice in the present state of our affairs, on account of the greater hopes which it affords, that at least *some part* of our felicity will, according to your prognostication, redound likewise to your [the Remonstrants'] advantage. There is undoubtedly A SUFFICIENTLY GREAT AGREEMENT between the *doctrines of our church* and *that of the Remonstrants*; but this conformity is probably still greater between *the private opinions* of a vast number of the sons of the Church of England, and those which you maintain. For our Articles are attempered in such a manner, as to induce both the *Calvinists* and the *Orthodox* severally to suppose them favourable to their party. I consider this moderation to have been adopted with the best design; for I always prefer peace and concord, before *any truth that is not necessary* [to salvation]. Neither would I be abhorrent to a method of this description, if, instead of determining THE FIVE POINTS, any man would substitute the following single conclusion: 'A christian man shall neither feed himself with vain hopes; nor shall he 'believe that he will be saved, unless he conform his life with seriousness 'and sincerity to the precepts of Christ.'—This alone would satisfy me, and in the profession of the rest of those opinions, I would allow every one to exercise his own right of judgment.—I sincerely deplore the vicissitudes of your condition, that a society of men of such innocence and (if any may claim that character) of truly virgin purity, should still be treated in a most unworthy manner. But you ought to manifest very little wonder at such usage, since it has seemed good to Divine Providence [thus to afflict you]: For God has undoubtedly reserved for the glory and ornament of the latest

ing of these great men was, indeed, bold and perilous; and it drew upon them much opposition, and many bitter reproaches. They received, as the first fruits of their charitable zeal, the odious appellations of Atheists, Deists, and Socinians, both from the Roman Catholics and the more rigid of the contending Protestant parties; but upon the restoration of King Charles II., they were raised to the first dignities of the church, and were

ages every thing that is most beautiful, fair, and perfect. Those ages are probably not so distant now as we imagine: Nay, if we give any credence to oracles—*Jamdudum illa imminet ætas aurea*, &c.

The years approach, by prophets long foretold,
And now by circling time in order roll'd.
The golden age this infant shall restore,
Thy God shall reign, and vice shall be no more.

"Although, in the mean time, we must not conceal the fact, that the Papists, with more than their usual earnestness, aspire after the possession of power; and that some small degree of danger presents itself of our being destroyed by this former plague, and besmeared again with its filth. Such a prodigious mass of evils [as Popery embodies] will be averted by God, and by the approved virtue and fidelity of the best of Princes.

"I desire you to be assured, that I have received with a most grateful mind what you are pleased to call your *small presents*,—and that I view them as very rich and abundant specimens of your erudition and piety, and as most ample testimonies of your unmerited benevolence towards myself. I have perused your *Epistolary Dissertation*, &c. But the circumstance which chiefly excites my admiration and astonishes my senses in all these productions, is this: I find among you such a great desire and love for the common peace and for general concord, and you seem to give a manifest preference to *brotherly love* rather than to difficult and uncertain opinions, and to exclude no man from your communion who embraces that ancient, simple, and truly Apostolical Belief, in conjunction with integrity of conduct.—Our University has not yet afforded any ground for hoping, that it will issue such a Decree as the one which is the great object of your desire. Indeed, such a Decree does not appear to me to be very necessary; for I would rather see all differences in opinion subside of their own accord and become obsolete by length of time, than behold the minds of men irritated once more and divided. There is nothing which is higher in my estimation, and for which I feel a more vehement desire than THE UNION, IN ONE ENTIRE BODY, of Arminians and Calvinists, indeed, of the whole Church that is Reformed from Popery,—though this body may still vary, as far as each of its members chooses, in opinions which are not necessary to salvation. It is also my earnest wish, that these divided parties may be firmly conjoined and mutually bound together by that spirit of holy charity, by which alone we are known and distinguished as Christ's true and living members. On this very account your denomination appears, in my eyes, entitled to the highest commendation above all others, because you have preceded the rest in seizing this palm, or rather *this olive-branch*, and you have preferred a virtuous and peaceful life to dogmas the most abstruse and of the greatest subtlety.—Farewell, most learned man! And unite with me in entreaties to God, that the spirit of christian love and charity, which is so vigorous among you, may animate and enliven the remaining members of the church of Christ, and that this heavenly unction may diffuse itself through the whole earth and inundate every part! This is the hearty prayer of

"*Yours most devotedly*,

"CAMBRIDGE, *Christ College*, March 18th, 1663." "HENRY MORE."

The Dutch Arminians have, indeed, borne away from all competitors the prize of *priority in religious toleration:* They were the first society of Protestants, who, *when in possession of power*, granted the SAME LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE to others as they claimed for themselves.—See *the Works of Arminius*, vol i, pp. 514, 548, *et passim*.

deservedly held in universal esteem.* It is also well known, that, even at this present time, the Church of *England* is chiefly

* The reader must not, from Mosheim's brief narrative, be induced to believe, that "these great men, who had taken the system of the famous Episcopius for their model in the doctrinal part of religion," were, *immediately after the Restoration*, "raised to the first dignities of the Church, and deservedly held in universal esteem." The fact is, they had much undeserved obloquy to encounter, and many prejudices to combat, before they attained to the high estimation to which Mosheim alludes. Indeed, their triumph can only be said to have been complete at the period of the Revolution in 1688. The reader will obtain much information concerning these men and the Arminian origin of their opinions, by the subjoined extracts from a very scarce pamphlet published in 1662, and entitled "A brief Account of the new Sect of LATITUDE-MEN, &c. By S. P. of Cambridge:"

"The greatest part of the men that seem to be pointed at under that name, are such, whose fortune it was to be born so late, as to have their education in the University since the beginning of the unhappy troubles of this kingdom, where they ascended to their preferments by the regular steps of election, not much troubling themselves to inquire into the titles of some of their electors. They are such as are behind none of their neighbours, either in learning or good manners, and were so far from being soured with the leaven of the times they lived in, that they were always looked upon with an evil eye by the successive usurping powers; and the general outcry was, 'that 'the whole University was over-run with ARMINIANISM, and was full of men 'of a prelatical spirit, that had apostatized to the onions and garlick of Egypt,' because they were generally ordained by Bishops: And in opposition to that *hide-bound strait-laced spirit that did then prevail*, they were called LATITUDE-MEN; for that was the first original of the name, whatever sense hath since been put upon it. This was a certain bar to their preferment, as they were sure to find, if any of them came before the Committee of Tryers, who (as it was reported) had gotten a list of all those that were ordained by the Bishop of Norwich. And truly if they that were *turned out* of their preferments, were esteemed Martyrs, I know not why these that were *debarred thereof* upon the same grounds may not be called Confessors.—And now, this being the state of the University, can it be wonderful, if, upon the happy restitution of the Church, there were a general readiness in most men to conform to the commands and injunctions thereof? And yet I am sorry to hear some men, even in those discourses wherein they should be careful to deliver nothing but the sacred oracles of God, talk at such a rate, as if they were offended to see *so general a conformity*. It seems very strange, that any son of the Church should be displeased to see the number of her children to encrease beyond expectation. I do not find that the grave heads, or other prudent persons of the University, give any countenance to this peevish talk of some few, who, for distinction sake, (if *Latitude* be a name of reproach,) will not, I hope, be offended to be called *Narrow-Men*, notwithstanding. But that there may remain no suspicion of their disaffection to the Church in any respect, I will give you a brief account of what I conceive to be their sentiments in each point relating thereunto; which are the Liturgy, the Ceremonies, the Government, and the Doctrine of the Church.—As for THE FIRST, they conceive there ought, by all means, to be a settled Liturgy, it having always been the practice both of the Jewish and Christian, and more or less retained by all Reformed Churches; that there can be no solemnity of public worship without it; that it is the greatest check to devotion that can be, to hear men mix their private opinions with their public prayers, which are for the most part false, and have an evil influence on the lives of men; yet this hath been almost the universal practice for these twenty years. The like may be said of those absurd, ridiculous, blasphemous expressions that do so frequently occur in extempore prayers, under the pretence of being familiar with God Almighty; to say nothing of those seditious and traitorous principles, craftily thereby insinuated into the minds of people, with greater authority than in their sermons could be done, forasmuch as there is a greater awe and solemnity in the one above the other; which also shews how

governed by *Latitudinarians* of this kind, though there be among them both bishops and clergy, from time to time, ecclesiastics

uncomely a thing it is for men to ostentate their parts and abilities therein, as they were wont to do by their empty rhetorications and tedious prolixity. Our Latitudinarians, therefore, are by all means for a Liturgy, and do prefer that of our own Church before all others, admiring the solemnity, gravity, and primitive simplicity of it, its freedom from affected phrases, or mixture of vain and doubtful opinions: In a word, they esteem it to be so good, that they would be loth to adventure the mending of it, for fear of marring it.—As for the RITES and CEREMONIES of divine worship, they do highly approve that virtuous mediocrity which our Church observes, between the meretricious gaudiness of the Church of Rome, and the squalid sluttery of fanatick conventicles. Devotion is so overclad by the Papists, that she is oppressed and stifled with the multitude of her own garments. *Pars minima est ipsa puella sui.* Some of our modern Reformers, to make amends, have stripped her stark naked, till she is become in a manner cold and dead. The Church of England only hath dressed her, as befits an honourable and virtuous matron. There are few men so abstractedly intellectual, but that their devotion had need to be advanced with something that may strike upon their outward senses, and engage their affections; and, therefore, while we live in this region of mortality, we must make use of such external helps, and recommend religion to the people by those ornaments which the Church hath, according to her prudence, thought fittest for those ends. The Church of Rome is a luxuriant vine, full of superfluous branches, and over-run with wild grapes, from whence many a poisonous and intoxicating potion is pressed forth. But the greatest part of Reformers have done like the rude Thracian in the Apologue, who, instead of moderate pruning and dressing his vines, as his more skilful Athenian neighbours did, cut them up by the roots; but the Church of England is the only well-ordered vineyard.—In like manner they have a deep veneration of her GOVERNMENT, which they steadfastly believe to be in itself the best, and the same that was practised in the times of the Apostles. They did always abhor both the usurpation of Scottish Presbytery, and the confusion of Independent anarchy; and do esteem it one of the methods which the Prince of Darkness useth, to overthrow the Church and Religion, by bringing the Clergy into contempt, which experience tells us will necessarily follow upon the removing of the several dignities and pre-eminence among them; for when the Bishops are once levelled with ordinary Presbyters, the Presbyters will soon be trampled on by the meanest of the laity; and when every preacher would needs be a Bishop, every rustic and mechanic took upon him to be a preacher.—Lastly, for the DOCTRINE of the Church, they do cordially adhere to it, as doth sufficiently appear by their willingness to subscribe to *the Thirty-nine Articles*, and all other points of doctrine, contained either in the Liturgy or Book of Homilies; and particularly (whatsoever may be privately whispered to the contrary) they do both devoutly adore the blessed Trinity in the Litany, and make solemn profession of their orthodox faith, both concerning it and other points, in the three Creeds, not excepting that which is commonly ascribed to Athanasius; nor is there any article of doctrine held forth by the Church, which they can justly be accused to depart from, unless *absolute Reprobation* be one, which they do not think themselves bound to believe.—Nor is it credible they should hold any other doctrine than the Church, since they derive it from the same fountains, not from the spinose Schoolmen or Dutch Systematics, neither from Rome nor Geneva, the Council of Trent, nor Synod of Dort, but from the sacred writings of the Apostles and Evangelists; in interpreting whereof, they carefully attend to the sense of the ancient Church, by which they conceive the modern ought to be guided; and, therefore, they are very conversant in all the genuine monuments of the Ancient Fathers, those especially of the first and purest ages, not to gather out fine phrases and quaint sentences, but that they may discern between the modern corruptions and ancient simplicity of the Church; to distinguish between the doc-

who breathe the narrow and despotic spirit of Laud, and who, in the language of faction, are called *High-churchmen* or *Church-Tories.*"

trines received in these latter ages, and those which the primitive Christians received from Christ and his Apostles. For those opinions in religion, how specious soever, are justly to be suspected, whereof there are no footsteps to be discerned in that golden age of Christianity, that was tried and purified in the fire of persecution.

"And now let no man accuse them of hearkening too much to their own reason, since their reason steers by so excellent a compass,—the ancient Fathers and Councils of the Church. For reason is that faculty whereby a man must judge of every thing; nor can a man believe any thing except he have some reason for it, whether that reason be a deduction from the light of nature, and those principles which are the candle of the Lord, set up in the soul of every man that hath not wilfully extinguished it; or a branch of Divine Revelation in the oracles of Holy Scripture; or the general interpretation of genuine antiquity; or the proposal of our own Church consentaneous thereto; or lastly the result of some or all of these. For he that will rightly make use of his reason, must take all that is reasonable into consideration. And it is admirable to consider how the same conclusions do naturally flow from all these several principles; and what, in the faithful use of the faculties that God hath given, men have believed for true, doth excellently agree with that revelation that God hath exhibited in the Scripture, and the doctrine of the ancient Church with them both. Thus, *the freedom of our wills, the universal intent of Christ's death and sufficiency of God's grace, the conditions of justification*, and many other points of the like nature, which have been almost exploded in these latter degenerate ages of the world, do again begin to obtain, though with different persons upon different accounts: Some embrace them for their evidence in Scripture, others for the concurrent testimony of the primitive Church for above four hundred years; others, for the reasonableness of the things themselves, and their agreement both with the Divine Attributes, and the easy suggestions of their own minds. Nor is there any point in divinity where that which is most ancient doth not prove the most rational, and the most rational the ancientest; for there is an eternal consanguinity between all verity: And nothing is true in divinity which is false in philosophy, or on the contrary: and, therefore, what God hath joined together let no man put asunder.—But these men are generally suspected to be for *liberty of conscience*,—'and that's a principle of dangerous 'consequence, that will undermine the very foundations of any Church 'whatsoever. A Church cannot be without unity and uniformity. An unli-'mited discord of opinions and practices will as much obstruct the edification 'of God's temple, as the confusion of languages did the building of the Tower 'of Babel.'—Verily this is true; and the most part of them who, while they are under the hatches deny it, do by their practices confirm it whenever they get power into their hands. But how far the men charged with it are concerned therein, remains to be inquired. Though, in the first place, I cannot but take notice, that this very objection confutes the vulgar calumny cast upon them, as if they were men of no conscience; for I dare say, by how much the less of conscience any man hath, by so much the less will he care what impositions are laid on it; though, for my own part, I shall always think him most conscientious who leads the most unblamable life, though he be not greatly scrupulous about the externals of religion; and *for their lives*, I think the Latitude-men were never taxed by their greatest enemies. And now let us soberly consider what was before said: They sincerely embrace all the Articles of doctrine held forth by the Church, they cheerfully use and approve her Liturgy and Ceremonies, they cordially love and obey her Government: How then can they pursue any Liberty that can be dangerous to her? For in all other things, the Church herself leaves them to their liberty, and who shall blame them for using it? But there are some men, it may be, are offended that the Church is so indulgent a mother, that will not unnecessarily impose upon the judgment or practice of her children; they

To this just description I have only to add a wish, that some of these great divines had been in every respect as *sound in the faith* as Arminius was ;* and that they had derived their knowledge

would have all things bound up, and nothing free; they would fain be adding some cyphers to the significant articles she now propounds, and instead of 39 would make 39000. And it is well if they would content themselves with *cyphers*, and not add *falsities* to make up the tale. They have, it may be, an ambition to out-do the Assembly's Confession; they would be content that Aquinas's Sums were put into the Creed, and all the janglings of the schools into the prayers of the Church; that so by their *longitude*, they might be even with their neighbours of the *latitude*. Others, it may be, think we have not ceremonies enough; and if they can find any antiquated rite in some moth-eaten author, they have an itch presently of bringing it into the Church, without considering whether there be the same reason or use of it now, that may have been in other times and places; and then, if their neighbours will not follow their example, but think it enough to do what the Rubric and Canons require, they shall be cried out on for disaffected. This is all that liberty of conscience they can justly be accused of, unless I should add that they are so merciful as not to think it fit to knock people on the head, because they are not of our Church. The Church of England hath never yet embrued her hands in blood; and I hope the zeal of none of her sons will ever kindle such flames as her step-mother of Rome delights to warm her hands at.

"And now having taken an impartial view of this so much exagitated company of men, we find them so far from being any ways dangerous to the Church, or fit to be disowned by her, that they seem to be the very chariots and horsemen thereof; for, by their sober and unblamable conversation, they conciliate respect and honour to her; by their learning and industry they defend her; by their moderation they are most likely to win upon the minds of Dissenters, who are too many to be contemned; by their accommodating themselves to the people, who (as is too palpable) are possessed for the most part by the Presbyterians, they may in time bring them over to the Church, and prevent her becoming a society of shepherds without any sheep. For really I fear, if the Fathers of the Church were not wiser than some of their angry sons, who must needs be thrusting some of their younger brethren out of doors; if, I say, all that have been reproached with the name of Latitude, should be disowned by the Church, they that remain would be the least party of men of any one denomination in England."

* "The system of Arminius appears to have been the same with that which was generally maintained in the Reformed Churches at that time; except in so far as the doctrine of the divine decrees was concerned. But the most eminent of those who became Arminians, or ranked among his professed followers, by embracing and avowing his peculiar tenets with respect to election and redemption, soon began to depart widely from the other tenets of his theological creed. They adopted views of the corruption of man, of justification, of the righteousness of Christ, of the nature of faith, of the province of good works, of the necessity and operations of grace, that are quite contrary to those which he had entertained and published. Many of them, in process of time, differed more or less from one another, on some or all of these points. And so diversified are the forms which Arminianism, as it is called, has assumed in the course of its progress, that to describe precisely what it has been since the Synod of Dort, or what it is at the present day, would be a most difficult, if not an impossible task. Even the Confession of Faith, which was drawn out for the Arminians by Episcopius, and is to be found in the second volume of his works, cannot be referred to as a standard. It was composed merely to counteract the reproach of their being a society without any common principles. It is expressed chiefly in the words and phrases of scripture, to which, of course, every one would annex his own meaning. Besides, no person, not even a pastor, was obliged, by any form, to adhere strictly to it; but every one was left entirely at liberty to interpret its language in the manner that was most agreeable to his own private sentiments. Accordingly, so various and inconsistent are their opinions, that could Arminius

of Arminianism from the master himself, in preference to his later disciples: In that case, the very laudable prejudices of

peruse the unnumbered volumes which have been written as expositions and illustrations of Arminian doctrine, he would be at a loss to discover his own simple system, amidst the heterogeneous mass of error with which it has been rudely mixed; and would be astonished to find, that the controversy which he had unfortunately, but conscientiously, introduced, had wandered far from the point to which he had confined it, and that with his name dogmas were associated, the unscriptural and dangerous nature of which he had pointed out and condemned.—At the same time it must be acknowledged, that of this state of things, by which his memory is injured and thoughtless people are deceived, he himself laid the foundation. The same temper of mind which led him to renounce the peculiarities of Calvinism, induced him also to adopt more enlarged and liberal views of church-communion than those which had hitherto prevailed. While he maintained that the mercy of God is not confined to a chosen few, he conceived it to be quite inconsistent with the genius of Christianity, that men of that religion should keep at a distance from each other, and constitute separate churches, merely because they differed in their opinions as to some of its doctrinal articles. He thought that Christians of all denominations should form one great community, united and upheld by the bonds of charity and brotherly love; with the exception, however, of Roman Catholics, who, on account of their idolatrous worship and persecuting spirit, must be unfit members of such a society. That this was not only agreeable to the wishes of Arminius, but one chief object of his labours, is evident from a passage in his last will, which he made a little before his death: *Ea proposui et docui quæ ad propagationem.*, &c."—['I also testify before God, that all the doctrines advanced by me have been 'such as might conduce to the propagation and increase of the truth of the 'Christian Religion, of the true worship of God, of general piety, and of a 'holy conversation among men,—and such as might contribute, according 'to the word of God, to a state of tranquillity and peace well befitting the 'CHRISTIAN NAME; and that from these benefits I have excluded the Papacy, 'with which no unity of faith, no bond of piety, or of christian peace, can 'be preserved.'] "—*Edinburgh Encyclopædia.*

I have in another place quoted various parts of the very able article ARMINIANISM in this Encyclopædia, and have justly designated it, though evidently the composition of a Calvinist, "one of the most impartial, correct, moderate, and comprehensive accounts of the scriptural system of Arminius, that have been published in the English language." My object in giving this extract is, to shew that Arminius is no more to be charged with the glaring errors of several of the Dutch divines, who subsequently sheltered themselves and their heterodoxies under his honoured name, than the Church of England is to be blamed for the Semi-Pelagianism of some, who, in these enlightened days, claim countenance for their opinions from her liberal Articles, and venture likewise to style themselves ARMINIANS. The animadversions, therefore, on the Remonstrants' *Confession of Faith*, which occur at the commencement of this note, are, with regard to *the practical consequences* in each, equally applicable to the Articles of the English Church.—But the principal value of this quotation consists in the just allusion which it contains to the real source, in the mind of Arminius, of "more enlarged and liberal views concerning church-communion than those which then prevailed:" The writer properly ascribes the origin of those views to "*the same temper of mind* which led Arminius to renounce the peculiarities of Calvinism." This grand feature in the results from his system has always distinguished his genuine followers in all countries, whether under Episcopal or Presbyterian regimen; and as it has in various parts of the present volume obtained due notice, I refer the reader for further information to the Oration *On composing religious Differences*, and to the philanthropic *Declaration* which Arminius delivered before the States of Holland. (*Works*, vol. i, pp. 370—670.)

The able writer, whose Articles forms the subject of this note, has correctly observed, respecting the progress of Arminianism in Holland,—"We

the MODERATE Calvinists, then a most powerful and numerous body, would not have been outraged; and EVANGELICAL ARMINIANISM, as promulgated by the Founder of the system, would have obtained an easy and complete triumph in England. In page 296, I have alluded to "the re-action of hypocrisy and enthusiasm, which was apparent at the Restoration:" and in *the Works of Arminius*, (vol. i. page 624,) the reader will find further mention made of the same "natural feeling of revulsion." But in avoiding the torrid zone of Calvinistic fanaticism, not a few of those English Arminians had the prudence to keep at an

have every reason to believe, that the transactions which took place at Dort, and the strong measures by which they were succeeded, did more good than harm to the cause of Arminianism. The injustice and cruelty with which the Arminians were treated, awakened compassion, and produced a powerful bias in their favour. The Synod was of such a public and solemn character, and continued its deliberations so long, that many were induced to examine for themselves the merits of the controversy; and, of course, not a few would discover something in the obnoxious tenets that was agreeable to their theological taste. The Arminian doctors, too, many of whom were able and learned men, were compelled to employ all their talents, and to make every exertion in defence of their system and conduct; which zeal had, doubtless, no inconsiderable effect in gaining proselytes. And above all, being forced into various and distant parts of the country, their opinions got a much wider range; and, recommended by their novelty, by their merciful and liberal complexion, and especially by the sufferings of those who had been persecuted for holding them, they obtained the respect and belief of many, to whom they might otherwise have remained unknown, or, at least, subjects of indifference."—But of the growth of *English Arminianism* he gives the following description: "In spite of all the strenuous opposition the Arminians met with from the Puritans, in spite of the opprobrious epithets with which their system was loaded, in spite of the speeches made against it in Parliament, and the pamphlets written against it throughout the nation, in spite of the ignominious death which Laud and his sovereign suffered,—the exertions of that able and tyrannical prelate, in behalf of Arminianism, were in a great measure successful. It languished during the usurpation of Cromwell, but revived again with fresh vigour at the Restoration, when every thing hostile to Calvinistic or Puritanical principles became fashionable and gainful. Ever since that period it has continued to flourish."

The most erroneous part of this account relates to the alleged "languishing" condition of Arminianism "during the usurpation of Cromwell," when the very causes, which are here adduced to account for the progress of Dutch Arminianism, are quite as applicable to its growth in England during the Inter-regnum. Numerous proofs have already been given of the rapid spread of its evangelical principles at that period; but were all direct and collateral testimony on this point destroyed, one circumstance alone would prove the fallacy of this writer's statement. For let him, or any other person, collect together *the most eminent* of those six thousand Episcopal divines who remained in the church, after the ejectment of their two thousand Nonconforming brethren, in 1662; and, for ONE MAN *of that number* who had been an Arminian prior to the subversion of Church and State, (which may be said to have had its commencement in 1640,) I will engage to produce from the same list, at least TEN equally famous, who were converts to Arminianism between 1640 and the Restoration. Indeed, nearly all the the divines of eminence, who flourished after 1662, had been won over to the system of Arminius, by the force of conviction alone, and without any reference whatever to secular advantage; for the whole of Republican preferment then ran in a contrary direction, and was bestowed on those Calvinists or Baxterians whose principles were approved by the TRIERS and EJECTORS. See pages 687—691.

equal distance from it and from the frigid zone of mere morality. Many of them boldly insisted on the inward enjoyments which christianity affords, the experience of divine consolation, and the approving testimony of God's Holy Spirit, as the necessary fruits of a believer's faith in Christ. Others of them received their Arminianism from Curcellæus and Poelenburgh, the successors of Episcopius as Professors of Divinity at Amsterdam, neither of whom was orthodox on some points of faith which will be afterwards specified.* The same observation applies to Limborch, from whom Locke, and some of the Whigs of 1688, may be said to have obtained a more intimate acquaintance with the religious principles of the Dutch Remonstrants, and with the salutary influence which those principles were calculated to exert on the frame of civil society. No one therefore can wonder if some of the religious doctrines imported from the corrupt portion of the Dutch Arminians, gave umbrage to the Calvinists. Happy for all parties would it have been, if *the fine gold* of General Redemption had been separated from such *dross!* †

* In a letter addressed to his friend John Evelyn, Esq. in September, 1656, alluding to his own novel doctrine about original sin, Dr. Jeremy Taylor says: "I have lately received, from a learned person beyond sea, certain extracts of the Eastern and Southern Antiquities, which very much confirm my opinion and doctrine; for the learned man was pleased to express great pleasure in the reasonableness of it, and my discourses concerning it."—It is not improbable that this "learned person beyond sea" was either Poelenburgh or Courcellœus.

On this topic, for which he was traduced as a rank heretic, he betrayed some irritation of feeling in the dedication to his *Deus* JUSTIFICATUS: "I know the arts of these men,—who enter into the houses of the rich and honourable, and whisper secret oppositions and accusations rather than arguments; and they often put me in mind of what was told me by Mr. Sackville, the late Earl of Dorset's uncle, that the cunning sects of the world (he named *the Jesuits* and *the Presbyterians,*) did more prevail *by whispering to ladies*, than all the Church of England and the more sober Protestants could do *by fine force and strength of argument.*"

† Dr. Jeremy Taylor was one of those divines who, in addition to the pure doctrines of Arminius, had imbibed some of the heteredoxies of the less evangelical of his Dutch followers. Of his *grand error* Bishop Heber gives the following account:

"In his UNUM NECESSARIUM, *or the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance*, &c. Taylor had expressed himself concerning the nature of *original sin*, and the *extent of man's corruption*, in a manner, if not unprecedented and unwarrantable, at least at variance with the opinion of christians in general, and more particularly of the Protestant Churches; and he appears to have felt, and not without reason, considerable anxiety as to the manner in which his work would be received by them. He has introduced his treatise with a preface, in which he strenuously, though with many expressions of humility and submission to his spiritual superiors, exculpates himself from the charge of heresy, or of holding language inconsistent with the Liturgy and Articles of Religion. The apology thus made was not, however, thought sufficient. The letters from Evelyn prove that a considerable alarm was excited among the orthodox clergy, not only by the supposed danger of the doctrine thus advanced, but by the scandal to which their persecuted church would be exposed if the charge of PELAGIANISM, so often brought against it, should receive support from the writings of one of its most distinguished champions. Warner [Bishop of Rochester] addressed him in a private letter of expostulation and argument, of which we now know nothing except through the answer. The

But though Courcelles, Poelenburgh, and Limborch are seen to have been deficient in evangelical purity of doctrine, and to be shunned as unsound or incorrect expounders of some Arminian doctrines; yet all three of them were on many accounts highly estimable characters, and entitled to the gratitude of

venerable Sanderson too, Professor of Divinity in Oxford, though he had by this time abandoned the high Calvinistic interpretatation of the Articles which in his earlier life he had defended, is said to have deplored, with much warmth and even with tears, this departure from the cautious and scriptural decision of the Church of England; and to have bewailed the misery of the times, *which did not admit of suppressing, by authority, such perilous and unseasonable novelties.*—It was fortunate for Taylor, that *persuasion* and *argument* were the only engines in the Professor's power; and those he sought for in two letters to Thomas Barlow, then Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, afterwards Sanderson's own successor in the see of Lincoln, whom he exhorted with much earnestness, though without success, to undertake the refutation of Taylor's error. Whatever may be thought of his peculiar opinions, there are few who will venture to assert, that such a man as Taylor either embraced them rashly, or professed them without sincerity, or was negligent in his applications to the throne of grace for celestial light and assistance. The doctrines, however, are, it will be readily allowed by most men in the present day, irreconcilable with the Articles of the Church which he loved and honoured, and contrary to the plain sense of those scriptures which were his consolation and his guide. It is even probable that he would never have entertained them, had it not been for the monstrous and dangerous glosses with which the truth had been obscured by Augustine and his followers; by which our nature, instead of being *very far* gone from original righteousness, is represented as become utterly diabolical, and the gracious remedy provided for the disease of ALL MANKIND is confined to a few favoured individuals."

The reflections which the Bishop has subjoined are exceedingly important, on more than one account, and demand a place in this exposition of scriptural Arminianism:

"Yet these doctrines, which appear to most of us, as they doubtless appeared to Taylor, so offensive to reason, and so unworthy of the Deity, were maintained by men as wise, perhaps, and certainly as holy, as Taylor himself, who, on their parts, regarded with horror his denial of absolute predestination, and of the doctrine that infants unbaptized were immediate objects of God's anger. Such considerations should not only lead us to think charitably of the persons with whom we differ, but should warn us against a too hasty condemnation of their opinions. They should warn us against supposing the reverse of wrong to be right; and should endear to us still more the moderation, the discretion, and the humility, with which, on these awful and most mysterious subjects, our own excellent and apostolic church has expressed herself. There is yet one caution more. Taylor, as the reader will have seen, was confident in the truth of his hypothesis, from the persuasion that it manifested the goodness and justice of God, and taught men to 'speak 'honour of God and meanly of themselves.' It is probable that, on these very same grounds, the most vehement of his adversaries were prejudiced in favour of Calvinism. The inference is plain, that, though it be sufficient cause to reconsider most diligently and most jealously whatever opinion appears to us or to others to militate against our natural notions of fitness and general analogy of the Divine perfections,—yet, is it wise, in all such cases, to suspect that our own perceptions may be erroneous, our own reasoning inconsequent, and that it becomes us to believe of God, not so much what we may think worthy of him, as what he has himself revealed, concerning his nature and his actions.—As a commentator on Scripture, as a guide to the interpretation of Scripture, our reason is most useful and most necessary; but Scripture, and Scripture only, is the rule of our faith; and that is the perfection of reason which leads us to adhere most closely to the only guide, which, in all necessary points of belief, is infallible." See another description of Reason and its province, in page 800.

posterity as assertors of civil and religious freedom. The benevolence and philanthropy breathed in the commencement of the following extract from one of Poelenburgh's letters, will be much admired by all modern Calvinists, who generally complain of the cruel usage which their ancestors received from King Charles the Second. It was written at Amsterdam, on the 16th of July, 1660, soon after his Majesty had been invited to return to his paternal dominions, and to assume and exercise the long-suspended functions of royalty: And as it contains several elucidations of the topics which I have recently discussed, I insert it among the valuable quotations, with which I close this bulky volume. After alluding to the affable reception which his Majesty had given to a deputation from the Quakers, Poelenburgh says:

"From the equity of the monarch what hopes may not others justly form, if he does not refuse liberty to men whose manners are so unaccommodating to human civility, and who are so remote from the truth in their tenets! I am thus glad, not on account of our friends [the English Arminians], as though I hoped they would be publicly defended and protected, since it is manifest that the different sentiments on Predestination entertained even by the ministers of the churches are openly tolerated with the greatest mutual equanimity:* But the joy which I feel arises from the wish, that no one may be either the oppressed or the oppressor for conscience sake, and that all may enjoy equal liberty; and because I consider it a subject of congratulation to the christian world, and especially to the Reformed part of it, that such a king now resides among our friends, upon whom the insignia of his widely-ruling sceptre reflect no less refulgence, than do these brilliant ornaments of the great virtues of patience, clemency, and moderation. For in the latter consists the only method of extending the length and breadth of the territories of the kingdom of heaven, over which Christ presides in his glorified state; since it is not by force, but by reason, not by fire and the sword of steel, but by the sword of the Spirit, the spirit of gentleness and christian charity,—that men are drawn to the obedience of religion and of the true faith. But since this monarch, whom God has enabled to overcome so many afflictions, appears thus in a certain peculiar manner to have been consecrated for commencing and completing such a sublime and glorious enterprise; we hope that as soon as by the guidance of God, (to whom alone he professes to be indebted for the recovery of his kingdom,) he shall enjoy a firm and lasting peace in his own dominions, he will exert all his energies in sedulously recommending concord to all the Reformed Churches, that have formed new christian communities apart from the

* This, with many other similar testimonies from well-informed foreigners, is in proof of the extensive spread of Arminianism and Cameronism during the Interregnum.

Roman Pontiff, and in procuring it for them by his royal authority. My wish is, that our God, the God of peace, who has loaded this king with such a number of most ample benefits, would inspire him from above with the disposition to turn all his thoughts to the accomplishment of this pious and laudable affair. It will not be possible for his Majesty to render to God any thanksgiving that will be more grateful, or to offer to Christ any service more acceptable, than that of his recalling into the communion of one mystical body such an immense number of people, who are in a continued course of separation, and whom he may convince [of the impropriety of this dividing humour] and unite together in one.

"The king will not gain so much true glory, pleasing to God and salutary to mankind, by discomfiting his enemies in all directions, as he will obtain by allaying the dissensions which have too long prevailed, by joining together under happy auspices minds that have endured the evil of mutual estrangement, and by yielding up to Christ, the Prince of peace, a kingdom at tranquility. Those illustrious Prelates of the Church who are of approved erudition and piety, will, I hope, assist in this pacific enterprise: For they were formerly addicted to concord, when they were themselves in a quiet and prosperous condition;* how much more ardently will they now endeavour to promote this blessed object, after they have themselves been exercised by misfortunes!† For the greatest ardour and a cer-

* This just compliment refers to the pacific labours of the Arminians in the Church of England, which were instituted by them long before the subversion of Episcopacy, and of which I have given a long exposition in this volume.

† Though Dr. Jeremy Taylor was not one of those divines who had been extensively engaged in this general pacification, (for at that period he was very young,) he was one who had, under the Usurpation, been deeply "exercised by misfortunes." His Arminianism was not the sole cause of those "misfortunes." He had been patronised, Bishop Heber says, *when only twenty years of age*, by Archbishop Laud, "who had then recently left the See of London for that of Canterbury, and who, with all his faults of temper and judgment, (exaggerated as those faults have been beyond all bounds by the bitterness of the party whom he first persecuted, and who afterwards hunted him to death,) must ever deserve the thanks of posterity as a liberal and judicious patron of that LEARNING and PIETY which he himself possessed in no ordinary degree." His intimacy with the Archbishop was, independent of all other considerations, a sufficient proof of his criminality in those days of misrule. One might have hoped, however, that the memory of a man who was eminent for integrity of mind, and simplicity of manners, would in this age of reputed candour have been highly venerated, and that his name would never be pronounced without expressions either of eulogy or, at least, of respect. But whoever he might be that had calculated so much upon the justice or the liberality of modern times, he will in one instance find himself grievously mistaken. In his *Life of Dr. John Owen*, Mr. Orme has given an additional display of his deep-rooted malevolence towards every person that bore the name of Arminian, and, among the rest, towards Bishop Taylor. I am happy to have it in my power to present my readers at once with the *poison* and its *antidote*. If that INDEPENDENT Biographer possesses any blushing propensities, they must certainly have been brought into exercise by the perusal of the following very judicious defence of Taylor, which is the composition of Bishop Heber, and forms a part of his able *life* of that excellent Prelate.

tain degree of violence are necessary, both in assaulting and dismembering that kingdom of discord which has too widely

" An attack of a different kind has, in later times, been made on the Liberty of Prophesying, arraigning not the principles of the work, but the motives and sincerity of the author in maintaining them. He has been represented as arguing, not from his own personal conviction, but as an advocate, and to serve the temporary ends of his party; since, though a Churchman, he was a Dissenter when the Liberty of Prophesying was written. 'He was then,' proceeds the writer, [Mr. Orme,] from whose work this charge is taken, 'pleading for toleration to Episcopacy. He must 'either have written what he did not himself fully believe, or, in a few years, 'his opinion must have undergone a wonderful change. With the return of 'monarchy, Taylor emerged from obscurity; wrote no more on the Liberty 'of Prophesying; and was a member of the Privy Council of Charles the 'Second, from which all the persecuting edicts against the poor Non-con-'formists proceeded. It deserves to be viewed, therefore, as the special 'pleading of a party counsellor, or the production of Jeremy Taylor, deprived 'of his benefice and the privileges of his profession, imploring relief; of 'which Bishop Taylor, enlightened by the elevation of his Episcopate, and 'enjoying, with the party, security and abundance, became ashamed, and, 'in his own conduct, published the most effectual recantation of his former 'opinions or sincerity.' And, on this supposed tergiversation of Taylor, the writer proceeds to ground the sweeping censure, that 'it is vain to look for 'liberality or forbearance from the members of an establishment.'—With the logical accuracy of the vulgar maxim, '*ex uno disce omnes*,' or with the degree of christian candour which the above application of it exhibits, I have, at present, no concern; though it is possible that Mr. Orme would be displeased, and I am sure he would have sufficient right to be so, if I had reasoned, like him, from the faults or inconsistency of any single individual, to the prejudice of all the other members of the Independent persuasion. But I am only concerned with his charges against Jeremy Taylor; and am anxious, therefore, to inform him—what he might have easily learned for himself, and what it was his duty to have inquired into, before he brought such a charge as persecution against the fair fame of any man,—that though Bishop Taylor was a nominal member of the Irish Privy Council, there is no reason whatever to suppose that he took a part in the measures of any administration; that the administration of Ireland did not, in fact, during the reign of Charles the Second, persecute the Dissenters; that Taylor had not even an opportunity of concurring in the severe measures of the English government; and that no action of his life is known, which can justly expose him to the suspicion of having been a persecutor himself, or having approved of persecution in others. That he did not write any more about Liberty of Prophesying, while his former work was in every body's hands, and while its principles remained unanswered, is no very serious charge against a man whose time was, in many other ways, abundantly occupied. But, that he was not ashamed of his former treatise on this subject, is apparent from the fact, that it appears in a prominent situation in the successive editions of his controversial tracts, of which one, the second, was published when he was actually Bishop, and amid the recent triumph of his party. Nor, though there are, unquestionably, some passages in the Liberty of Prophesying where Taylor speaks, rather as urging what may be said in behalf of the more obnoxious creeds, than as expressing his own opinion, can I conceive that an intelligent and candid reader will find any difficulty in distinguishing between such passages and those where he pleads (with every appearance of the deepest and most conscientious conviction,) the common cause of all christian sects under persecution. That, in so doing, he might be animated with the greater zeal by the circumstance that his own sect was thus unhappily situated, I am neither obliged nor inclined to deny. Nor do I conceive that this circumstance alone would lead a candid mind to suspect his sincere belief of those general principles on which he proceeds; or his anxiety, that not the Church of England alone, but all other christian communions,

extended the limits of its domination, and which long ago drove down its roots to a great depth,—and in erecting and establish-

should be partakers in the benefit of his arguments. Had it been otherwise, indeed, he would rather, as an artful advocate, have applied himself to the palliation of the particular differences existing between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, than have offended the prejudices of these last, in the pride of their new-blown success, by advancing principles which they were so little prepared to receive, and encumbering his cause with the patronage of those sects who were the objects of still greater abhorrence and alarm than his own persecuted communion.—The truth is, however, that, if we consider the moment at which the Liberty of Prophesying appeared, and consider also, not only the spirit of mutual concession which it breathes, but the principles on which it rests, and the natural consequences which flow from them, we shall perceive that the Presbyterians were not the only party for whose instruction it was designed, and that its object was to induce not only an abatement of the claims which they were then urging on the King, but a disposition on the King's part, and on the part of his advisers among the Episcopal Clergy, to concede somewhat more to those demands than their principles had as yet permitted them. The circumstances of the times, in 1647, were such, indeed, as to offer a greater probability than at any former period of the war, that moderate counsels would prevail, and that an arrangement of mutual toleration might be adopted, which would preserve the kingly government, and heal, in a certain degree, the religious feuds of the nation. King Charles was removed from the custody of the parliamentary Commissioners to, what were supposed, the more indulgent hands of Cromwell and the army. His person was treated with far greater respect than formerly. His chaplains were allowed to officiate in his presence according to the English Service-book; and all parties were so situated, that it seemed the interest of all to court him. The Parliament and the Army were at open variance: and the two prevailing sects, the Presbyterians and Independents, were scarcely less incensed with each other than with the Episcopal Clergy. Even these last were not yet universally ejected from their benefices; and the force of private character, the fame of extensive learning, and, perhaps, the ties of blood and friendship, were of sufficient weight, till this year, to protect Hall in his Episcopal Palace at Norwich, and Sanderson and Hammond in their public situations at Oxford. All which seemed wanting to an accommodation, was, to convince the several parties that the points in question were those on which they might conscientiously give way to the opinions or prejudices of their brethren; and that, so far from being bound to destroy each other's persons, they might meet in the same places of worship, and conform to that government, and those rites (whichever of the contending parties should be most favoured in them,) which might be agreed on by the King and Parliament.—That this was Taylor's own opinion, and that he desired his arguments to take effect on all the different parties of the nation, is apparent, I think, from the fact of his having dedicated this work to so strenuous a high Churchman as Hatton, as well as from the anxiety which he expresses, not only that persecution for religious opinions might cease, but that contention about them might be suspended; that the churches of Christ should be distinguished by no other names than those of the nations in which they were established; and that each church might receive to its bosom men of various opinions, even as that Heaven of which the christian church ought to be the living image. And it is evident, that, if his arguments had produced their due effect on both sides, the main obstacle would have been removed to a treaty between the King and his people; a grievous dissension healed in the churches; and not only the Episcopalians relieved from their immediate oppressions, but the opposite party preserved from those severities which, on the restoration of kingly power, were most unwisely exercised against them. Meauwhile (and the observation will be found of some importance to justify Taylor's consistency), it plainly followed from his principles, that, in points of themselves indifferent, (even granting that it might be tyranny to impose a rule,) it was causeless rebellion to resist

ing the abode of concord, which Satan unceasingly tries by cunning or force to demolish and overthrow. The benignant Deity will favour such benign undertakings—O that they were already undertaken! Let us earnestly entreat God, by hearty and unwearied supplications, to be pleased to bestow, upon the men who engage in such attempts as these, suitable gifts for the completion of this enterprise.

"Concerning a late illustrious person, who was not less a warm defender of the cause of the Remonstrants than a strenuous advocate for the peace of the Church, I have heard that he discussed plans of this kind, in concert with his most excellent Majesty Charles the First, King of Great Britain, and with the most reverend William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury; and that he [Grotius] did not then despair of a successful issue, and had expected some good consequences from it had not that deplorable calamity [the murder of the King and of the Archbishop] intervened. John Dury, a man of no small celebrity among the Scots, afterwards engaged in the same enterprise. But while, on the one hand, he was, in the judgment of some excellent men, not a sufficiently equitable promoter of peace; on the other hand, his overtures were resisted by the Lutheran divines, particularly by those of Alsace and Sweden, who complained, that the very opinions professed by themselves had been exploded at the Synod of Dort and condemned in Holland. This was indeed a very just accusation; because the Dort Fathers were undoubtedly guilty of a grievous offence, when, impelled by the impetuous fervour of contentions, they ventured to do what had never been attempted by any Synod since the first propagation of christianity. Yet this will not operate as an excuse to justify the Lutherans, in not admitting the peace which was proffered; because it was possible to procure the abolition of that which had been badly determined, especially when all the Reformed with one consent believe Synods, not only liable to be endangered by errors, but likewise seldom to be actually free from them. But if this shall appear to be too great a concession, it was possible at least to have removed the necessity of subscribing the Canons of that Synod,—which imposition was indeed a yoke most iniquitous and bitter, because such a sublime authority as that belongs only to the scriptures, which alone are Divine and placed beyond the liability of error or defect. Most men are in doubt which order his most serene Majesty, King Charles the Second, will hereafter prefer to govern the Church,—the order of those divines who are favourable to

a rule already imposed; and it followed also, (which was still more important under the peculiar circumstances of the times,) that concession and moderation were to be expected at least as much from those who desired a change, as from those who were content with the forms and institutions of their ancestors."

Episcopacy, or of those who are attached to Presbytery. I lately met with a minister of the Church of England, who thought, that although the king seems to evince nearly an equal inclination to both parties, yet his mind must be considered as more strongly inclined to the appointment of Bishops. This event also appears to me most probable, not only because perpetual custom has confirmed the institution of that mode of regimen, but likewise because it seems scarcely possible for the safety of that kingdom to be preserved under any other form. This was the judgment of that august monarch King James, the grandfather of his present majesty; of which this was his prognostication, (would it had been a vain one!) *Those who remove Bishops, will also remove Kings themselves.* Our people [the Dutch Arminians] have always been highly favourable to the Episcopal order: This is apparent, from the *Apology for the Remonstrants' Confession of Faith,* from the writings of Hugh Grotius, and from the *Admonitory Epistle* which Daniel Tilenus addressed to the Scotch, and which I have lately published with the *Descriptive Dialogues* of the same author. It does not appear to be of much consequence to us, what order of men they be who are chosen, provided the choice fall upon men of learning, piety, and moderation:* Those who are acquainted

* The following very seasonable advice was given, by the celebrated author of "JURA CLERI," a few months after the restoration of King Charles, and before the form of the future governmeut of the Church was settled:

"The goodness of your God, and favour of your Prince, have once more restored you to your charges, your patrimonies, and (it is hoped) will ere long to your honours and privileges, which sacrilege and usurpation, for many years, have detained from you. Now it stands upon you seriously to consider, what design the Lord had in thus humbling you: for certainly his wise providence *did not bring all this to pass for nothing.* Be entreated then in the bowels of our common Redeemer, (though by one of the meanest in your number, yet a passionate well-wisher of the sacred function,) to hear the divine commands, the royal declarations, the prayers, groans, and sighs of your country, which all with one voice cry aloud to you for *diligence in your callings, and uprightness in your conversations.* These will make our English Zion prosper, and our Jerusalem a praise in the earth. But if through plenty you forget HIM whose person you represent, and through security turn again unto folly, my heart trembles to think what the issue will prove, if the indignation of the Almighty once more break out. Many eyes are fastened upon you, so that the least blemish will be espied: And as your virtues bring greater honour to the gospel than those of private persons, so do your vices more reproach. It hath pleased the Great Disposer of all things, once mo reto make trial of you. *Let your moderation be known unto all men,* that none may complain of your jurisdiction, (if re-established,) which the unquestionable practice of all ages will abundantly justify. May your goodness equal your greatness; your humility shine in the midst of your honours; the memory of your late afflictions and vows, made in your low estate, never die with you. Let your conversation be without covetousness, that the hungry bellies of the poor and needy may find the benefit of your happy restoration, that no envious eye may repine, no foul mouth rail at your large incomes, but all may confess it is more for the glory of God, and for the good of the nation, that your charity be intrusted with those revenues, than the griping avarice of your sacrilegious adversaries."

with the king's disposition and prudence entertain not the least doubt concerning his majesty's choice of such men, of whom in that country there is no scarcity."

Such were Poelenburg's reflections and joyous anticipations, at the Restoration of the Royal Family in 1660! Every one, who is conversant with our national history, knows, that these just expectations were not realized in the reign of King Charles the Second. Much acrimony was excited among the dominant Calvinists, when the King chose BISHOPS, and not PRESBYTERS, to govern the Church of England. It was long before the bad spirit, which was then raised, had spent its rage and subsided. One of the methods which were supposed to perpetuate these mutual bickerings, but which, on a consideration of the aspect of those times, seemed to have been rendered necessary to counteract the buddings of treasonable principles, was that of the mournful commemoration of the *Thirtieth of January*, the anniversary of the decapitation of King Charles the First. But had all the remarks on the various actors in that tragedy, which were uttered by the reverend divines who preached on that occasion for many years after the Restoration, been as judicious and dispassionate as those of Dr. William FLEETWOOD, then Lord Bishop of Asaph, the minds of the formerly belligerent Calvinists would have been less exasperated, and loyal principles would have been far more effectually inculcated. But that excellent Whig Bishop* was

* I call Dr. Fleetwood a "Whig Bishop:" But the epithets of WHIG and TORY do not apply so appropriately to many of the most eminent of the Clergy, between the years 1661 and 1748, as many people imagine, who, from mere report or popular prejudices, are accustomed to employ both those terms towards individuals to whom they can by no means attach. Let such persons try to class Sancroft, Atterbury, Tenison, Wake, and some others,—not according to the political principles of those ministers of State who happened successively to be in power after their elevation to the Episcopal dignity,—but according to their own private opinions recorded in their writings,—and they will find some difficulty involved in the attempt.—Thus some Bigots, who read Bishop Fleetwood's fine testimony to the character of King Charles the First, quoted in page 823, will not feel any inclination to own him as a staunch Whig: But though he did not imitate some of his cotemporaries on the Episcopal Bench, in aspersing the character of King Charles and Archbishop Laud, and in extenuating the faults of the Scotch Presbyterians and some of the English Republicans, yet he was a better patriot than those who made larger pretences.—The same remarks will apply, in a more restricted sense, to the first paragraphs in a succeeding quotation from Bishop Atterbury, (p. 825,) who has been generally depicted as a high Tory.

But the Rev. Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth, presents as fine an example of the difficulty of this undertaking,—of fixing the Toryism or the Whiggism of a clergyman,—as the reader could wish to behold. He was Whig enough to be among the very first in these realms who wrote in defence of King William's lawful title to the crown of England: And he had the singular honour of dedicating his principal literary productions to three British Queens in succession—his "History of *the Life of Christ*" to Queen Mary,—that of "*the Old and New Testament*" to Queen Anne,—and his "*Dissertations on the Book of Job*" to Queen Caroline. For his poetical "Life of Christ," which was published in 1693, he was presented by Queen

resolved to perform his duty in a firm yet modest manner, how disagreeable soever the performance might prove to his

Mary to the living of Epworth; and the genuine species of his Whiggism may be estimated from the circumstance, that Bishop Burnet "was so generous as to pass his word to his goldsmith for *one hundred pounds*," to enable the poor parson to take possession of his Rectory. Other tokens of his Whiggism are on record. Yet Mr. Pope, when soliciting Dean Swift, in 1730, promote subscriptions for Mr. Wesley's *Commentary on Job*, speaks thus of him: "It has been the labour of eight years of this learned man's life. I call him what he is, *a learned man*; and, I engage, you will approve his *prose* more than you formerly did his *poetry*. Lord Bolingbroke is a favourer of it, and allows you to do your best to serve an old TORY and a sufferer for the Church of England, though you are a WHIG, as I am." No man, after reading the subjoined quotation, will venture to say, the word TORY was a misnomer when applied to the Rector of Epworth. In a letter to a relative, he thus describes his numerous family and the principles in which they were educated: "Has he [meaning himself] none, to whom he has given the best "education which England could afford?—by God's blessing on which they "live honourably and comfortably in the world; some of whom have already "been a considerable help to the others, as well as to himself: And he has "no reason to doubt the same of the rest, as soon as God shall enable them "to do it; and there are many gentlemen's families, who, by the same "method, provide for their younger children. Neither is he ashamed of "claiming some merit, in his having been so happy in breeding them up in "his own principles and practices,—not only the *priests* of his family, but "all the rest, to a steady opposition and confederacy against all such as are "avowed and declared enemies to God and his clergy, and who deny or dis-"believe any articles of natural or revealed religion; as well as to such as "are open or secret friends to *the Great Rebellion*, or [to] any such prin-"ciples as do but squint towards the same practices. So that he hopes they "are all high-church, and for inviolable passive obedience; from which if "any of them should be so wicked as to degenerate, he cannot tell whether "he could prevail with himself to give them his blessing: Though, at the "same time, he *almost equally* abhors all servile submission to the greatest "and most over-grown tool of state, whose avowed design it is to aggrandize "his Prince at the expence of the liberties and properties of his free-born "subjects."—This last sentence seems to be a real veering about to Whig-gism, which, in conjunction with its opposite, acted on the minds of several conscientious men of that age in the same manner as the centripetal and the centrifugal forces are said to affect the motions of the material universe. To form a due estimate of the tortured feelings of such individuals, and of their conduct, which seemed ill to accord with their high principles, requires a far larger grasp of thought and extent of research, as well as more compassionate consideration, than fall to the lot of the greater portion of mankind. Those excellent men detested the very idea of even lawful resistance; yet, to defend themselves against Popery, "they were compelled at length to revive the public quarrel." (See page 692.) A difference, however, was very perceptible between these widely opposite partisans, and the belligerent Calvinists who flourished under the Commonwealth: For whilst the ablest of the Whig writers guarded sedulously against the levelling principles of the Republican divines, and drew *rather a fine line* of distinction between them and their own, no Tory of eminence can be found who does not occasionally admit both the *lawfulness* and the *necessity* of resistance to arbitrary power. It was the laudable design of the latter, for very obvious reasons, to circumscribe the cases in which such resistance ought to be made; but in trying to confine them within narrower limits than those prescribed by the Calvinists, previous to the Civil Wars, they sometimes ran into the contrary extreme, and inculcated the doctrine of christian patience and meekness, to the entire exclusion of christian remonstrances to the appointed administrators of the laws, or of strong appeals to the established principles of the constitution.

own feelings or unpalatable to those of others. I quote a few paragraphs from his excellent *sermon preached in Westminster*

A brief delineation of the opposing principles, which created this conflict in the mind of the venerable Rector of Epworth, will serve to illustrate the feelings and conduct of many of his cotemporaries. His grandfather, Bartholomew Wesley, who, according to some accounts, was originally a master-weaver, and afterwards practised physic, obtained the living of Catherston in Dorsetshire, during the division of Church preferment under the Commonwealth. About a year afterwards, he evinced his zeal for the ruling powers by an attempt to seize the persons of Lord Wilmot and Charles the Second, who, after the defeat at Worcester, were hovering about that part of the country, in daily expectation of a vessel to convey them to the French coast. That attempt was consistent with the promise, exacted from every one who then accepted office, either civil or ecclesiastical, to uphold the existing government, and was consequently a performance of his plighted faith and a discharge of his public duty. His son John, who had shewn himself as zealous as his father, in behalf of the Republic, and, like Robert Baylie, (p. 457,) galloped about the country with his sword by his side, obtained, in 1658, the living of Winterborn, in Dorsetshire. The latter and his father Bartholomew were ejected by the Act of Uniformity.—Educated in the principles of his immediate ancestors, the Rev. Samuel Wesley was designed for the office of the ministry among the Nonconformists. But before he had completed his preparatory studies, a change in his views was effected, which is thus related by his son John: "Some severe invectives being written against the Dissenters, Mr. S. Wesley, being a young man of considerable talents, was pitched upon to answer them. This set him on a course of reading, which soon produced an effect very different from what had been intended. Instead of writing the wished-for answer, he himself conceived he saw reason to change his opinions, and actually formed a resolution to renounce the Dissenters and attach himself to the Established Church." This resolution he immediately executed, and became one of the most powerful adversaries of that day to the Dissenting interest. His conversion to loyal and Arminian principles had its origin in that strong feeling of revulsion of which I have made frequent mention. This feeling of detestation against "all such as were open or secret friends to *the Great Rebellion*," elevated his political principles to an undue height, and rendered him one of the ultra-royalists of that period. But the indignation which every true Briton evinces against tyranny, soon afterwards brought down these high principles to a proper level. After the accession of King James the Second, he had shewn himself to be much attached to the interests of that monarch: "But," (these are the old man's own words,) "when I heard the King say to the "Master and Fellows of Magdalen College, lifting up his lean arm, *If you "refuse to obey me, you shall feel the weight of a King's right hand;* I saw "he was a tyrant, and though I was not inclined to take an active part "against him, I was resolved from that time to give him no kind of sup-"port."—This stirring principle of Whiggism maintained a long contest with the loyal clergyman's Toryism. But the latter seemed, at Dr. Sacheverell's trial, in 1710, to have gained the ascendancy. The composition of the speech, which that weak and pragmatical divine delivered on his trial, was, at the time, ascribed alternately to Doctors Atterbury, Smalridge, Freind, and Moss. Bishop Burnet says: "It was very plain, the speech "was made for Dr. Sacheverell by others; for the style was correct, and far "different from his own." The fact is, that speech was the composition of the elder Rev. Samuel Wesley. In the concise History of England, which was published by his son John, after an observation similar to that cited from Burnet, he adds a note in the margin, and exhibits a laudable trait of filial affection, by informing his readers, that the superiority of style, observable in Sacheverell's speech, ought to excite no surprise, since it was the production of his own father, the Rector of Epworth.

Whiggism, however, may be said to have ultimately gained the victory. The strength which it had acquired was manifested in his own family, in a remarkable manner. His wife was a daughter of Dr. Samuel Annesley, whose republican principles may be seen in the extract which I have given

Abbey, before the right honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in 1710, because they contain a most important comment on many of the occurrences recorded in this volume, and especially on the prophesying humours of the intolerant Predestinarians. The text on which the pious Bishop founds his

from one of his sermons in page 387. Before she was thirteen years of age she had examined, for the satisfaction of her own mind, the controversy between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, and, through the force of conviction, quitted the communion of the latter and became a member of the Established Church. The same re-action of religious and political principles may be discovered in the quality of her Arminianism and Loyalty, as in those of the great man who afterwards became her husband. Out of a strong aversion to the unproductive dogmas of Calvin, she embraced a species of Arminianism, which, though not of the same heterodox complexion as that imbibed by Bishop Taylor and others of his cotemporaries, (p. 804,) was not sufficiently evangelical to assign to Divine Grace its due supremacy, in the renewal of the human heart "in righteousness and true holiness." Through pure hatred of the recent Republican excesses, she was likewise transformed into a high Tory, and could not divest herself of the doctrine of *complete passive obedience* at the Revolution in 1688. On this subject her son John relates the following anecdote: "The year before King William died, my "father observed my mother did not say AMEN to the prayer for the King. "She said *she could not; for she did not believe the Prince of Orange was "King.* He avowed *he never would cohabit with her till she did.* He then "took his horse and rode away; nor did she hear any thing of him for "a twelvemonth: He then came back, and lived with her as before. But, "I fear, his vow was not forgotten before God."—Thus, in two individuals "of the same family, loyalty to the Sovereign, and attachment to the Constitution, assumed different characters. This, though related only of a single clergyman, (and he no changeling,) was the experience of hundreds; and it ought always to be borne in mind, when we talk either about the Whigs or the Tories of that age, that our judgment of their conduct may be mixed with a goodly portion of charity.

As a close to this long note, it may not be improper to add, that the controversy between the Rector of Epworth, and Mr. Palmer, his Nonconforming antagonist, exhibits in an admirable manner the rival suppleness of the Tories in the Church, and among the Dissenters, towards King James the Second. On a review of the productions of Palmer and Wesley, an eminent Whig has justly observed: "The character, for which honest British Protestants contend with respect to their behaviour under this unhappy reign, [James II.] is not about their *loyalty*, but about their *disaffection to that oppressive government.* They vie with one another, and happily contend for the higher praises and superior merit of giving the briskest opposition, and making the bravest stand, against the measures of that unfortunate Prince. I call this *a happy contention*, because it issues in a noble and just agreement against the late King James and all his abettors: For, seeing all sides look upon their *non-compliance with his illegal courses* to be a brightening of their character and an establishing of their merit, their contending with one another about that question,—' which of them was most vigorous and early ' in that glorious enterprize for rescuing our religion, liberties, and all that ' is dear to us, from his violent Popish counsels,'—is, under God, one of the best securities we can have against the return of that intolerable bondage, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear, or to shake off, unless the immediate hand of God (by an almost miraculous Providence) had interposed in our greatest extremity for our relief. It was a great happiness to the nations, that many of the gentlemen and clergy, who were so frolicsome as to gratify King James with their lofty addresses in favour of *Arbitrary Power* in the Prince, and of *Passive Obedience* in the People, were so honest as to repent and join in a good cause."

discourse, is 2 Kings viii, 13, 'And Hazael said, *But what, is thy servant a dog that he should do this great thing?*:'—

"This day reminds us of the huge and numberless calamities the people of this kingdom underwent from a long unnatural war amongst ourselves; and it reminds us of an everlasting stain laid on the honour of the English nation, by adjudging their King to death, against all reason, all law, and all example of our ancestors. Nor did our miseries end here; that execrable day concluded only the misfortunes of that Prince; neither his friends nor enemies ceased to suffer with him. Such an atrocious impious fact must, as it did, call for a world of lives, and liberties, and confiscations of estates, and other cruel and vexatious oppressions of our countrymen, and laid the foundation of such an enmity as is, I fear, to last for ever.

"Had any one foretold what miseries these unhappy people would bring upon their nation, I make no doubt, they would have soon returned, with Hazael, *But what, is thy servant a dog, that he should do these great things?* Yet many, now alive, remember well they did them. I see no reason to believe, that any single man, or party whatever, could intend, at first, the evils they afterwards effected; but I do not see that this is so much an excuse for them, as a great matter of caution to others, how they at first embroil public affairs, and enter on the weighty matters of reforming Church or State, though with a good design enough, but yet by methods illegal and untried. It is only God can say to the waves, *Hitherto shall ye go and no farther!*, and so it is with the madness of the people; a little matter will inflame a multitude, when a hundred men that can render a reason shall not be able to dismiss it peaceably: Small are the beginnings of the greatest mischiefs. But men are at their liberty to act, and shall answer for their actions; and they are capable of seeing and considering consequences, and therefore are accountable for the neglect of doing so, when mischiefs follow probably, and easily, and commonly. The good intentions of the heart will secure the heart; but I am not able to say, with certainty enough, how far they will authorize the executions of the hand; even those that follow immediately, and are in nature and reason fitted to obtain the end of those intentions. But in this I will be confident, that *the first good intentions* will not reach all *subsequent acts that are not good.* Let some, of all conditions, be presumed to enter on our wars with good intentions,* and others with no bad ones,

* Some of the intentions of that race of Puritans were undoubtedly good; yet I know only of one of them which was subsequently realized,—in a manner of which they could then have had no conception, and at a time when nearly the whole of them were mouldering in the tomb. I refer to their hopes concerning the good Queen of Bohemia, who was deservedly a

—and I think he must be much a stranger to our story that will not allow of this,—though we may see, perhaps, that the

great favourite with the Puritans. Her sister-in-law, the Queen of King Charles the First, had been married five years before she had living issue; and the antipathy of the English nation to every appendage of Popery, appeared in the premature but secret rejoicing at Henrietta Maria's supposed sterility, and at the remote possibility of the royal offspring of the Queen of Bohemia succeeding to the throne.

This strong national aversion to Popery and attachment to the cause of the Elector Palatine, had been displayed while the youthful Charles, with his imprudent favourite the Duke of Buckingham, was in Spain soliciting the hand of the Infanta. The Duke's culpable behaviour in that affair very naturally gained him many enemies at Court; concerning whom Dr. Heylin says: "The news of these practices in the Court [of England], made the Duke think of leaving Spain, where he began to sink in estimation; and of hasting his return to England, for fear of sinking lower here than he did in Spain. Some clashings there had been betwixt him and the Conde d'Olivarez, the principal favourite of that King: And some caresses were made to him by the Queen of Bohemia, inviting him to be a God-father to one of her children. In these disquiets and distractions, he puts the Prince in mind of the other game he had to play; namely, *the restitution of the Palatinate*, which the Spaniard would not suffer to be brought under the treaty of the match; reserving it, (as they pretended, and perhaps really intended), to be bestowed by the Infanta after the marriage, the better to ingratiate herself with the English nation: Which being a point of too great moment to depend upon no other assurance than a Court compliment only, it was concluded by the Prince, That since he could not prevail in the one, he would not proceed to the consummation of the other.—A Parliament is summoned to begin on the 17th of February then next following. Not long after the beginning whereof, the Duke declared before both Houses how unhandsomely they had dealt with the Prince when he was in Spain; how they had fed him with delays; what indignities they had put upon him; and, finally, had sent him back, *not only without the Palatinate, but without a wife;* leaving it to their prudent consideration what course to follow. It was thereupon voted by both Houses, 'That his Majesty should be desired to break off all treaties 'with the King of Spain, and to engage himself in a war against him for the 'recovery of the Palatinate, not otherwise to be obtained.' And that they might come the better to the end they aimed at, they addressed themselves unto the Prince, whom they assured, that they would stand to him in that war, to the very last expence of their lives and fortunes; and he accordingly (being further set on by the Duke) became their instrument to persuade his father to hearken to the common votes and desires of his subjects, which the King (pressed by their continual importunities) did at the last, but with great unwillingness, assent to."—Thus, it is seen, that the King of Bohemia's cause became then, as it did throughout the reign of King Charles, only a secondary consideration, a specious cover to other motives and designs. This will be rendered still more obvious to all those who have had the infelicity to peruse the correspondence between King James, Prince Charles, and the Duke of Buckingham,—than which nothing was ever beheld more degrading, not merely to royalty, nobility, or to a true British spirit, but to humanity itself.

But the preceding remarks receive further illustration by the subjoined quotation from Dr. HEYLIN'S *Life of Laud*, under the year 1630, when Charles the Second was born: "The birth of this young Prince, as it gave cause of great rejoicings to all *good subjects*, so it gave no small matter of discouragement to *the Puritan faction*, who had laid their line another way, and desired not that this King should have had any children: Insomuch that, at a feast in Friday-street, when some of the company shewed great joy at the news of the Queen's first being with child, a leading man of that faction (whom I could name, were it worth the while,) did not stick to say, *That he could see no such cause of joy as the others did*. Which said, he gave this

virtue and innocence of these people's intentions may go far to justify those actions that were immediately influenced and

reason for it; 'That God had already better provided for us than we had 'deserved, in giving such a hopeful progeny by the Queen of Bohemia, 'brought up in the Reformed Religion; whereas it was uncertain what reli-'gion the King's children would follow, being to be brought up under a 'mother so devoted to the Church of Rome.'—And I remember that being at a town in Gloucestershire, when the news came of the Prince's birth, there was great joy shewed by all the rest of the parish, in causing bonfires to be made, and the bells to be rung, and sending victuals unto those of the younger sort, who were most busily employed in the public joy: But so, that from the rest of the houses, being of the Presbyterian or Puritan party, there came neither man nor child, wood nor victuals; their doors being shut close all the evening, as in a time of general mourning and disconsolation."

This is one of the most complete and undesigned developements of the just apprehensions, entertained by the mass of the people, respecting the union of Charles I. with a Popish Princess. When Dr. Heylin wrote it, the restored monarch was in the prime of life, and likely to become the father of many generations. But the signal punishment which Heaven generally inflicts on princes who are guilty of fornication and adultery, was not with-held in this instance: For Charles the Second died childless, and his brother James soon alienated the affections of the people, and abdicated the throne. After the reign of his two successors, both of whom died without issue, the crown devolved on a branch of the Queen of Bohemia's family; whose daughter the Princess Sophia was first addressed by a royal suitor, Prince Adolphus, brother to the King of Sweden, but at length became the consort of the Elector of Hanover, and the mother of George the First. Consequently, the Queen of Bohemia may, in some degree, be regarded as the founder of the royal house of Hanover: Thus the very event, which Dr. Heylin regarded as a calamity that was already over-past, and for which the Puritans had often and earnestly prayed, finally succeeded according to the wishes of the latter. Such changes as these, in States and Illustrious Families, prove the existence of a God, who, as Governor Supreme, ruleth in the earth, "putting down one, and setting up another." (Psalm lxxv. 7.)

During the Queen of Bohemia's forty years' sojourn in Holland, she promoted several matrimonial alliances, which proved exceedingly felicitous. One of the earliest was the marriage of Frederic Henry, the Prince of Orange, with Amelia de Solms, daughter of Albert Count of Solms. This illustrious young lady had come with the Queen of Bohemia to the Hague, in 1621; and at the close of the year 1624, when Prince Maurice was on his death-bed, he recommended her to his brother Frederic Henry, as a wife of extraordinary merit. This Princess gave birth to a son, in 1626, who was named WILLIAM, after his illustrious grandfather.—The Queen of Bohemia lived long enough to promote another auspicious match, between the young Prince William, whose birth has just been related, and her royal niece, the Princess Mary of England, who was the eldest daughter of King Charles the First, and who became the mother of William the Third, Prince of Orange, and afterwards King of England, in right of his marriage with another Princess Mary, daughter of King James the Second.

But these, and many other occurrences, in which the Queen of Bohemia bore a conspicuous part either by her presence or her counsels, will soon receive ample illustration from the elegant pen of Miss Benger, and will be clothed in that fascinating dress in which "Mary, Queen of Scots," and "Anne Boleyn," have lately appeared; by which, and by her other popular productions, she has most deservedly procured for herself an increasing reputation, and has conferred a signal benefit on her cotemporaries. The interesting story of the Princess Elizabeth,—from her early marriage with the Palsgrave, and her departure from England, till her return to her native country, just to witness the glorious restoration of her royal nephew to the throne of his ancestors,—wears in many parts of it the air of romance, and is a noble subject for the exercise of Miss Benger's approved literary

governed by those intentions, (although those people should have been mistaken,) yet who can see, that *those prime intentions* are to justify *all the actions that followed*, with all their several consequences? I hope, with my whole heart, that all who had occasion to re-consider the share they had in bringing so many dreadful mischiefs on their country, when they thought of repenting, sought not for justification from their first honourable and good intentions, but had recourse to the sure sanctuary, the mercies of God in Jesus Christ. I own it, I would rather cover (if I could) than exaggerate the offences of our fathers, with respect to the wars that occasioned so much misery to this nation, and laid the foundation of that fatal tragedy that makes this day so hard to be forgotten, and so hard to be remembered. But I would not that any one should think he came off innocent, because he entered on them at first with laudable designs and good intentions; without considering how many intervening acts were cruel and outrageous; and how he was trained on, by slow insensible degrees, to be instrumental in abundance of barbarous and brutal facts, to embrue his

prowess. Through the whole range of English History, I do not know a lady whose name so frequently yet incidentally occurs, in the historical and biographical productions of the age in which she flourished, as that of the Queen of Bohemia, whose fate was commiserated by the greatest and the wisest men in Europe.—In a letter addressed to her Majesty in exile, by Lord Bacon, he says, "I have yet some spirits left, and remnant of experience, which I consecrate to the King's service and your Majesty's; for whom I pour out my daily prayers to God, that he would give your Majesty a *fortune* worthy your rare *virtues*,—which, some good spirit tells me, will be in the end."—In STEPHENS'S *Letters and Memoirs of Sir Francis Bacon*, it is said, "To her who had been so much injured by Spain, my Lord St. Alban presents his *Discourse touching a war with Spain*, in acknowledgment of the favour of her Majesty's letter. Sir Harry Wotton professed no less admiration of this Queen, and the splendour of her virtues under the darkness of her fortunes."—In Sir Harry's LIFE, which was written by Isaac Walton, that most noble and chivalrous of our old biographers, is related a fine instance of the warmth and delicacy of the Ambassador's friendship for his royal mistress: He accepted "a jewel of diamonds of more value than a thousand pounds, as a testimony of good opinion," from the Emperor of Germany, after the unsuccessful termination of his "eight months' constant attendance" at the Court of Vienna, "for the restoration of the Queen of Bohemia and her descendants to their patrimonial inheritance." But the next morning, after the receipt of this present, when departing from Vienna, "at taking leave of the Countess of Sabrina, in whose house the Emperor had appointed him to be honourably entertained," the gallant Ambassador "besought her to accept of that jewel as a testimony of his gratitude for her civilities: Which being suddenly discovered, and told to the Emperor, was by him taken for a high affront; and Sir Henry Wotton told so by a messenger. To which he replied, 'that though he received it with thankfulness, 'yet he found in himself an indisposition to be the better for any gift that 'came from an enemy to *his royal mistress* the *Queen of Bohemia*:' for so she was pleased he should always call her."—This excellent Queen's great solicitude to preserve her young royal relatives from the baneful Popish influence of their mother, Queen Henrietta Maria, is displayed, greatly to her honour, in several of the letters which have obtained a place in BRAY'S *Memoirs of Evelyn*.

hands at last in innocent and sacred blood, and to the enslaving of his country. Whoso should then have said—'You are 'now angry with some needless ceremonies, which yet are 'fewer and more decent than ever were in use in any Christian 'Church, protected by the State, for 1300 years, and without 'which no Christian Church did ever yet serve God in public 'that we know of: Angry to have a form of public prayer pre-'scribed,* proper and suited to the wants of all Christians, 'though you may use what liberty you will in your retired 'and family devotions betwixt God and you: And to get rid 'of these so easy impositions, you will pull down all the fences 'that secure the christian faith and discipline, and let in 'wolves and foxes, that will prey upon the christian flock, and 'bring in heresies and all licentious errors, and drive away the 'shepherds that should feed them and secure them; extirpate 'an order that is as old as Christianity within this kingdom, 'and put a thousand and a thousand families to seek their 'bread in desolate places. You are now jealous and tenacious 'of your liberties; but, by the courses you are taking to secure 'them and enlarge them, you, in time, will come to take them 'away from every one besides, and lose them yourselves at 'last: You will raise armies, and become their subjects; make 'to yourselves Captains of thousands and ten thousands, and 'submit your necks to their imperious orders; involve your 'country in desolation and much blood; trample down ancient 'honour and nobility; disperse your Princes into foreign coun-'tries, where they shall take up manners that you hate, maxims 'destructive of your liberty, and a religion you abhor:† Van-

* "Dr. Sanderson hoped to have enjoyed himself at Boothby Pannel, though in a poor, yet in a quiet and desired privacy; but it proved otherwise. For all corners of the nation were filled with covenanters, confusion, committee-men and soldiers, defacing monuments, breaking painted glass windows, and serving each other to their several ends, of revenge, or power, or profit; and these committee-men and soldiers were most of them so possest with this covenant, that they became like those that were infected with that dreadful plague of Athens, the plague of which plague was, that they by it became maliciously restless to get into company, and to joy (so the historian Thucydides saith) when they had infected others, even those of their most beloved and nearest friends or relations: and so, though there might be some of these covenanters that were beguiled, and meant well, yet such were the generality of them, and the temper of the times, that you may be sure Dr. Sanderson, who, though quiet and harmless, yet was an eminent dissenter from them, could therefore not live peaceably; nor did he. For the soldiers would appear, and visibly oppose and disturb him in the church when he read prayers, some of them pretending to advise him how God was to be served more acceptably; which he not approving, but continuing to observe order and decent behaviour in reading the Church-service, they forced his book from him, and tore it, expecting extemporary prayers." WALTON'S *Life of Bishop Sanderson*.

† This is a just remark. Notwithstanding Daillée's eulogy on the Protestantism of Charles II., (p. 606,) no one can doubt that he was from his very boyhood attached to Popery, "which he sucked in with the milk of his

'quish your King, deprive him of his friends and servants: 'distress him to distraction; force him to fly into the very arms 'of mischief, from whence you will redeem him, like a slave, 'to cast him into fetters of your own; despoil him of his regal 'honours; straitly imprison him; and put him to the sword at 'last, (horror to think upon!) with all the circumstances of 'scorn and ignominy possible. These are the things that you 'will do, to secure your christian and your civil liberties.' Whoso should thus have prophesied, should certainly have had my text returned upon him—*What! is thy servant a dog that he should do these great things?* Yet *these great things* were done; and in a manner worse than I express them. *These great things* are past and gone; and I have no worse purpose, in remembering them, than to advise, that all who had no hand therein, should be as careful to avoid all manner of occasions of evil, as they, we think, ought to have been who were the most concerned in them. But there is need of all imaginable caution, that people do not readily engage in matters of importance, especially relating to the public, trusting to good intentions only, and to the mind they are at present in, without considering what may follow. Men's heats are heats of zeal at first, benign and gentle; but little accidents may raise them to a hot consuming fire, that may, in time, destroy their neighbours and themselves. It was the turbulent and restless humour of private people, and the conceit of their abilities, thrusting themselves into public matters, and stirring up their neighbours to complain and shew themselves uneasy, that contributed a great deal to the misfortune of those days, that brought this anniversary amongst us, so grievous both to friends and enemies. And can we do a better thing, upon it, than advise all men to study to be quiet, and do their own business; to keep within their proper compass; reform themselves and all that are within their care; but leave the public matters to the hands to which they are entrusted; give no disturbance to their management; nor distract them from attending to the great affairs, on which depends our very civil life and being, by little private differences and poor debates that may be very safely laid aside for ever, or, at the least, suspended for a while, and easily resumed again (if there be need) when the great struggle of the world is over, and the fortune of us and our posterity decided!

"Those wicked men had no prophet sent to them from God,

royal mother:" In this manner were fearfully realized the sad forebodings of the Puritans. (P. 817.) The dissolute foreign "manners" which he imported, and "the maxims destructive of liberty," have become matters of national history, and are too revolting to be often described. What portion of this monarch's crimes and indiscretions were chargeable to the Puritans, it is not the part of mortals to decide.

to tell them what *great things* would befal them;* but yet there were not wanting men that undertook to lead them, by the word of God, to all the mischievous designs imaginable. They were not tempted to engage in these affairs by any such prediction as Elisha uttered to Hazael: but they found men, in prophets' clothing, that both excited them, and promised them success in the name of the Lord. The word of God, I own, was never worse used, by furious, ignorant, misguided (but still, I hope, not profane †) spirits. The word of God can never contradict his will, which is, that peace and righteousness, truth and goodness, should for ever flourish on the earth, and that men should live in quiet, order, and good government, and enjoy the happy fruits of that good stock. And whenever you find the Scriptures leading men into any evil, or doing any mischief to mankind, especially to government, you may be sure they are misapplied, perverted, and abused.

"This day is, through the excessive partiality of some of both sides, become a day of great trial to the preachers. Talk of the duty, honour, and obedience of the subject to the Prince, and you are thought by some to preach away the people's liberties, and make them slaves. Talk of the people's liberties, and you are opening presently a door to mutiny, disloyalty, and flat rebellion, with some others. They are both of them, God be thanked, in the wrong; and the truth is (like our happy Constitution) betwixt them. The Crown has many and excellent prerogatives, and will, I hope in God, never have less or fewer. The people have great liberties, and will, I hope, deserve them and enjoy them whilst they are a people. Who are these people but ourselves? All but the Prince are comprehended in that word. The priests must preach up, 'tribute 'to whom tribute is due, fear to whom fear, and honour to whom 'honour;' and must affirm all that St. Peter and St. Paul have said, of people's being subject to the powers that are set over them for good. They cannot else discharge their duty, nor the people else enjoy the benefits of a good government. But may it not be lawful also for the priests to tell the people, in proper season, of their liberties, and shew them wherein they are so happy, above all the people of the earth besides? That they may understand, know how to value, be careful to preserve, and to continue to posterity, and thank God for these singular inestimable blessings. May not these things be said, without

* Though no man received a message from God for this purpose, yet far more prophets than those whom I have specified, made pretences to such a Divine commission.. See pages 255—284.

† This is a proof of great candour in Bishop Fleetwood; few persons, however, who have read many of the productions of that æra, will feel inclined to subscribe, without qualification, to such an opinion.—For the abuse of the Word of God, see page 436.

incurring the odious brand of stirring up sedition and rebellion? I know not where these things will end; but it is plain, they make it harder than it need be for honest and sincere men to do their duty on these occasions.

"The observation of this day is become, like the Fifth of November to the Papists, exceedingly grievous and distasteful to all Dissenters; as well for the licence that (they say) is taken upon it, of inveighing against them, as for the praises that are so liberally bestowed upon King Charles, which look, to some of them, as so many exprobrations and reproaches.—As for *the licence that is taken upon this day of inveighing against Dissenters*, let them who do it justify themselves; I am no advocate for any of them. It was not, certainly, appointed to become a day of wrath, and provocation of our fellow-subjects; and, I dare say, those liberties have done no service, nor are they fitted to do any; but, considering human nature, they must needs have done some mischief, by irritation and the hardening of men's hearts. And, though we do not see such courses have been taken by those who were most concerned and touched, as wise and good men might have taken, to silence these reproaches, and to cause these provocations in great part to cease, yet still these furious bitter spirits will not be excusable. I verily believe, and so do all of you, that more men have been *shamed* by gentle usage, than *reviled* into repentance, by those whom they thought their enemies.—As for *the praises that are bestowed upon King Charles*, I know not who should envy them; nor how a Church-of-England Minister can honestly decline them. He must know nothing of that Prince's history; he must have little sense of justice, gratitude, or honour, by whom his memory is not held most precious. It were a small thing to say, no Prince, (although his father was a very learned one,) but I will say, no private gentleman did ever understand the constitution of our Church better, defend it with stronger arguments, adhere to it with more judgment, adorn it with better manners, live up to its good principles with more virtue, nor, in performance of its offices, shew more devout and exemplary good behaviour, than did King Charles the First. I will not, in these things, except the Queen [Anne] upon the Throne, nor that blessed saint in heaven, her sister. No Prince did ever shew more personal favour to its ministers, nor give more countenance and credit to its discipline and orders. And must I say, *no Prince but he did ever die in its defence*, to justify the high esteem we have him in? I may, because it is so true, that they who envy him the glory of that title, *upon all accounts besides*, will yet allow he fell *a* MARTYR *for the Church of England*. Would not that church be, most deservedly, the hatred and reproach of all the world, that should be sparing of

her praises and best incense (but let it ever be *unhallowed* incense) to his memory? Let them take heed, lest some degree of guilt be thought to make those people over-tender, who are soon offended with the praises of King Charles the First. And let even us ourselves take heed, that such our praises may appear so well designed, and be managed with that good temper, sobriety, and modest truth, that they provoke those men to nothing but compunction, and relentings, and repentance, where these things are wanting; and both ourselves and them, to the imitation of all those excellent good qualities, those civil virtues, and those religious christian graces, that made him appear so highly exemplary, both in life and death."

My concluding quotation is from another exemplary Bishop, who excited and cherished the principles of genuine Loyalty and Patriotism, by commemorating, in accordance with the varying fashion of the times, *the Anniversary* (May 29th) *of the Restoration of King Charles the Second*, in 1701; when he was appointed to preach before the honourable House of Commons, at St. Margaret's, Westminster. In improving that important event, Dr. Francis Atterbury chose for his theme Ezekiel xxxvii, 3, "Son of Man, can these bones live? And I answered, *O Lord God, thou knowest!*" In his Discourse, that great divine most eloquently asserts the direct agency of the Providence of God, in producing such an astonishing return from captivity, and all its blessed consequences. His manly and scriptural sentiments on this topic, deserve to be more extensively known, than even his able remarks on the excellence of the British Constitution, which previously occur, and which have been often quoted without acknowledgment.

"The blessing, for which we think ourselves obliged so long afterwards to pay our public thanks, was of itself vast and comprehensive; for it took in all that was valuable and dear to us, either on a religious or civil account; and re-settled a shattered church and kingdom on that firm basis, on which it stood till violent and wicked hands removed it, and on which may it stand for ever! It is natural for men to think that government the best under which they drew their first breath, and to propose it as a model and a standard for all others. But if any people upon earth have a just title thus to boast, it is we of this island, who enjoy a constitution wisely moulded out of all the different kinds and forms of civil government, into such an excellent and happy frame as contains in it all the advantages of those several forms, without sharing deeply in any of their great inconveniences:—A Constitution nicely poised between the extremes of *too much liberty* and *too much power;* whose several parts have a proper check upon each other, when any of them happen to tread awry; which yet is sure, in dangerous conjunctures, to

give way to the common good of the whole:—A constitution, where the prince is clothed with a prerogative, that enables him to do all the good he has a mind to; and wants no power but what a good prince would not, and an ill one ought not, to have: Where he governs, though not absolutely, yet gloriously, because he governs men and not slaves, and is obeyed by them cheerfully, because they know that, in obeying him, they obey those laws only which they themselves had a share in contriving:—A constitution, where the external government of the Church is so closely interwoven with that of the State, and so exactly adapted to it, in all its parts, as that it can flourish only when *that* does; and must, as it always has hitherto done, decline, die, and revive with it:—In a word, where the interests of prince and subject, priest and people, are perpetually the same; and the only fatal mistake that ever happens in our politics, is, when they are thought to be divided.

"It is objected indeed to this admirable model, 'that it is 'liable to frequent struggles and concussions within, from 'the several interfering parts of it:' But this, which is reckoned the disease of our constitution, may rather be thought a mark of its soundness, and the chief security of its continuance. For it is with governments exactly contrived, as with bodies of a nice frame and texture, where the humours being evenly mixed, every little change of the proportion introduces a disorder, and raises that ferment which is necessary to bring all right again; and which thus preserves the health of the whole, by giving early notice of whatever is noxious to any of the parts: whereas in governments, as well as bodies of a coarser make, the disease does often not begin to show itself till it has infected the whole mass, and is past a cure; and so, though they are disordered later, yet they are destroyed much sooner. Accordingly we know, that, under this disadvantage, if it be one, our constitution has now lasted pretty entire through many ages: For, excepting the short interruptions which conquest gave, (which, however, have not been so many or so great, as some would make them,) it has continued much the same, in the main parts and branches of it, from the earliest times of our Saxon ancestors, down to these days.—A clear proof, that it is a government suited every way to our temper and clime; that it is perfectly made for us, and we for it; and that God therefore never punishes us more sorely, than when he deprives us of it for a time; nor ever confers a greater blessing upon us, than when he restores it.*

* "Towards the beginning of the year 1660, when the many mixed sects, and their creators, and merciless protectors, had led, or driven each other into a whirlpool of confusion both in Church and State: when amazement and fear had seized most of them, by foreseeing they must now not only vomit up the church's and the king's land, but their accusing consciences did also give them an inward and fearful intelligence, that the God of oppo-

"As He did on this happy day, when, after the confusions of a long civil war, attended with the destruction of an excellent Church, the murder of a gracious Prince, and the grievous tyranny of our fellow-subjects, He was pleased at length to give us back again, what we had so lightly departed from, OUR OLD ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AND LAWS; and, together with them, what we then boasted of in name only, the TRUE LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT, and the REAL FREEDOM AND HONOUR OF PARLIAMENTS. And to this day, therefore, we owe all the benefits we have since reaped from the regal administration, all the peace, plenty, and happiness we have enjoyed, or our posterity after us shall enjoy under it.

"The blessing, therefore, we commemorate was great; and it was made yet greater by *the way in which God was pleased to convey it to us:* For He did it in such a manner as to shew that HE was the SOLE AUTHOR of it, and that it sprang not from human wit or contrivance. He did it after our forefathers were reduced to extremities, and had tired themselves by various attempts to bring this great end about, and had been baffled in all of them, and sat down at last in despair of effecting it. Then was it time for Him to appear for our redemption, and to give Himself the glory of it. All was darkness about them, without form, and void; when the Spirit of God moved upon the face of this abyss, and said, *Let there be light!* and there was light: And both God and men saw that *that light was good;* the ONE rejoicing in his own gift, and the other blessing and magnifying the BESTOWER of it. It is true, the reasoners of this world, *who*

sition, disobedience, and confusion, which they had so long and so diligently feared, was now ready to reward them with such wages as he always pays to witches for their obeying him. When these wretches (that had said to themselves '*We shall see no sorrow*,') were come to foresee an end of their cruel reign, by our king's return, and such sufferers as Dr. Sanderson (and with him many of the oppressed clergy and others,) could foresee the cloud of their afflictions would be dispersed by it: Then, the 29th of May following, the king was by our good God restored to us, and we to our known laws and liberties, and then a general joy and peace seemed to breathe through the three nations; the sufferng and sequestered clergy (who had, like the children of Israel, sat long lamenting their sad condition, and hanged their neglected harps on the willows that grow by the rivers of Babylon,) were, after many thoughtful days and restless nights, now freed from their sequestration, restored to their revenues, and to a liberty to adore, praise, and pray to Almighty God publicly in such order as their consciences and oaths had formerly obliged them. And the reader will easily believe, that Dr. Sanderson and his dejected family rejoiced to see this happy day, and be of this number.

"At this time of the conformable clergy's deliverance from the Presbyterian severities, the doctor said to a friend, 'I look back on this strange 'and happy turn of the late times with amazement and thankfulness; and 'cannot but think the Presbyterians ought to read their own errors, by con-'sidering that by their own rules the Independents have punished and sup-'planted them, as they did the conformable clergy, who are now (so many as 'still live) restored to their lawful right; and, as the prophet David hath 'taught me, so I say with a thankful heart, *Verily, there is a God that judg-'eth the earth: And, a reward for the righteous.*'"—ISAAC WALTON.

love to solve every event without any recourse to a Divine Power, will be ready to point out several causes which helped forward this end, and smoothed the way towards it. But though there were many such, yet it must be owned that all of them put together were not of force enough to answer the effect; nor, particularly, to account for that *universal bent and inclination of the people of all ranks, interests, and opinions towards this great revolution*, which upon the first opening of it at once discovered itself; and which could proceed from HIM ALONE, who *hath the hearts of all men in his hand, and turneth them whithersoever he listeth.*

"Alas! when man is to influence man, in order to bring about such mighty changes as these, the work goes on but slowly! It is hard to unite, in any common measures, all the several little sects and parties into which a nation is crumbled. Their interfering interests, passions, and prejudices will obstruct the best-laid design: What it gains in one place, it will lose in another; and never, but by the intervention of a superior power, will it succeed universally. But when God once comes into such a work, it ripens apace, all obstructions presently cease, all difficulties vanish. As the tops of corn bend easily this way or that, before the wind, so are the various minds of the multitude swayed and inclined by the inward breathings of His Spirit.*

* I have found many Socinians who will allow such a Divine interference as this, "for effecting grand national objects;" yet they affect to deny, with much inconsistency, a similar providential interference in behalf of individuals. They argue, on the hypothesis, that God's administration of mundane affairs has no regard to *particular persons*, of whom their favourite "large communities" are composed, and each of whose minds is singly to be bent and inclined by the Spirit of God, like "the tops of corn," as Bishop Atterbury well expresses it, before even their "grand national objects" can be produced. It is a favourite sentiment, propounded in some of their elementary treatises of education, that the doctrine of a *particular Providence* is as absurd a notion, as that the Deity should stop the machine of the *universe* to save *a fly* from being crushed!!

I am sorry to find, among modern reputed Arminians, some persons, who, by their unscriptural views on this subject, incur the just censure which was delivered by Bishop Horseley in one of his nervous charges: They do not "distinguish with certainty between that part which is nothing better than Calvinism, and that which belongs to our common Christianity and to the Faith of the Reformed Churches." Thus, by not distinguishing clearly between the abuse of a particular Providence as maintained by the Calvinists, and the scriptural authority on which the doctrine itself is founded, they co-alesce in the lax and inconsistent opinion of the Socinians, who acknowledge only a General Providence. Nevertheless, it well becomes the faithful in Christ Jesus, to appropriate to themselves the consolation which God intended to convey to their minds, in these and similar declarations: "Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings, and not one of them is forgotten before God? But even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not therefore: Ye are of more value than many sparrows." (Luke xii, 7.) "Be content with such things as ye have: For He hath said, *I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.* So that we may boldly say, *The Lord is is my helper, and I will not fear what man shall do unto me.*" (Heb. xiii, 6.) This boldness becomes sinful, only when it degenerates into unwarrantable

" It is worth observing therefore, in the vision of Ezekiel from whence my text is drawn, how, even after 'the sinews and

presumption, and fosters the unbumbling idea of personal election, without its necessary accompaniments—actual holiness of heart and life. While, with all devout humility, true believers make their boast in God, their minds may be further refreshed by the consideration, that angels themselves are, in the Divine economy of the universe, expressly employed on this service: " Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?" (Heb. i, 14.) These celestial messengers were deputed to wait upon Christ, after his severe temptation in the wilderness: " Behold, angels came and ministered to Him." (Matt. iv, 11.) And the promise, which applies and was fulfilled primarily in the Captain of our salvation, is applicable, in an inferior degree, to all his lowly followers: " He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways."

The great Arminius proved himself to be a wise master-builder, by advocating the scriptural doctrine of a Particular Providence as strenuously as the Calvinists had done, and by applying it to more practical and hallowing purposes. He has explained and defended it at great length, in the Ninth and Tenth of his Public, in the Twenty-eighth of his Private Disputations, and in his celebrated letter to Hyppolitus a Collibus, the ambassador from the Elector Palatine.—The reader may form some estimate of the extent of his views, by a brief extract from his reply to the Twenty-third of the Thirty-one Articles, which were falsely ascribed to him. After quoting part of his Tenth Public Disputation, mutilated scraps of which had been published by his adversaries, he says: " I laid down two limits to this administration, by which God manages the arguments, occasions, incitements, and provocatives, to perpetrate that deed which is joined to sin. Those two bounds were not described by me as *collateral*, that is, as being neither formed with a similar intention, nor connected together by a strict conjunction. The First of them contains the primary, proper, and separate intention of God, that is, *the complete trial of the creature:* But the Second of them, *the fulfilling of his own purposes by the act of his creature,* does not embrace God's intention, except after He has foreseen that his creature will not resist those incitements, but will yield to them through his own unfettered will, in contradiction to the command of God, which it is his duty and within his power to observe and follow. Their calumny, therefore, against me is twofold, and has been invented for the purpose of drawing this inference from my expressions,—*that I represent God as the author of sin.* A certain person has ventured to frame such a conclusion from my words, and has cited them against me in a public sermon, but most calumniously," &c.—Arminius then shews the fallacy of their deductions, and adds: " That man who says, ' God makes a complete trial of his creatures by arguments and ' occasions of sinning, to ascertain whether they will obey Him, even when ' they are enticed [to sin] by incitements,'—openly declares, ' that it is pos- ' sible for the creatures to resist those incitements, and to refrain from ' sinning:' Under any other conditions, this would not be *a complete trial of obedience*, but *a casting-down and powerful impulse to necessary disobedience.* Again, he who says, ' God tries the obedience of his creatures by ' these incitements and provocatives,' plainly intimates by such an expression, that those occasions and arguments which God places before his creatures, when it is his design to institute a trial of them, are not, *through the end and intention of God*, incitements and provocatives to sinning; but that they are [merely] incitements: First. Through the [exercise of] *power* according to the affection [or choice] of the creatures, who may be excited by them to the performance of an action connected with sin. Secondly, They are only incitements through the *event*, because the creatures have been induced by them to sin; yet it is their own personal fault, since it was their duty and within their power to resist such an affection [or feeling], and to neglect and despise such incitements.—Let the whole of those Theses be perused, and it will immediately be evident with what caution and solicitude I have guarded my words, lest I should, on the one side, utter any sentiment from which this blasphemy [of *God being the author of sin*] could with any show of probability be deduced; and lest, on the other, I should

'the flesh were come up upon the dry bones, and the skin had 'covered them above,' yet still it is said, that *there was no breath in them;* and still therefore the prophet is commanded to *prophesy to the four winds,* and to bid them 'breathe 'upon those slain, that they might live:' And then, and not till then, it was that *the breath came into them, and they lived and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army.* The meaning of which

detract from God's Providence any thing which ought to be ascribed to it according to the Scriptures."

These principles Arminius proceeds to illustrate, in a very able manner, by the cases of Eve, Absolam and Achitophel, and of *the lying prophet* predicted by Moses in Deut. xiii: He then subjoins the following reflections: "What necessity would exist for the employing of arguments, incitements, and provocatives, if the creatures evinced such an inclination to that act, which could not be committed without sin, as to be wishful of committing it without any argument whatever? In that case, the [infernal] tempter will refrain from a superfluous and vain labour. But since the tempter knows, that the creatures will not perpetrate the deed unless they be incited by arguments, and unless occasions be offered, he produces all the incentives in his power to entice them into sin. But God presides over all these affairs, and by his Providence administers all things, but to an end far different from that of the tempter. The end of God is, in the first instance, *the trial of the creature,* and then, if the will of the creature yield to the temptation, *to effect something Himself by that action.* But if my adversaries suppose these sentiments to contain something worthy of reprehension, let them circumscribe the right and power of God, so as not to admit it possible for Him to make complete trial of the obedience of his creature by any other method, than by the creation of somewhat in which it is possible for an offence to be committed, from the commission of which, God hath, by a law, commanded his creature to abstain. But if it be possible for Him to institute a trial of the creature's obedience in another manner, let my enemies instruct me, what else this method can be but the offering of arguments and occasions, and why God employs the latter method beside the preceding one to which I have just adverted. Is not this the reason,—because He sees, that, by the former mode, his creatures cannot, with equal strength, be solicited to evil, and that, on this account, it is a small thing for them to abstain from sin, to the commission of which they are instigated by no other incitements? Let the history of Job be duly considered,—of whose patience God made such a complete and varied trial, and to whom such a number of incitements were presented, that he might by impatience sin against God,—and the whole of this matter will be rendered clear and evident." He then comments most admirably on some parts of the trial of Job's faith and patience.

Though this extract from Arminius is chiefly applicable to the efficacy of God's Providence in the over-ruling of *evil* for the production of *good,* yet it is not, on this account, the less in elucidation of the subject in the text, and of the wonderful mode in which the Beneficent and All-wise Being effects his own purposes, even from those acts of his creatures which are wicked and unwise. Those who wish to peruse the brief exposition which Arminius gives of St. Augustine's fine sentiment on a General and Particular Providence:—

> His goodness watches o'er the whole,
> As if *the world* were but *one soul;*
> Yet keeps my ev'ry sacred hair,
> As if I were his single care!

will find it in the English translation of his Works. (Vol. i, p. 593.)

In God's Holy Book, we have many instances, beside the following, of the obvious exercise of the Divine control over individuals in the first instance, and then over communities: "Also in Judah, the hand of God was to give them ONE HEART to do the commandment of the king and the princes, by the word of the Lord." (2 Chron. xxx, 12.)

is, that in every sudden revolution of state, though there be many visible dispositions and causes that concur to favour it, yet still *the last finishing turn is always from God;* who animates and invigorates the whole design, puts all its parts at once into motion, and removes all impediments.

" Thus he brought about this wonderful day; by opening at once the eyes of a deluded people, shewing them their true interest, and inspiring them with unanimity and zeal to pursue it; and, in order to it, allaying their mutual heats, lessening their prejudices, and softening their aversions. ' The wolf He ' made to dwell with the lamb, and the leopard to lie down with ' the kid;' that is, the most opposite tempers were brought to conspire peaceably in this great event,* the most divided interests were reconciled in it: And even they, who were prepared to prophesy against it, were yet, by an over-ruling influence, deter-

* With the exception of the case of Balaam, there is not, perhaps, in any language a more conspicuous instance of the " over-ruling influence" to which the Bishop here refers, than that of the Republican Presbyterians, when, as Richard Baxter declares, " they were agreed to be loyal to their King." As this is a topic on which the Presbyterians love to dilate, I subjoin the account of this matter which is given by the celebrated author of the *Historical Essay upon their Loyalty from the Reformation to* 1713. " It is very observable of the two Charleses, that *the First* could not be murthered until the Presbyterian Members were first cast out of the House of Commons, and that *the Second* could not be restored until the same Members were brought in again: And then sectarian usurpers were effectually deposed, a wise and faithful Council of State set up, and the militia put into loyal and trusty hands. A free Parliament is called; and Presbyterians in the mean time used their utmost interest for the King; and particularly those eminent divines, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Ash, Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Dr. Jacomb, and the other Presbyterian ministers of London, animated the affections of that great city, as Mr. Baxter observes in the *History of his Life and Times.* (Page 214.) Upon the last day of April, 1660, the Parliament kept a fast for imploring Divine blessings and direction in their affairs; Mr. Calamy and Mr. Baxter were employed to preach and pray before the House of Commons that day, and publicly told the House *that they were agreed to be loyal to their King*, (Ibid, p. 217;) and the very next morning after this fast, the Parliament vote home the King, *Nemine Contradicente:* Mr. Calamy, Dr. Manton, and Mr. Bowles, (with divers others,) went immediately to Holland to wait upon his Majesty, who gave them a gracious reception and a great character."

The praises which the Presbyterians lavish upon themselves for their assistance in the restoration of King Charles the Second, amount, after all, but to this sorry climax,—" It could not have been effected if they had united with the Independent sectaries." This is spurious and forced loyalty, and very different from the kind exhibited by the suffering Episcopalians. The Presbyterians, it is seen, were vexed because " a Sectarian Usurper," who was not an admirer of their platform, had been elevated to the supreme authority in the State; and the insupportable affronts which were intentionally given them, by their former dear friends the Independents, at length broke that confederacy which is described in page 451, and induced them finally to co-alesce with the Episcopalians, who, whether contemplated in the hour of their prosperity or adversity, were more moderate and liberal than any of their opponents. But these and other remarks, which the reader will find in page 381—391, 442—452, do not detract in the least from the correctness of Bishop Atterbury's remark in the text concerning " an over-ruling influence," but rather tend to its confirmation, especially when it is connected with the sentiments which he has expressed with such admirable force and truth in the two preceding paragraphs.

mined to pronounce a blessing; and forced, as they looked on, to take up their parable and say, *God hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob, neither hath he seen perverseness in Israel: the Lord his God is with him, and the shout of a King is among them! God hath brought them out of Egypt: He hath, as it were, the strength of an unicorn. Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel: According to this time it shall be said of Jacob and of Israel,* WHAT HATH GOD WROUGHT?

"Since the WORK was His, therefore let us give Him also the PRAISE of it! Even as we do by this day's solemn appearance: Falling low on our knees before his foot-stool, and saying, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us,* nor unto our forefathers, *but unto thy* NAME *give glory; for thy mercy, and for thy truth's sake!* For thy MERCY'S *sake,* which induced thee to give so happy a turn to the affairs of so undeserving a people; and for thy TRUTH'S *sake,* which thou intendedst to secure, and to re-establish by the means of it.

"Let us piously ascribe this and all other our deliverances to GOD, and all our calamities to *ourselves;* acknowledging the one to be as properly the consequences of *our sins,* as the other is the result of HIS unmerited FAVOUR and GOODNESS. And let us from such surprising events as these, which have confessedly SOMETHING DIVINE in them, learn to lift up our thoughts above material causes, and to instruct ourselves in all the amazing lessons of God's governing providence; by which He holds the balance of nations, and inclines it which way he pleases; so that *all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing to him, and he doth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the the inhabitants of the earth, and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou?*

"And this he now performs by the administration of the man Christ Jesus; to whom, immediately upon his resurrection, he gave *all power in heaven and in earth:* And whom, upon his ascent into heaven, he instated in the full possession and exercise of that power, declaring him King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. And indeed, *Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power and riches, and wisdom and strength, and honour and glory, and blessing. Therefore, blessing, and honour, and glory, and power be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever.* Amen."

FINIS.

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